

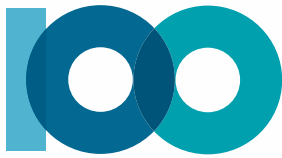
JAMES CRAIG



**Creative
Centenaries**

The Story of **James Craig**

Key Stage 3 Learning Resource



Creative Centenaries



The story of James Craig has been developed by the Nerve Centre's Creative Centenaries project which develops innovative resources around the Decade of Centenaries and important historical events and people.

This is a Key Stage 3 curriculum linked resource that explores some of the events up to and surrounding the partition of Ireland and the formation of two new states. This story looks at the part played by James Craig, a leading figure in the formation of Northern Ireland and the modern Unionist tradition. This story is printed back-to-back with the story of Michael Collins to show a contrast between two leading figures from the early 20th century.

Further graphic novels highlighting the roles of real people in events from throughout the 1912-1922 period are available to access from www.creativecentenaries.org/resources

Artwork by Leeann Hamilton based on a script by Michael O'Neill. With thanks to Fearghal McGarry for historical oversight.

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**MAKING
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FUTURE**



Peace 
Northern Ireland - Ireland
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1881. CRAIGAVON HOUSE. JAMES CRAIG'S FAMILY HOME AND WHERE HE SPENT TIME WHEN HOME FROM BOARDING SCHOOL IN SCOTLAND.

HIS FATHER, ALSO CALLED JAMES, WORKED FOR DUNVILLE WHISKEY DISTILLERY, RISING TO BECOME A PARTNER IN THE FIRM AND A VERY WEALTHY MAN.

JAMES' FATHER INSTILLED A SENSE OF DUTY AND PRIDE IN HIS CHILDREN.

REMEMBER, IT'S IMPORTANT TO DO YOUR DUTY. QUEEN AND COUNTRY BOYS, QUEEN AND COUNTRY.

BY 1900, JAMES CRAIG WAS 29.

HE HAD ENLISTED IN THE ARMY TO FIGHT IN THE BOER WAR, DEFENDING THE POWER AND STATUS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

ALONG WITH HIS REGIMENT, THEY DEFENDED KEY POSITIONS AGAINST THE GUERRILLA-STYLE ATTACKS OF THE BOERS.

THAT'S IT MEN, KEEP IT UP! THE BOERS WON'T GET TO US! SURE AND STEADFAST! QUEEN AND COUNTRY!

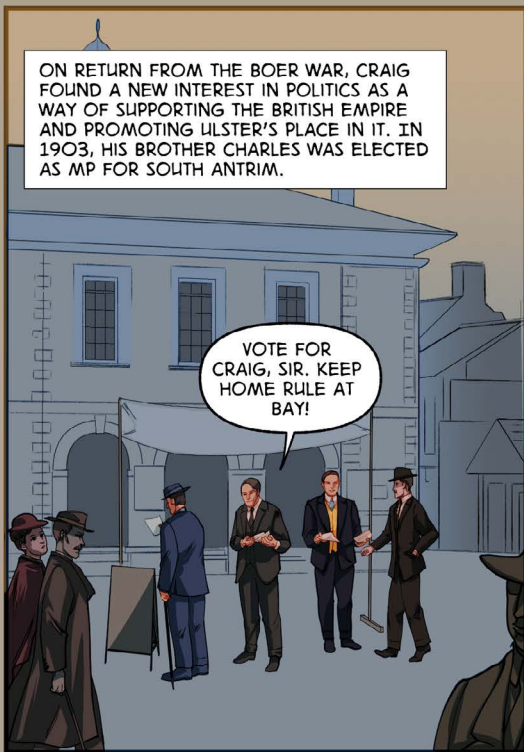
CAPTAIN JAMES CRAIG WAS PROUD OF THE ROLE HE AND HIS MEN PLAYED IN DEFENDING THE EMPIRE.

TO THE QUEEN AND THE REGIMENT!

THE QUEEN AND THE REGIMENT!

ON RETURN FROM THE BOER WAR, CRAIG FOUND A NEW INTEREST IN POLITICS AS A WAY OF SUPPORTING THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND PROMOTING ULSTER'S PLACE IN IT. IN 1903, HIS BROTHER CHARLES WAS ELECTED AS MP FOR SOUTH ANTRIM.

VOTE FOR CRAIG, SIR. KEEP HOME RULE AT BAY!



THREE YEARS LATER JAMES CRAIG WAS IN THE THICK OF IT TOO AS HE BECAME AN MP FOR EAST DOWN.



THREE CHEERS FOR JAMES CRAIG, HIP HIP.....

HOORAY!



FURTHER ESTABLISHING HIS CREDENTIALS AS A LEADER FOR THE UNIONIST PEOPLE IN ULSTER, CRAIG ALSO BECAME GRAND MASTER OF THE COUNTY DOWN ORANGE LODGE.

GOD BLESS YOU, JAMES!



HE WAS NOW POSITIONED TO BEGIN HIS LIFE'S WORK OF ENSURING ULSTER REMAINED PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND BRITISH EMPIRE.

IT SOON BECAME CLEAR HE WAS A BRILLIANT THINKER AND POLITICAL STRATEGIST. THE IRISH HOME RULE MOVEMENT HAD FOUND ITS NEMESIS.

THE MEN OF ULSTER ARE THE BRAVEST AND MOST LOYAL SUBJECTS OF HIS MAJESTY. THEY WILL NEVER NEGLECT THEIR DUTY.

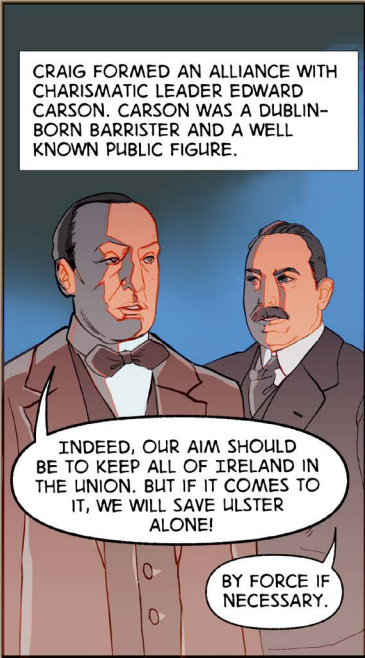


WHEN THE HOME RULE CRISIS CAME TO A HEAD IN 1912, CRAIG WAS READY.



IF NECESSARY, WE WILL CREATE A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT HERE IN ULSTER. WE WILL NEVER ACCEPT DUBLIN RULE!

CRAIG FORMED AN ALLIANCE WITH CHARISMATIC LEADER EDWARD CARSON. CARSON WAS A DUBLIN-BORN BARRISTER AND A WELL KNOWN PUBLIC FIGURE.



INDEED, OUR AIM SHOULD BE TO KEEP ALL OF IRELAND IN THE UNION. BUT IF IT COMES TO IT, WE WILL SAVE ULSTER ALONE!

BY FORCE IF NECESSARY.

CRAIG WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE THREAT TO PROTESTANT CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTIES FROM HOME RULE.

WHAT WE NEED IS A WAY OF SHOWING THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND DUBLIN THAT WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT RESISTING HOME RULE TO THE DEATH...



WE WILL CALL IT ULSTER'S SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT. EVERY LOYAL ULSTERMAN WILL SIGN...

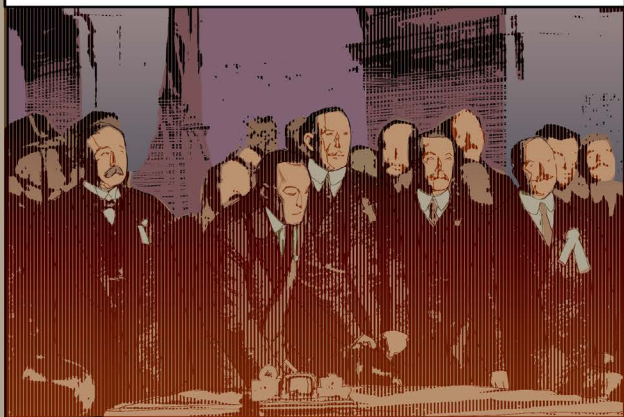
ULSTER DAY ON SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 28, 1912 WAS CRAIG AND CARSON'S MASTERSTROKE. IT SHOWED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO FORCE HOME RULE ON ULSTER WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED.



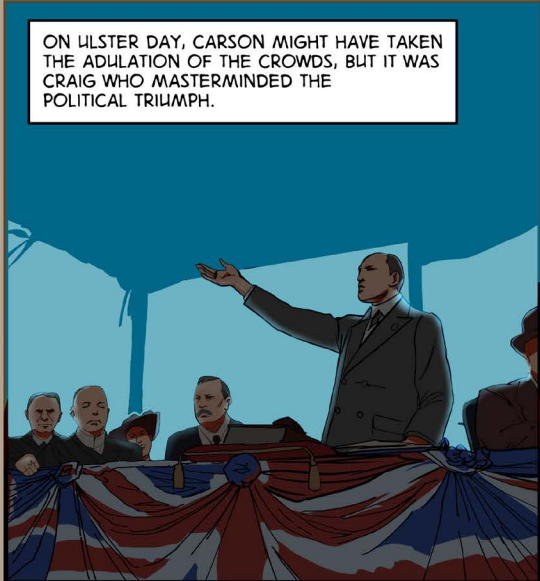
HOW MANY ARE WE EXPECTING?

EVERY PROTESTANT IN THE COUNTRY BY THE LOOKS OF IT!

OVER 230,000 MEN SIGNED THE ULSTER COVENANT AND OVER 230,000 WOMEN SIGNED A DECLARATION OF SUPPORT. THE MEN PROMISED 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."



ON ULSTER DAY, CARSON MIGHT HAVE TAKEN THE ADULATION OF THE CROWDS, BUT IT WAS CRAIG WHO MASTERMINDED THE POLITICAL TRIUMPH.



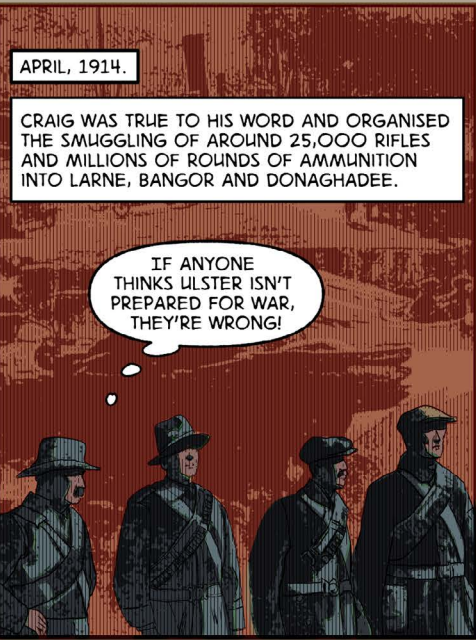


THE SHOW OF STRENGTH AT THE SIGNING OF THE COVENANT WAS NOT A ONE-OFF DEMONSTRATION. CRAIG AND CARSON WERE DETERMINED ULSTER WOULDN'T BE PUSHED AROUND.

I THINK WE CAN COUNT ON 100,000 MEN JOINING US.

THIS IS A PRIVATE ARMY JAMES... AND ARMIES NEED GUNS.

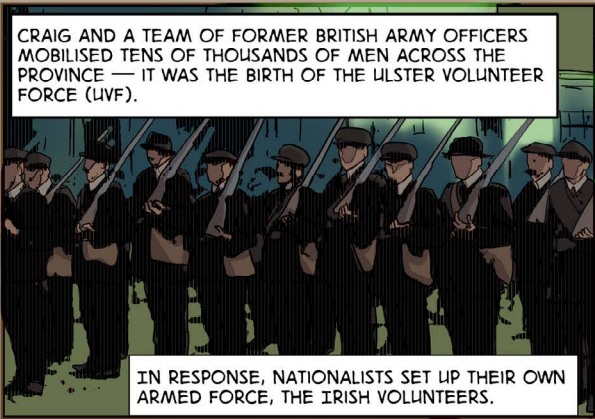
THEY SHALL HAVE THEM!



APRIL, 1914.

CRAIG WAS TRUE TO HIS WORD AND ORGANISED THE SMUGGLING OF AROUND 25,000 RIFLES AND MILLIONS OF ROUNDS OF AMMUNITION INTO LARNE, BANGOR AND DONAGHADEE.

IF ANYONE THINKS ULSTER ISN'T PREPARED FOR WAR, THEY'RE WRONG!



CRAIG AND A TEAM OF FORMER BRITISH ARMY OFFICERS MOBILISED TENS OF THOUSANDS OF MEN ACROSS THE PROVINCE — IT WAS THE BIRTH OF THE ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE (UVF).

IN RESPONSE, NATIONALISTS SET UP THEIR OWN ARMED FORCE, THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS.



THE ARMING OF THE UVF MADE IT CLEAR THAT ULSTER COULD NOT BE FORCED INTO A HOME RULE IRELAND.

I AM HERE TO TELL YOU TONIGHT THAT HOME RULE WILL NEVER BECOME THE LAW OF THE LAND IN ULSTER WHILE WE HAVE BREATH IN OUR BODIES OR GUNS IN OUR HANDS!

WE WILL KEEP OUR COVENANT TO THE BITTER END!



HOWEVER, IN AUGUST 1914, THE OUTBREAK OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR PUT THE ISSUES IN ULSTER TO THE BACK OF PEOPLE'S MINDS.

Daily News... Six Times as Large as That of Any Paper... LONDON
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1914

GREAT BRITAIN DECLARES WAR ON GERMANY

The following announcement was issued at the War Office

SUMMARY REJECTION OF GERMAN DEMANDS

Britain had sent an ultimatum to Germany which expired at midnight. This was due to Germany's refusal to leave Belgium neutral and her invasion of that country. The German Ambassador went to 10 Downing Street at 12.10am to receive his travel papers. He looked like a man.

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR MEANT CRAIG NEVER HAD TO FACE COMMANDING A REVOLT AGAINST THE CROWN TO WHICH HE AND THE UVF HAD SWORN ALLEGIANCE.

YES, LORD KITCHENER, BUT TIMES HAVE CHANGED NOW, MY MEN ARE WILLING TO DO THEIR DUTY FOR KING AND COUNTRY.

YOU HAVE 100,000 LOYAL, BRAVE AND DISCIPLINED MEN AT YOUR SERVICE.



THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SEIZED THE OPPORTUNITY TO BRING THE MEN OF THE UVF INTO THE HEART OF THE BRITISH ARMY AS FEARS OF A CIVIL WAR WERE SET ASIDE.

EXCELLENT NEWS, CAPTAIN CRAIG. WE SHALL CALL IT THE 36TH ULSTER DIVISION. ALL ULSTERMEN TOGETHER, FIGHTING FOR THE BRITISH EMPIRE, NOT AGAINST IT!



CRAIG WAS GIVEN THE RANK OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL IN THE DIVISION. HE EVEN WENT PERSONALLY TO ARRANGE UNIFORMS FOR HIS MEN.



THIS WILL BE THE FINEST BODY OF FIGHTING MEN THE BRITISH ARMY HAS EVER SEEN.

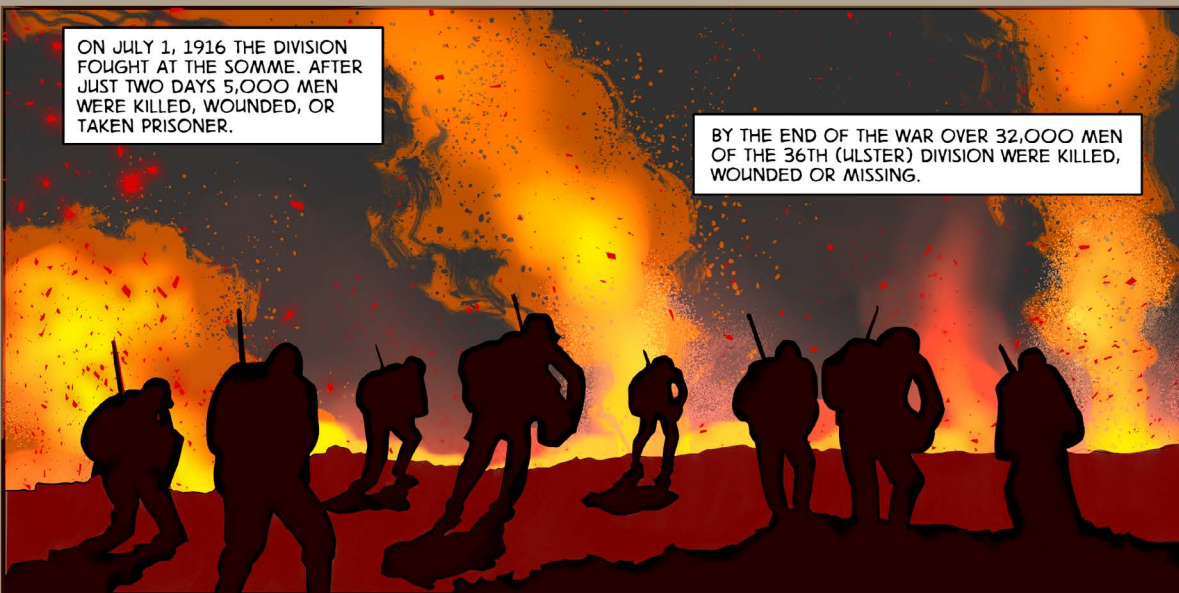
IN SEPTEMBER 1914, THE 36TH (ULSTER) DIVISION WAS FORMED FROM BATTALIONS OF MEN FROM ACROSS THE PROVINCE.



DID YOU HEAR? WE'RE LEAVING FOR FRANCE NEXT WEEK.

IT'S ABOUT TIME. THOSE GERMANS WILL FIND OUT WHAT A REAL FIGHT IS LIKE!

ON JULY 1, 1916 THE DIVISION FOUGHT AT THE SOMME. AFTER JUST TWO DAYS 5,000 MEN WERE KILLED, WOUNDED, OR TAKEN PRISONER.



BY THE END OF THE WAR OVER 32,000 MEN OF THE 36TH (ULSTER) DIVISION WERE KILLED, WOUNDED OR MISSING.

DESPITE HAVING THE ROLE OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL OF THE ULSTER DIVISION, CRAIG WAS UNABLE TO FIGHT DUE TO ILL-HEALTH.

MR CHURCHILL, MEN FROM ALL OVER IRELAND ARE STANDING SHOULDER TO SHOULDER IN THE TRENCHES. THE DUBLIN FUSILIERS, THE ROYAL INNISKILLING FUSILIERS — THEY'RE ALL FIGHTING TOGETHER FOR THE KING.

IF ONLY IT WOULD STAY LIKE THAT...

MEN OF ULSTER WERE NOW FAMOUS FOR THEIR LOYALTY AND BRAVERY IN BATTLE.

YOU HAVE DONE OUR NATION PROUD. THE MEN OF ULSTER WILL NEVER BE FORGOTTEN. ALL OF BRITAIN IS IN YOUR DEBT.

BY THE END OF THE WAR THERE WAS NO MORE TALK OF AN ALL-IRISH HOME RULE SETTLEMENT. INSTEAD THE IDEA OF ESTABLISHING A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT IN ULSTER HAD TAKEN ROOT.

THE 1920 GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND ACT BROUGHT SELF-GOVERNMENT TO ULSTER AND BEGAN THE ROAD TO A STATE CALLED NORTHERN IRELAND. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WAS RELIEVED TO BE FREE OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ADMINISTERING BOTH PARTS OF IRELAND.

THE BREAK UP OF IRELAND INTENSIFIED VIOLENCE. FEARFUL OF THE THREAT OF REPUBLICANISM AS THE IRA'S CAMPAIGN EXTENDED INTO ULSTER, NORTHERN LOYALISTS EXPELLED BELFAST CATHOLICS AND SOCIALISTS FROM THE SHIPYARDS, AS COMMUNAL VIOLENCE SPREAD ACROSS THE PROVINCE.

THERE WILL BE NO MORE TALK OF DUBLIN RULE FOR US NOW. WHAT WE WILL GET IS HOME RULE FOR ULSTER — BE IT 6 OR 9 COUNTIES.

THERE ARE MANY WHO WANT ALL NINE BUT SUCH A LARGE CATHOLIC MINORITY WOULD IMPERIL THE FUTURE OF OUR FAITH AND OUR FREEDOM.

NO PARTITION!
WE'RE IRISH AND
WE WANT TO STAY
IRISH!

YOU'LL BE A
BRITISH SUBJECT AS LONG AS
YOU LIVE HERE — WE'LL MAKE
SURE OF THAT!

IN RESPONSE, CRAIG INSISTED ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PARAMILITARY STYLE LOYALIST FORCE. IT WAS NAMED THE ULSTER SPECIAL CONSTABULARY AND EQUIPPED WITH THE SAME RIFLES CRAIG HAD SMUGGLED IN TO ARM THE UVF.

THE PATH TO A SEPARATE NORTHERN IRELAND STATE WAS COMPLETE. WITH ITS OWN PARLIAMENT, THE QUESTION WAS WHO WOULD BE PRIME MINISTER...

WE'LL SORT THESE
TROUBLEMAKERS OUT IN
NO TIME.

WE BEAT THE
GERMANS, SO WE CAN
HANDLE THEM
ALRIGHT!

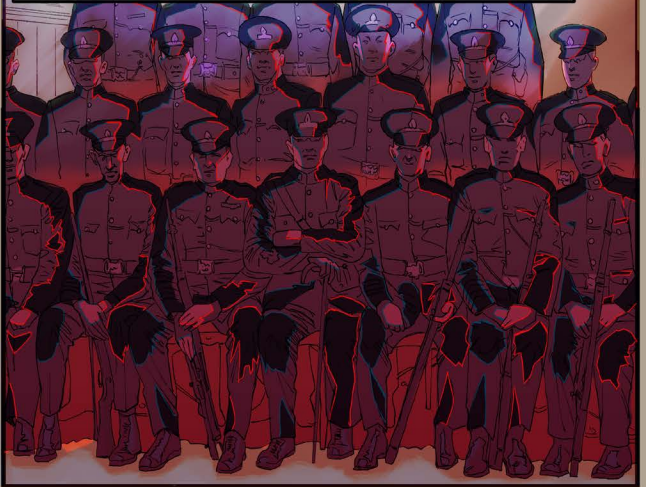
MR PRIME
MINISTER, I WILL
SERVE THE PEOPLE OF
NORTHERN IRELAND
TO THE VERY BEST
OF MY ABILITY.

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

IRELAND HAD NOW BECOME TWO STATES, A SITUATION THAT THE IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY REFUSED TO ACCEPT BUT WHICH THE NEW PROTESTANT DOMINATED NORTHERN IRISH GOVERNMENT WAS DETERMINED TO ENFORCE.



THE BITTER AND BLOODY CONFLICT BETWEEN THE IRA AND THE ULSTER SPECIAL CONSTABULARY — A FORCE THAT WAS CRITICISED FOR BEING EXCLUSIVELY PROTESTANT AND POORLY DISCIPLINED — CONTINUED.



SECTARIAN VIOLENCE CONTINUED TO RAVAGE NORTHERN IRELAND AND, IN BELFAST, THOUSANDS OF CATHOLICS AND SMALLER NUMBERS OF PROTESTANTS WERE FORCED OUT OF THEIR HOMES AND JOBS.



AS VIOLENCE SPIRALLED OUT OF CONTROL, FAMILIES WERE MURDERED IN THEIR HOMES BY MEN WEARING POLICE UNIFORM. IRA REPRISALS ALSO CAUSED THE DEATHS OF MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN FROM BOMBS AND BULLETS.



ALTHOUGH CRAIG BLAMED THE VIOLENCE ON THE IRA AND THE NEW IRISH GOVERNMENT, HE REALISED THAT SOMETHING HAD TO BE DONE TO STEM THE ATROCITIES.



ON MARCH 30, 1922 JAMES CRAIG AND MICHAEL COLLINS, CHAIRMAN OF THE IRISH PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, AGREED ON A PLAN TO END VIOLENCE, RECRUIT CATHOLICS INTO THE POLICE FORCE AND ESTABLISH JUST WAYS TO SETTLE CONFLICTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BORDER AREAS.



BEFORE THE AGREEMENT COULD BE ENFORCED, MORE TERRIBLE VIOLENCE ERUPTED AND IRELAND'S TROUBLES WOULD CONTINUE.

ALTHOUGH THE CRAIG-COLLINS PACT WAS NEVER IMPLEMENTED, CRAIG REMAINED AWARE OF THE NEED FOR THE NEW STATE OF NORTHERN IRELAND TO ENCOURAGE PEACE AND RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE.

REMEMBER THAT THE RIGHTS OF THE MINORITY MUST BE SACRED TO THE MAJORITY AND THAT IT WILL ONLY BE BY BROAD, TOLERANT IDEAS AND A REAL DESIRE FOR LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE THAT WE CAN MAKE AN IDEAL OF OUR PARLIAMENT.

EVEN IN HIS ROLE AS A LEADING ORANGEMAN HE WAS DETERMINED TO FOSTER GOOD RELATIONS.

YES, I AM AN ORANGEMAN FIRST AND A POLITICIAN AFTERWARDS, BUT IT IS OUR EARNEST DESIRE TO LIVE IN PEACE AND AMITY WITH THE FREE STATE AND TO ENCOURAGE IN EVERY WAY A BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN ALL CLASSES AND CREEDS.

HOWEVER, THERE WAS NEVER ANY DOUBT ABOUT HIS DETERMINATION TO SUPPORT THE RULE OF NORTHERN IRELAND BY THE PROTESTANT MAJORITY IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE SECURITY OF THE NEW STATE. DENIED EQUALITY IN LAW AND ORDER, VOTING, HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT, CATHOLICS WERE ALIENATED FROM THE NEW STATE.

IN THE SOUTH THEY STILL BOAST OF SOUTHERN IRELAND BEING A CATHOLIC STATE. ALL I BOAST OF IS THAT WE ARE A PROTESTANT PARLIAMENT AND A PROTESTANT STATE!

I AM DOING MY BEST ALWAYS TO TOP THE BILL AND TO BE AHEAD OF THE SOUTH!

NO-ONE DID MORE THAN CRAIG TO FULLY ESTABLISH SELF-GOVERNMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HE DROVE THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW STORMONT BUILDING — A SYMBOL OF THE GRANDEUR AND PERMANENCE OF THE NEW STATE AND ITS DETERMINATION TO PROSPER.

CRAIG DOMINATED STORMONT, RELENTLESSLY REINFORCING THE UNIONIST RIGHT TO GOVERN.

IT IS UNDOUBTEDLY OUR DUTY AND OUR PRIVILEGE TO SEE THAT THOSE APPOINTED BY US POSSESS THE MOST UNIMPEACHABLE LOYALTY TO THE KING AND CONSTITUTION.

THAT IS MY WHOLE OBJECT IN CARRYING ON A PROTESTANT GOVERNMENT FOR A PROTESTANT PEOPLE.

AS PRIME MINISTER OF NORTHERN IRELAND, JAMES CRAIG DEDICATED HIS POLITICAL LIFE TO KEEPING THE COUNTRY INSIDE THE UNITED KINGDOM AND ENSURING UNIONIST POWER COULD NOT BE ERODED.

WHATEVER NEW IDEAS COME AT US WE WILL FIND A WAY TO KEEP NORTHERN IRELAND UNIONIST.

HE RESISTED IDEAS THAT WOULD REOPEN THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION SUCH AS THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION OF 1923-5.

WE ABSOLUTELY REFUSE TO ACCEPT A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE BOUNDARIES OF NORTHERN IRELAND! OUR BORDERS ARE FIXED!

COMMITTED TO PRESERVING UNIONIST UNITY, HE ALSO ABOLISHED THE PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ELECTORAL VOTING SYSTEM — A KEY FACTOR IN STRENGTHENING THE ELECTORAL DOMINANCE OF THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY OVER NATIONALISTS AND THE ONCE POWERFUL LABOUR MOVEMENT.

FIRST PAST THE POST IS THE SYSTEM WE WANT. THAT IS THE ONE THAT WILL SECURE THE UNION!

WHEN EAMON DE VALERA PUBLISHED HIS NEW CONSTITUTION FOR THE IRISH FREE STATE IN 1937, CRAIG CALLED A GENERAL ELECTION TO REAFFIRM NORTHERN IRELAND'S POSITION WITHIN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

DE VALERA CAN SAY WHAT HE WANTS ABOUT IRELAND BUT NORTHERN IRELAND WILL NEVER BE A PART OF IT!

IN 1927, CRAIG WAS CREATED VISCOUNT CRAIGAVON OF STORMONT.

IN 1939, AFTER THE OUTBREAK OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, CRAIG WAS AGAIN INVOLVED IN THE RECRUITMENT OF ULSTERMEN, PROPOSING THAT CONSCRIPTION TO THE ARMY SHOULD ALSO APPLY TO NORTHERN IRELAND. BY THEN, HIS HEALTH, ENERGY AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE WERE FAILING BUT HIS DETERMINATION AND IDEALS WERE NOT.

COUGH
I SEE NO REASON WHY.... THE LOYAL MEN OF ULSTER.... SHOULD NOT BE CONSCRIPTED INTO THE... THE ...ARMY... TO... FIGHT AGAINST THE NAZI THREAT... SEND THAT TO CHURCHILL!



CRAIG DIED AT HOME IN NOVEMBER 1940 AND WAS BURIED IN THE GROUNDS OF THE STORMONT PARLIAMENT BUILDING.



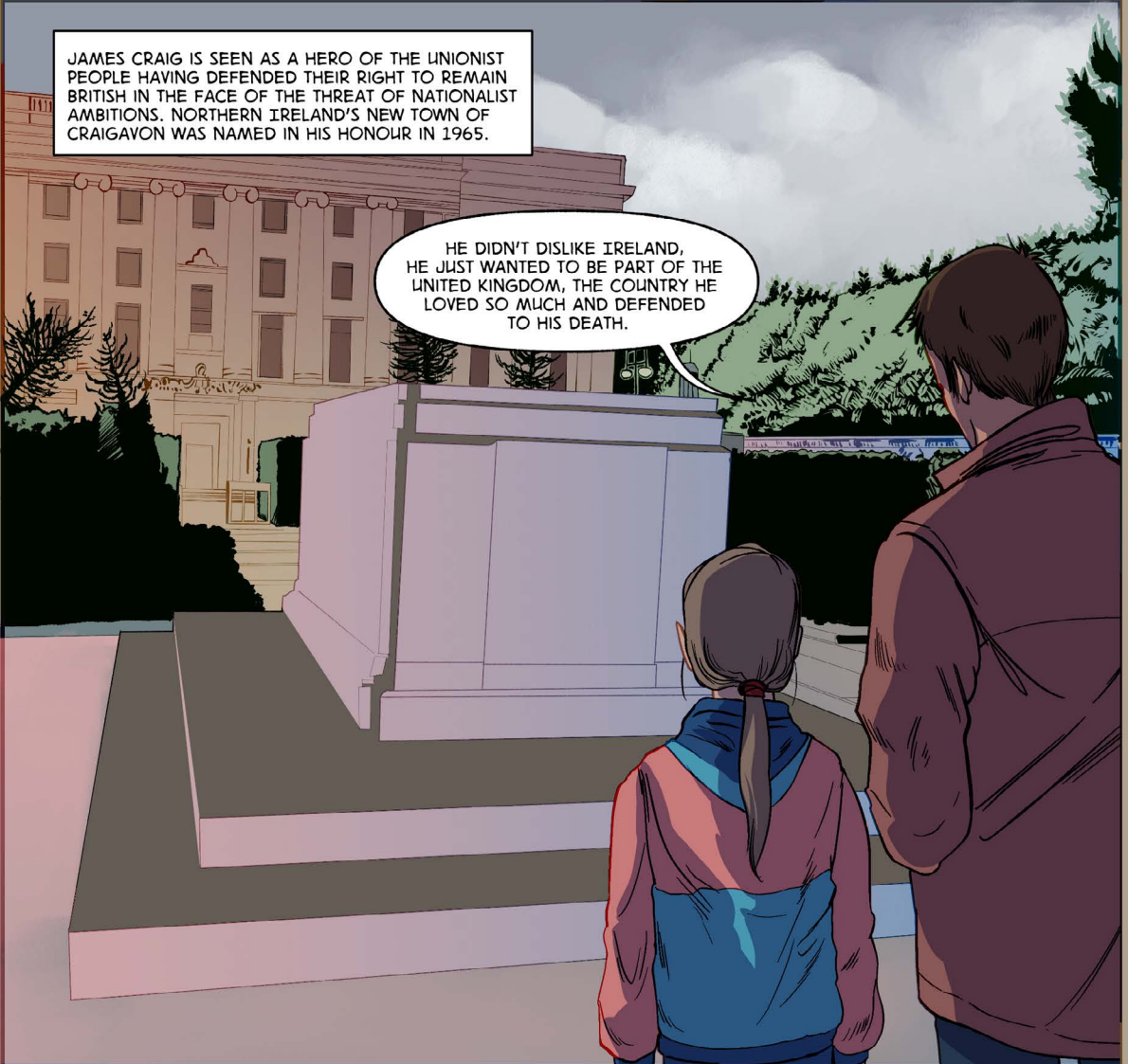
IF YOU VISIT STORMONT TODAY, IT IS THE IMPOSING FIGURE OF SIR EDWARD CARSON THAT IS MOST LIKELY TO ATTRACT YOUR ATTENTION.



THAT'S EDWARD CARSON — HE TOOK THE GLORY — HE TOOK THE GLORY, BUT IF YOU'RE LOOKING FOR THE MAN WHO REALLY MADE NORTHERN IRELAND, HE'S OVER THERE...

JAMES CRAIG IS SEEN AS A HERO OF THE UNIONIST PEOPLE HAVING DEFENDED THEIR RIGHT TO REMAIN BRITISH IN THE FACE OF THE THREAT OF NATIONALIST AMBITIONS. NORTHERN IRELAND'S NEW TOWN OF CRAIGAVON WAS NAMED IN HIS HONOUR IN 1965.

HE DIDN'T DISLIKE IRELAND, HE JUST WANTED TO BE PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE COUNTRY HE LOVED SO MUCH AND DEFENDED TO HIS DEATH.





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