History Support Service
Supporting Leaving Certificate History
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Later Modern Ireland

Topic 5, Politics and society in Northern Ireland, 1949-1993

Documents for case study:

The Coleraine University controversy

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PREFACE

The topic, Politics and society in Northern Ireland, 1949-1993, is prescribed by the State Examinations Commission (SEC) for the documents-based study for the 2010 and 2011 Leaving Certificate examinations.

The case studies for the topic are:

- The Coleraine University controversy
- The Sunningdale Agreement and the power-sharing executive, 1973-1974
- The Apprentice Boys of Derry

The set of documents selected for each of the case studies, and presented herein, is varied in nature and represents varying points of view, enabling students to look at the case study from different perspectives.

Each set of documents is accompanied by an introduction which gives an outline of the case study and the relevance of each of the documents to the different aspects of the case study.

A series of biographical notes relating to people mentioned in the documents is provided, along with a glossary of key terms. Since there is significant overlap of personalities and terminology between the three case studies, these notes are unified and repeated for each of the case studies.

The basic template employed is one devised for an initiative of the National Library of Ireland (NLI) and the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA), which produced sets of documents for the topics prescribed for documents-based study in the 2006 and 2007 examinations. The success of that initiative prompted the History In-Service Team (HIST) to commission Dr. Jane Finucane to compile sets of documents on the topics prescribed for the 2008 and 2009 examinations along similar lines to the NLI/NCCA initiative.

For the topic, Politics and society in Northern Ireland, 1949-1993, the selection of documents was again made by Dr. Finucane, Lecturer in Early Modern History, University of Glamorgan, who also prepared the biographical notes, the glossary of key terms and the questions on the documents. The materials were edited for publication by the National Coordinator of the History Support Service, John Dredge.

John Dredge,
National Coordinator,
History Support Service.
July 2009.

Online help: The director of CAIN (Conflict Archive on the Internet), Dr. Martin Melaugh, has compiled a page that will be of assistance to teachers of Leaving Certificate History at http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/leaving_certificate/

For further assistance, see the History Support Service website at www.hist.ie.
THE COLERAINE UNIVERSITY CONTROVERSY: INTRODUCTION

In the 1960s, Northern Ireland prepared to adapt its higher education system to accommodate growing numbers of students prepared for university entry and to acknowledge the usefulness of a new technological emphasis in third-level education. Working from the example of the British Robbins Report (Document 1, Document 3), the Northern Irish government appointed a committee led by John Lockwood to examine current facilities (Document 4), to consider the needs of industry (Document 5), and to determine whether a second university should be established in Northern Ireland (Document 6). The question of a new university’s possible location became bound up with the fate of Magee College, an institute of Higher Education without full university status in the majority Catholic city of Derry (Document 4, Document 6, Document 7, Document 11).

Because the choice of location for a new university was expected to be of great benefit to the local population (Document 6, Document 7, Document 8, Document 11), the choice of Coleraine was seen in some quarters as a sop to unionists (Document 8). Protests from Derry presented the neglect of Magee and the city as a civil rights issue (Document 2), but also as an offence to local feeling (Document 9). The issue caused great consternation at government level (Document 6, 7, 10, 11). Although a compromise was eventually found with the absorption of Magee College into the new university, this came only after the loss of goodwill (Document 11), and the Lockwood Committee’s original decision remained as evidence to be cited by those who argued that Stormont systematically neglected the welfare of Northern Ireland’s Catholics.

The Coleraine University Controversy is a case study for the Society and Economy perspective of the topic, Politics and society in Northern Ireland, 1949-1993. Education is of course a key element in this case study; those documents which consider the shortcomings of certain potential sites are also useful for the examination of further aspects of the welfare state and of social and economic developments prior to 1969 (see especially Document 4, Document 5, Document 6).

Key personalities and key concepts have been introduced where possible: John Hume is represented both in a retrospective account of his experiences (Document 2) and as a speaker on the university question in the parliamentary record for 1969 (Document 12). Terence O’Neill’s modernisation programme is relevant to many of the documents, and O’Neill is a subject of criticism in documents 2 and 9. Hume places the controversy in the context of the civil rights movements of Northern Ireland and the United States (Document 2). Documents for consideration of cultural identity include two portraits of urban communities: an Irish Times description of Coleraine (Document 8) and an indirect reflection on Derry’s identity in a popular song (Document 9).

Further contextual information, along with explanations of words, can be found in the biographical notes and glossary. Words and names which are underlined are included in these sections: generally, a word is underlined only on its first appearance in a document. Where first names are not included in the document, they are given in square brackets [ ]. Anything in square brackets is not in the original text.
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

**Commander Albert W. Anderson**
Elected representative of the Ulster Unionist Party, Mayor of Derry, 1963-8, Member of Parliament for the City of Londonderry 1968-72

**John Andrews**
Leader of the Northern Ireland Senate, 1964-72, in which capacity he frequently acted as deputy prime minister

**Jim Callaghan**
A member of the British Labour Party who held a number of senior posts in government in the 1960s and 1970s, and was Prime Minister from 1976-1979. He was Home Secretary in 1969, and sent British troops to Northern Ireland to restore order. The Labour Party was in opposition in 1972, when Callaghan described the introduction of Direct Rule as a ‘historic blunder’: he argued that the British Parliament would not be able to deal effectively with Northern Ireland.

**James Chichester-Clark**
Leader of the Ulster Unionist Party and Prime Minister of Northern Ireland from 1969 to 1971, when he resigned from both offices, citing the impossibility of containing the I.R.A. with the resources and support available.

**Brendan Corish**
Leader of the Labour Party in the Republic from 1960 to 1977

**Colmcille/Columba/Columb**
Sixth-century Irish saint, said to have founded a monastery in Derry, and considered the patron saint of Derry City

**William [Bill] Craig**
Loyalist leader who established the Ulster Vanguard Party and was one of the organisers of the Ulster Workers’ Council strikes

**Austin Currie**
Civil Rights activist, founder member of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) in 1970 and Minister for Housing in the Northern Ireland power-sharing executive established under Sunningdale

**Seamus Deane**
Poet and academic, born in Derry in 1940

**Paddy Devlin**
Civil Rights activist, founder member of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) in 1970 and elected representative of the party in the Stormont Parliament and the Northern Ireland Assembly of 1973-4

**W. T. Ewing**
Civil Servant in the Northern Irish Education Ministry and secretary to the Lockwood Committee
Brian Faulkner
Member of the Ulster Unionist Party who was Prime Minister of Northern Ireland from March 1971 - March 1972 and Chief Executive of the Northern Ireland power-sharing executive of 1974. Faulkner attempted to contain republican violence, introducing internment without trial in 1971. He protested when the Stormont government was suspended in 1972, but took part against the wishes of many of his party in the negotiations which led to the Sunningdale Agreement. He resigned under pressure from the UWC strikers in May 1974.

Gerard [Gerry] Fitt

Garret FitzGerald

Major John Glen
John Glen, member of the Lockwood Committee. He had acted as assistant-secretary of the Northern Irish Ministry for Education.

Major Glover
Gerard Glover, Unionist Party Member and Mayor of Derry from 1950-1 and 1961-3. Glover attempted to persuade the Northern Irish government of the need to support Magee College after the publication of the Lockwood report, although he was accused of not doing enough in this regard.

Paddy Gormley
Nationalist M.P. 1953-69, representing mid-Londonderry for most of his time as parliamentary representative. He spoke at parliament against the decision to site the new University in Coleraine, describing this as a tactic by the Northern Irish government to restrict Derry’s development.

Lord Hailsham / Quintin McGarel Hogg
Conservative and Lord High Chancellor from 1970 to 1974, and from 1979-1987. In this position, he was speaker in the House of Lords, head of the judiciary and the most senior officer serving the crown. He defended the introduction of Direct Rule in 1972 as a short-term, necessary measure which was fully legal.

Edward [Ted] Heath
Conservative Party MP; British Prime Minister 1970-74: Heath suspended the Stormont Parliament in 1972 and presided over the establishment of the Northern Ireland Assembly (1973-4) and power-sharing executive (1974).

R.B. Henderson
R. B. (Brum) Henderson. Member of the Lockwood Committee and managing director of Ulster Television (UTV).

John Hume
A schoolteacher who became one of the leaders of the Northern Irish civil rights movement and was elected to the Stormont Parliament in 1969. He led the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) from 1979 to 2001.
**Willis Jackson**  
Member of the Lockwood Committee. Professor of Electrical Engineering at the Imperial College of Science and Technology (London)

**Edward Warburton Jones**  
Ulster Unionist, M.P. representing the City of Londonderry 1951-68. Attorney-General, 1964-8. He warned the government of potential trouble in Derry if Magee College was not safeguarded and suggested that the College should become part of the new university.

**James II**  
King of England, Ireland, and Scotland from 1685-1688: he was suspected of plans to force a Catholic revival on his subjects and was overthrown by his daughter Mary and her husband William III. Plans for James to establish a base for counter-revolution in Ireland failed after his defeat at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690.

**John Lockwood**  
Chairman of the Lockwood Committee which reported on higher education needs in Northern Ireland in 1965. Master of Birkbeck College in London, 1951-65. Lockwood had chaired the Secondary Schools Education Council and had helped to create new universities in Asia and Africa.

**Robert Lundy**  
Commander of the Derry garrison committed to defending the city against James II. When Derry came under attack, Lundy attempted to surrender to James’s forces, but was prevented from declaring the surrender and removed from office by some of Derry’s inhabitants. A figure representing Lundy is burned at commemorations of the siege.

**Martin Luther King**  
American civil rights campaigner, prominent in the movements for equal opportunity for African Americans, known for his opposition to violent protest

**Jack Lynch**  

**Eddie MacAteer**  
Derry politician, leader of the Nationalist Party in Northern Ireland from 1964-1969, prominent campaigner for a University for Derry

**Séamus Mallon**  
Civil rights campaigner, member of the SDLP from 1970 and Deputy Leader of the party from 1979-2001. He represented Armagh in the Northern Ireland assembly (1973-4) and sat on the Armagh District Council (1973-89). He argued that Northern Ireland’s crisis could not be resolved without the assistance of the government of the Republic of Ireland.

**W.H. Mol**  
Member of the Lockwood Committee, Headmaster of Ballymena Academy and President of the Ulster Headmasters' Association
Miss A. R. Murray
Member of the Lockwood Committee. Vice-President of the British Federation of Business and Professional Women and Tutor-in-Charge of the University of Cambridge College, New Hall.

Keith Murray
Chairman of the British University Grants Committee from 1953 to 1963

Rúairí Ó Brádaigh [Rory O’Brady]
President of Provisional Sinn Féin (PSF), the political wing of the Provisional I.R.A. 1970-83

Terence O’Neill
Prime Minister of Northern Ireland and leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, 1963-9

Ian Paisley
Clergyman and politician, founding member of the Free Presbyterian Church in 1951 and of the Democratic Unionist Party in 1971. The DUP rejected the Sunningdale Agreement and Paisley was active in the UWC strike of 1974.

Denis Rebbeck
Member of the Lockwood Committee, Managing Director of Belfast shipbuilding company, Harland and Wolff

Sir Peter Venables
Member of the Lockwood Committee. Principal of the College of Advanced Technology, Birmingham.

George Walker
Clergyman who helped to organize Derry’s defence against the forces of James II in the 1689 siege of the city

King William III
King of Britain and Ireland from 1689-1702, following a revolt which deposed his Catholic father-in-law, James II. Battles between the forces of James and William were fought in Scotland and Ireland: Derry survived a siege by James’s supporters in 1689.

Harold Wilson
Labour Party MP, British Prime Minister 1964-70 and 1974-76. Harold Wilson became Prime Minister for the third time in February 1974, replacing Ted Heath whose Conservative government had overseen the introduction of the Northern Ireland Assembly and power-sharing executive. His speech on 25 May 1974 condemning the UWC strike aroused huge resentment among unionists.
GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

Act of Union
The Act of Union of 1800 united Great Britain and Ireland under the parliament at Westminster, abolishing a separate Irish parliament. It came into effect on 1st January, 1801.

Apprentice Boys of Derry
Brotherhood founded in 1814 to commemorate and celebrate two events of Derry’s siege: the shutting of the city gates by the thirteen apprentices (December 1688) and the end of the siege without surrender to James II (August 1689). The society has branches throughout the UK and in North America.

Barry’s Law
Peter Barry was Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Republic of Ireland 1982-7: ‘Barry’s Law’ was a phrase used by some Unionists hostile to the Anglo-Irish agreement of 1985 to describe the prospect of being ruled from Dublin.

Battle of the Boyne
Battle between the forces of William III and James II in 1690 which ended with a decisive victory for William III. Orangemen celebrate the anniversary of the battle on 12th July.

Bogside
An area outside Derry’s city walls. By the 1960s, the Bogside was an estate where part of Derry’s Catholic population lived in overcrowded council housing. The Bogside became a centre of radical nationalism during the Troubles.

St Columb’s Cathedral
Church of Ireland Cathedral in Derry, built in 1633. Celebrations by the Apprentice Boys of Derry traditionally feature services at St Columb’s.

Council of Ireland
An institution to be established under the Sunningdale Agreement. Members would be representatives from the governments of Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic. The council would focus on discussing common policies in certain areas, mostly related to shared economic problems and ventures. The council’s functions were disputed, and were to be limited, but it was significant because it would represent an attempt to introduce formal cooperation in the governance of the North and the Republic.

Direct Rule
The administration of Northern Ireland from Westminster instead of a regional parliament. Direct rule was introduced to Northern Ireland in 1972 when the Stormont Parliament was suspended. Since 1972, the British Government has appointed a Secretary for Northern Ireland to oversee direct rule.

Exchequer
The British government department responsible for government income and spending: informally, the word is used to refer to the money spent by this department on public projects.

Fountain Estate
A traditionally strongly Loyalist area of Derry
Grammar School
Selective secondary school: those existing in Northern Ireland in the 1960s were designed to cater for the top 25% of students.

Hansard
The printed record of British Parliamentary sessions

H.N.C.
Higher National Certificate: work-related higher education qualification, reformed in the 1960s so that it could act as one route to university programmes

Internment
Internment without trial was used against the IRA on several occasions. Most controversially, in August 1971, the Northern Irish Prime Minister Brian Faulkner introduced a new law authorizing the holding of suspected terrorists without trial, and without any limit on the term of imprisonment. The policy targeted nationalists, with a far smaller number of unionists interned and led to an immediate escalation in sectarian violence. Internment did not lead to stability and was suspended in 1975.

IRA
The Irish Republican Army: the main republican paramilitary group involved in the conflict in Northern Ireland. The I.R.A. had existed in several forms before 1972: in that year the Provisional I.R.A. emerged as the leader of violence in the republican cause. The I.R.A. is thought to have been responsible for over 1,750 deaths between 1969 and 1993.

Jalopy
Slang term for an old, battered car

Lampeter
The oldest university in Wales: a small institution for which the Robbins Report recommended expansion. It built stronger ties in the 1960s with the University of Wales, of which Cardiff University was a member.

LAW
The Loyalist Association of Workers: founded in 1971 and active until 1974. The organisation was especially active in protest against the Sunningdale Agreement, and was to a great extent absorbed into the Ulster Workers’ Council (UWC) in 1973. A journal, also called the Loyalist Association of Workers was published by this group.

Liberal Arts College
A type of third level institution common in North America, usually focusing on teaching rather than research, emphasising the virtues of a broad education rooted in the humanities, and small in comparison with other universities. Liberal Arts Colleges tend to have lower running costs than research-intensive universities.

Lockwood Committee
The Committee established in 1963 to consider the future development of higher education in Northern Ireland. The committee’s recommendations, presented in 1965, included the foundation of a second university, to be located in Coleraine, and excluded the option of granting university status to Magee College.
Magee College
Founded in 1865 to prepare students to enter the Presbyterian ministry, the College eventually began to send students wishing to earn degrees in arts and sciences to Trinity College Dublin for the last two years of their studies. It was hoped that Magee would be raised to university status (and able to grant its own degrees) as part of a new institution in Derry. After the Lockwood report recommended that a second Northern Irish university should be founded in Coleraine, protest at the sidelining of Magee led to the decision in 1969 to incorporate the college into the New University of Ulster.

Minister in the Senate
Cabinet member who represented the Northern Irish Prime Minister in the Northern Ireland Senate

New City
Craigavon, County Armagh, founded as a new town in 1965 to relieve pressure on Belfast.

Northern Ireland Assembly
For 1973 and 1974, this refers to the elected assembly established to govern Northern Ireland: the Northern Ireland Constitution Act, 1973, sought to ensure that it would function under a power-sharing executive, so that Ministers came from both nationalist and unionist parties. The assembly was closed down with the executive in May 1974 after the UWC strike.

Northern Irish Civil Rights Association
Founded after meetings between representatives of all of Northern Ireland’s political parties, the NICRA campaigned publicly in support of the rights of the Catholic minority between 1967 and 1972. NICRA organised the anti-internment march of 30th January 1972 which saw thirteen protesters shot dead by soldiers from the First Parachute Regiment of the British Army.

Provisional IRA
See I.R.A.

Queen’s University Belfast
Queen's University Belfast was founded as one of three ‘Queen’s Colleges’ in 1845, receiving full university status in 1908 and was the only university in Northern Ireland until 1968. It had 3570 students in 1960. The Queen’s University’s Student Representative Council was in favour of Derry as site of the new university.

Robbins Report
The Robbins Report on Higher Education was produced by a committee chaired by Lionel Robbins between 1961 and 1964. It called for the creation of over 100,000 new university places within the following decade.

Stormont
Popular name for the Parliament Building, in the grounds of Stormont Castle, which was opened in 1932. The word was also used to refer to the Northern Ireland parliament itself which was suspended in 1972.

Sunningdale
The ‘Sunningdale Agreement’ was a set of proposals agreed at a conference in Sunningdale, Berkshire, on 9th December, 1973. The conference was held to resolve the question of an ‘Irish dimension’ which had been demanded by nationalists who were involved in the prior agreement to establish a power-sharing executive. The conference was attended by the parties supporting the
establishment of the executive, as well as representatives of the British and Irish governments. The most contentious proposal was the planned establishment of a ‘Council of Ireland’.

UDA
Ulster Defence Association: The main Loyalist paramilitary group active during the ‘Troubles’, established in 1971, operating under the cover-name of the Ulster Freedom Fighters when admitting to illegal activities. Cooperated with Ulster Vanguard and the L.A.W. in protesting against direct rule and power-sharing in 1972-4. The U.D.A. was essential to the success of the U.W.C. strike, during which it organised the road-blocks which paralysed economic life.

Ulster Vanguard
The Ulster Vanguard movement, led by William Craig, was most active in the early 1970s: it brought together Unionists from several parties who attempted to exert pressure on their fellow Unionists, believing that Northern Ireland must be prepared to act independently and defend itself.

University Grants Committee (U.G.C)
The University Grants Committee (1919-88) was responsible for judging the needs and performance of British universities and making recommendations on government policy and funding.

UWC
Ulster Workers’ Council: Loyalist organisation founded in 1974 by workers previously attached to the Loyalist Association of Workers. The U.W.C directed the strike which brought down the Northern Ireland Assembly and power-sharing executive in that year.

Westminster
Westminster is the seat of the UK Parliament, and the word is often used to refer to the Parliament itself.

Whitehall
Whitehall Street in London is associated with the civil service attached to the UK parliament.
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Exploring the evidence

1. What institution is represented by the character in this cartoon?
2. What do the details of the cartoon suggest about the financial situation of the university represented?
3. What sort of 'support' is the institution seeking?
4. What impression of the existing universities could be created by this cartoon?
5. What impression does the cartoon create of the relationship between older universities and the institutions established through the Robbins report?
6. How might this cartoon encourage contemporaries to campaign for a local university?
Document 2

**John Hume** reflects on the background to his role in the University for Derry campaign and the consequences of that involvement

Our growing sense of isolation was enhanced by the closure of our rail links to Donegal in 1953 and to Dublin in 1965, and the subsequent downgrading of the link to Belfast. When Prime Minister [Terence] O'Neill embarked on a modernisation campaign in 1963, he focused on the area to the east of the River Bann, overlooking Derry and its environs. The final straw was the recommendation, in 1965, that a new university be constructed in the small neighbouring town of Coleraine, rather than in the city of Derry, which already had the historic buildings of Magee College, the obvious site for a new seat of learning. All of these grievances produced an inevitable momentum, which led to the dynamic and widely supported campaign. And all of it is encapsulated in Seamus Deane's poem 'Derry':

The unemployment in our bones,
Erupting in our hands like stones:
The thought of violence a relief
The act of violence a grief;
Our bitterness and love
Hand in glove...

**Monologue and Dialogue**

These were the conditions that led me into public life. I had been one of the lucky ones: I was the first of my generation to take advantage of the 1947 Education Act and get myself to university. My education allowed me to put something back into my community. I became involved in housing and poverty and self-help organisations. Along with others, I helped establish the Derry Credit Union movement - the first in Northern Ireland - in 1960, and the Derry Housing Association in 1965. That was followed by the development of a small smoked salmon enterprise, housed near the city and acquiring the salmon, naturally, from the Foyle, one of the biggest salmon fisheries in Europe...

I became chairman of the University for Derry campaign when both traditions in the city united in protest against the decision to site the new university in Coleraine. It was a battle we'd lost before we began, but it was still significant, showing us the potential for moving forward through non-violent direct action. In later years, the futility of establishing the university on a greenfield site was exposed. And I am proud to say that today the Magee campus of the University of Ulster is flourishing in Derry, and I hold the Tip O'Neill Chair in Peace Studies there. This has allowed me to bring international figures to the city to discuss many key aspects of conflict transformation - among them Bill and Hillary Clinton, Kofi Annan, Michel Rocard, Romano Prodi, Kadar Asmal, Bertie Ahern, Garret FitzGerald and Maurice Hayes.

This campaign was my personal introduction to the potency of non-violent direct action. We had watched and applauded the principled tactics of Martin Luther King in the southern states of America, and he has remained a hero for me. One of my proudest moments, many years later, was to found a lasting friendship with his widow and family when I was awarded the Martin Luther King Prize. The American civil rights movement in the 1960s gave birth to our own. Their successes were, for us, a cause of hope. The songs of their movement were also ours. It was Martin Luther King's wise counsel that violence is both impractical and immoral as a means of justice that rang in our ears.
Exploring the evidence

1. Why, according to Hume, was it clear that Derry should be chosen as the location for the new university?
2. What developments in Northern Ireland before 1965 had affected Derry's status?
3. What role did Hume play in campaigns to promote Derry as a university site?
4. What comparisons does Hume draw between campaigns in Northern Ireland and the U.S.A.? Do these comparisons seem justified?
5. Hume cites Seamus Deane's poem, 'Derry'. How well does the extract from the poem fit with the account he gives here of the development of protest movements in Northern Ireland?
6. What evidence in this account demonstrates that it was written some time after the publication of the Lockwood report? Does the fact that it was written so much later detract from the value of the source?
A civil servant’s note from 1962 regarding contacts with the University Grants Committee and government thinking on the issue of Magee College (edited)

Note of Meeting

Mr. Dunbar and I saw Sir Keith Murray, Chairman of the U.G.C., on 24th January. We explained to Sir Keith that we were anxious to have the advice of the U.G.C. about the future of Magee but that recently the question of Magee had become linked with the wider one of whether there was a need for a second university institution in Northern Ireland. We described the general position:

the history of our relations with Magee;
the focussing of attention on the possibility of a second university as a result of recent statements about overcrowding at Queens and the amount of expansion envisaged there; and
the rival claims of Armagh.

Sir Keith said that he would not be in favour of tacking a visit to Magee on to the U.G.C.’s forthcoming visitation. He would prefer to take two bites at this particular cherry. In the ensuing discussion the following points were noted:-

There were close similarities between Magee and Lampeter; the U.G.C. did not deal with Lampeter direct but through Cardiff. An analogous arrangement would have to be worked out for Magee.
If the Robbins Report came out in favour of Liberal Arts Colleges, this might be a suitable solution for Magee.

In the U.G.C’s view a university should have at least 3,000 students but a Liberal Arts College could be considerably smaller. There are plenty of precedents in G.B. for a University of the status of Queen's expanding to take a student population of 6,000 or so.

We did not think that there would be any strong feeling in Northern Ireland if the U.G.C., an English body, was called in to advise on a university - except from the disappointed claimants. We thought that there was a general acceptance of the U.G.C's role as experts.

Sir Keith Murray said that subject to Treasury approval (which we undertook to obtain) the U.G.C. would be prepared to advise us; if the decision was reached that a second university was required then the choice of a site (Magee, Armagh or elsewhere) could be entrusted to the New Universities Sub-Committee. It was agreed that the logical sequence was

Examine the capacity of Queen's in the light of future demands.
Form a judgement whether a second University was necessary in the light of (1) and of the Robbins Report.
If the decision was in favour of a second university, investigate the rival claims of Magee and Armagh.

We explained that it was desirable that the Minister should say something on the subject when introducing his Estimates in early April. It was agreed that the statement should be on the following lines:
The U.G.C. were due to make their quinquennial visitation to Queen's very shortly. As part of it they would be examining and reporting on the capacity of Queen's to meet the probable demand for university places in Northern Ireland. This would throw light on the need for a second university but it would be wise to await the appearance of the Robbins Report which would deal with all aspects of Higher Education (Universities, Teacher Training Colleges, Colleges of Technology, Liberal Arts Colleges) and might suggest a different balance between the parts.

It was arranged that we should send Sir Keith a draft of the statement which the Minister would like to make. Sir Keith asked to have it by 8th February.

Source: NI Ministry of Finance, internal memorandum, detailing contact between Stormont government and University Grants Committee, dated 29 January, 1962. PRONI FIN 18/41/8

Exploring the evidence

1. What decision does Sir Keith make regarding an official visit to Magee College?
2. What concerns are expressed here about the student population of Queen's University Belfast?
3. What points are made here against the establishment of a second university in Northern Ireland?
4. “If the Robbins Report came out in favour of Liberal Arts Colleges, this might be a suitable solution for Magee”. Why should this be the case?
5. Does the author of the memo seem to feel that the future of Magee College is a sensitive issue?
6. It is asserted that the Minister should include a statement on these matters in his Estimates. Why should the “question of Magee” be linked with a statement on coming expenditure?
7. To what extent does this discussion suggest that Magee College would be the favoured location if a second university were built?
An extract from the minutes of the sixth meeting of the Lockwood Committee, March 1964

Committee on University and Higher Education: Minutes of the Sixth meeting on March 12, 13, 14

... Matters arising from the minutes

(a) Magee University College. The Assistant Secretary referred to the second paragraph on the second page of the minutes and said that the records of the General Assembly did not include any resolution about the representation of the Presbyterian Church on the Board of Trustees of Magee University College. Presumably the point had been made during the discussion by the Assembly in 1962 on a resolution advocating the development of Magee into a second University. This confirmed the impression that the question of representation had not been fully thought out or debated by the Presbyterian Church.

In discussing the visit to Magee University College, the Committee agreed that because of its circumscribed mental outlook and its cramped physical situation the College could not be adjudged the best nucleus for a major expansion. There was, for example, a willingness to accept standards (e.g. in provision of 15 laboratories for Science teaching) which were low by university criteria, although, admittedly, the lack of funds had compelled improvisation. The placing of the older members of staff would create problems and the denominational background of the College would slow down its acceptance generally. The evidence submitted by the Londonderry County Borough Council showed a greater breadth of approach in its proposal for a University which would incorporate Magee. Members had gained the impression that at heart the Magee Trustees and staff realised these difficulties and would welcome the opportunity of casting off the restrictiveness of the present situation.

The Committee agreed that if there were to be a second University in the Londonderry area, it should not consist of Magee alone, nor of Magee as part of a federal institution together with other constituent colleges but that it should be a completely separate, autonomous body absorbing Magee as part of its Faculty of Arts. In view of this, it would be unwise to raise expectations by asking Magee for any elaboration of its evidence; the Committee should be careful not to give the impression that it was even beginning to think of any development of Magee. If Londonderry County Borough Council were asked to give oral evidence, the enquiries should be clearly directed at its ideas about the nature and structure of a second University.

Source: Minutes of the 6th meeting of the Lockwood Committee, 12, 13 & 14 March 1964. PRONI ED, 39/3

Exploring the evidence

1. What objections does the committee have to Magee's current facilities?
2. Is the committee willing to see Magee become Northern Ireland's second university?
3. What is the committee's reaction to the proposal from Londonderry County Borough Council?
4. What problems are raised in these minutes concerning the relationship between Magee College and the Presbyterian Church?
5. Why should Magee not be asked to provide any more evidence to the committee?
6. How do suggestions in this document for the future of Magee College compare with those in source 3?
6. From the evidence of the minutes, how thorough does the committee seem in its enquiries?
7. How would you describe the general attitude of the committee to Magee College and its staff?
8. These minutes are confidential. What elements of the discussion recorded here might the committee have been reluctant to make public, and why?
On Friday, 29th May, Working Dinner Party was organised with a view to testing local industry on its future hopes and needs in the context of the Committee's work.

... 
Sir John Lockwood outlined the scope of his Committee's work and explained that the purpose of the present occasion was to try to uncover whether there were any particular needs of industry within Northern Ireland to which his Committee should have regard in framing its recommendations and, more generally, what the views of those present were on the direction of development which should be taken by higher education in Northern Ireland over the next twenty years. ...

Sir Graham Larmor [Vice-Chairman, Central Council of Irish Linen Industry] and Mr. Finney [Director of Moygashel Limited, Dungannon] spoke first and gave as their view that the principal need within the linen industry was for better technician training if anything but fundamentally their attitude was that the linen industry had sufficient capacity in workers if only some other source would supply the new ideas and purpose-designed machines to carry the ideas out. Mr. Finney spoke in the same sense on the new broiler industry in which he was interested: if someone else would produce a better egg his batteries could produce better table birds. Mr. Jefferson [Director of Messrs. William Ross & Company Limited, Belfast] on the other hand referred to the central research being carried out by the linen industry and gave the impression that he was not entirely in agreement with the approach of his linen colleagues present.

The representatives of Northern Ireland's newer industries, however, were firmly of the opinion that a better supply of Technologists was required if Northern Ireland industry, which from the standpoint of geography and raw materials was at an inherent disadvantage, was to be competitive in the outside world. Dr. Turner [Director and General Manager of Messrs. Davidson & Company Limited, Belfast] said that in his experience the Northern Ireland technician was second to none but that a more plentiful source of original thinking was required if the Northern Ireland product was to keep apace or ahead of its competitors. Alongside this there was a further need for more technician training and Dr. Turner thought that the new arrangements for H.N.C. would be helpful in the sense that they would drive directly into university work the young man whose abilities lay in that direction. The present hybrid arrangement distracted some talented young men into H.N.C. courses and brought only a small proportion forward at a later stage to university degree standard. At present the good H.N.C. man who had the capacity to take a university degree was not as marketable a product as the graduate. The future development of forward looking firms seemed to lie less in the expansion of graduate apprenticeships and more in the provision of sandwich type courses. Not least these have the advantage of keeping the realisms of industrial life before the students as he progressed through his course. There was some discussion also on the types of Technologist probably required in future years. References to Chemical Engineers were well to the fore and this led to some diversity of opinion on the extent to which graduates should specialise before they enter industry. The balance of opinion seemed to favour the view that less specialised undergraduate courses were preferable to those which led to specific qualifications in fields like Production Engineering. The larger firms seem to prefer to receive simply an Engineer whom they would later mould into the specialism particularly required in the particular circumstances. An interesting point made by Mr. Agate [Works Manager of Du Pont Company, Londonderry] was that the Du Pont Company has greater difficulty in holding Northern Ireland graduates than it has in holding graduates from outside Northern Ireland. The Company's best experience in this field is with young men who married Londonderry girls.
There was some discussion also on the needs of management especially junior management and again the linen industry was markedly conservative, the only requirements apparently being reasonably able young men from school, and not necessarily grammar school boys. It was, however, conceded that the grammar boys would probably go further in the industry. The attitude seemed in the main to derive from the "family firm" approach in Northern Ireland where sons tended to follow fathers into management positions. It was not, however, appreciated that even a limited supply of good young men from grammar schools would in the future dry up when university opportunities increase even further. The majority view among the industrialists was that management should be in the hands of those professionally competent within the industry but Mr. Frost took a more open view and said that in his experience the principal requirement was a good brain and that the direction to which it had been pointed in the university mattered little. He instanced his preference for the analytical approach of some Arts graduates to the testing of transistor circuitry. He thought that there was a substantial need for junior managers in new industry in particular. Dr. Turner mentioned a present acute shortage of Accountants.

In a more general field those present felt that insufficient support was at the moment being given by Queen's University to technological needs and found fault generally with the peculiar arrangement of the Joint Authority and the matriculation arrangements of Queen's University which have the effect of depriving young men who otherwise might have become graduates of the opportunity of university study. The more ambitious examples had taken themselves off to places like Glasgow University where the entrance requirements were not drawn in as traditional a form as the entrance requirements of Queen's. In saying this, the industrialists were not disparaging competence in language which they thought most important: what they opposed was the insistence on a language as a matriculation requirement. They hoped that more opportunity would be given for training in the practical use of language.

Sir Graham Larmor thanked Sir John Lockwood on behalf of the industrialists present for the discussion and expressed gratitude also for the hospitable surroundings in which it had been conducted.

Source: Minutes of 11th meeting of Lockwood Committee, 5 and 6 June 1964. PRONI ED 39/3

Exploring the evidence

1. What reasons does Lockwood give for consulting representatives of industry?
2. What views do the different representatives of the linen industry hold on the contribution higher education can make in their area?
3. What problems are raised concerning Queen's University Belfast?
4. In what ways do the industrialists see Northern Ireland as suffering from overseas competition?
5. What assumptions are made here about the type of person who will be employed by the companies in question?
6. The industrialists speaking here represent a number of firms which are no longer well known. What sources could be used to research these firms?
7. What comments by the industrialists might tend to work for or against the adoption of Magee College as nucleus of Northern Ireland's second university?
Minutes of the second meeting of an inter-departmental Working Party on Higher Education,
June 1964

WORKING PARTY ON HIGHER EDUCATION

Minutes of the second meeting held at Stormont on 9th June, 1964. The following were present:

Mr. Dunbar        Chairman        Ministry of Finance
Mr. Kidd          Ministry of Finance
Mr. Irvine        Ministry of Home Affairs
Mr. Greeves       Ministry of Labour and National Insurance
Mr. Jagoe         Ministry of Labour and National Insurance
Mr. Benn          Ministry of Education
Mr. Scott         Ministry of Education
Mr. Baird         Ministry of Agriculture
Mr. Young         Ministry of Agriculture
Mr. Jones         Ministry of Commerce
Mr. Green         Ministry of Health and Local Government
Dr. Oliver        Ministry of Health and Local Government
Mr. Darling       Secretary       Ministry of Finance

Mr. Dunbar said it was now almost certain that the Lockwood Committee would recommend the establishment of a second university and that they would also make recommendations about a location for the second university. Virtually all Departments were interested. He asked Mr. Kidd to outline the Committee's latest thinking on the subject.

Mr. Kidd said that amongst other matters they had considered the criteria used by the University Grants Committee in choosing the site for a new university in Scotland the main points of which were as follows:

(1) Are the locality, the site and the sponsors all such as would encourage a university to thrive?
(2) What kind of a university is being aimed at having regard to our particular needs? The character of a university has a bearing on its location.
(3) Will the area be such as to attract the right kind of staff for the university?
(4) To what extent is residential accommodation immediately available and how much will have to be provided?
(5) Will the site be available on suitable terms and with local financial support? Will the area offer any necessary associated industrial and research facilities?

Other factors before the Committee were -

(6) The concentration of population in the area bearing in mind that perhaps as many as five persons per student are needed to provide the requisite services and that the new university would eventually reach seven/eight thousand students.
(7) No student should be distant more than one hour's travelling time.
(8) The immediate, though temporary policy in Great Britain, was that during the present expansion crisis no Exchequer money should go into residences. This placed a heavy emphasis on the availability of living accommodation.
(9) The Committee felt that the new university should concentrate on biological science and that particular attention should be paid to marine biology which might become a speciality of the university. This would require a location near the sea. In addition the location should be suitable for an agricultural faculty. The question of a second medical school had been fully discussed with interested parties and there was little support for one. Similarly it was felt there was no case for establishing a veterinary school.

(10) The location should be as far removed from Belfast as was practicable to prevent the new university being overshadowed by Queen's and to enable it to establish its own character.

No decision had yet been come to by the Committee but it was clear from the last meeting (at which, unfortunately, there had been a number of absentees) that the trend of opinion was in favour of Coleraine for the following reasons:

(a) It was an attractive area which would not only appeal to university staff but could provide houses almost right away.
(b) It had the immediate advantage of ample residential accommodation in the nearby towns of Portstewart and Portrush
(c) It was thought that there would be no difficulty about a site.
(d) The area was thought to be suitable for marine biology and for agriculture.
(e) It was far enough from Belfast to ensure complete separation from Queen's.
(f) It was an area which had some scope for industrial expansion.
(g) It had a sufficiently large concentration of population.

The Committee had reviewed claims of Armagh and Londonderry and the New City. They were unanimous in excluding Armagh and Londonderry and the problem had resolved itself into a straight choice between the New City and Coleraine. So far it appeared to the Committee that the balance of advantage lay with Coleraine. It wasn't an ideal site but it was the site which to the Committee's mind offered the best chance for the success of the new university.

Mr. Kidd added that the Committee was still in the process of reviewing the claims of the rival areas and he was conscious that insufficient data had been available up to the present. A paper containing a wide range of statistics for each area would be prepared for the next meeting of the Committee.

The arguments against the New City were based largely on the uncertainty of its rate of development, its immediate lack of a sufficiency of lodgings, its relative unattractiveness as a living area compared with Coleraine, its nearness to Queen's and the undesirability of concentrating higher education in or near Belfast.

The suggestion that the Lockwood Committee should recommend a location and that the location should be Coleraine rather than the New City was challenged, particularly by Commerce and by Health and Local Government, on several grounds.

Many questioned the importance of the immediate availability of living accommodation. Even if substantial residences had to be provided the cost would be marginal in relation to the expenditure on tutorial accommodation. This would be Northern Ireland's only other university and the location should not be unduly influenced by so temporary a factor.

Dr. Oliver said that press reports of political agitation had unfortunately given a wrong impression about the future development of the New City. It was still his Minister's policy to press on with the development as originally conceived, and it was hoped to achieve full growth by the early 1980's.
There was no question as to the capacity of the team that had been assembled to get on with the job and it was confidently expected that the use of industrialised building techniques would overcome the present overloading of the building industry. It was understood that the new university would have a small beginning with at the most 500 students (and that not until four or five years hence) and its full building up would probably not be achieved until after the New City had reached its full growth. Express provision for a university was being made in the City plans and it was felt that when fully developed the New City would provide as attractive an environment as any area in Northern Ireland. If the university was to be put in Coleraine, a fresh concentration of planning effort would be required for that area: possibly a new town centre would be needed. This could involve the Government in a change of planning priorities to cope with a position which had hitherto not been envisaged.

Mr. Green said that to place the new university outside the New City would be a vote of no confidence in the New City and might give it a blow from which it would not recover. He also felt that there were grave political dangers in allowing the Lockwood Committee to make recommendations on the location of the university. The Government might well find that for wider reasons than would concern the Committee it would be necessary to reject the Committee's recommendations and this could be embarrassing for both Government and Committee.

Mr. Brook said that the New City was the area outside Belfast where industrial expansion could be counted on. The Coleraine area was a very doubtful speculation from that angle. His Ministry was anxious to make the New City as attractive to industrialists as possible and the presence of the new university there would help.

Mr. Baird questioned whether marine biology was a solid plank for the new university. The numbers of students would be very small relatively and he felt this aspect was not sufficiently important to affect the choice of site. Mr. Green further questioned whether Coleraine was, in fact, a suitable location for marine biology in view of the very exposed nature of the north coast. Had this point been examined by experts? Carlingford Lough might well be shown to be more suitable and was reasonably accessible from the New City.

The idea of separation from Queen's by physical distance was challenged generally. On the one hand the motorways, would bring all parts of Northern Ireland so close together as to make more distance of little account and on the other hand it was possible for completely different types of university to exist close together.

Mr. Young made the point that the location should be decided on the ground of what was best for the university and not what was best for any particular locality.

The question of what action, if any, should be taken to alter the course of events in the Lockwood Committee was fully discussed but no definite conclusion was reached. It was agreed after the Working Party had broken up that [the] Ministers of Finance, Health and Education should be made aware of the position.

Source: Minutes of 2nd meeting of Working party (advisory to Lockwood Committee), 5 and 6 June 1964. PRONI FIN 58/11

**Exploring the evidence**

1. What, according to these minutes, is the current position of the Lockwood Committee?
2. What arguments are presented here in favour of the New City as location for a new university?

3. What evidence does this document provide of the committee's hopes for the future development of Northern Ireland?

4. To what extent does the working party seem to favour Coleraine as a location for the new university?

5. How, according to the last paragraph, does the working party plan to deal with the Lockwood Committee's recommendation?

6. “Mr. Young made the point that the location should be decided on the ground of what was best for the university and not what was best for any particular locality”. Does the discussion recorded in these minutes suggest that the working party in general takes this view?
Cabinet discussions on the likely fallout from the Lockwood Committee report, January 1965

The Minister in the Senate said he favoured the idea of a second university complementary to rather than competitive with Queen's. There would, however, be very grave implications in any decision to "throttle" Magee. The Minister of Education replied that; for his part, he could not contest the logic of paragraph 226 of the Lockwood Report, nor could he ignore the that the University Grants Committee openly refused to recognise Magee as an institution of university standard. The Minister in the Senate observed that the staff of Magee had been given substantial salary increases not long ago, but the Minister of Finance said that the salaries of professors were still not at the university level. The Minister in the Senate replied that, whatever the status of Magee, people would find it difficult to understand why an institution of modest cost must be killed at the outset of a programme to spend a capital sum of £50 million on higher education, and to increase annual expenditure from £3 to £15 million. The Minister of Education commented that these figures seemed enormous in isolation, but were in fact comparatively modest in relation to a capital programme of 3,500 million accepted for Great Britain.

The Minister of Commerce said that, although the expenditure proposed might be justifiable in proportion to the effort in Great Britain, it would be difficult to justify decisions which would kill Magee and offend people in Londonderry, against a background of expansion in higher education throughout Northern Ireland. It would, in his view, be helpful if the Cabinet could have a Memorandum directed to the specific problem of Magee and possible alternative solutions. The Minister of Education replied that the position at Magee and the possibility of a "federal" solution had been carefully considered by the Lockwood Committee and that he felt their conclusions were inescapably logical. The Minister of Finance said that, while he accepted the Minister's position, he also felt that a detailed appreciation would be helpful. He agreed with his colleagues that the Magee question was one of exceptional difficulty. He hoped, however, that they would be able to avoid a situation where the preservation of Magee would prejudice the entire future of university education. The Treasury would be unlikely to view with favour an approach for financial support for a second university, coupled with a decision to maintain Magee in the face of the clear advice of an eminent expert Committee. There was the position of the U.G.C. to be considered. They were already somewhat dissatisfied with the state of university education in Northern Ireland. Since two members of the U.G.C. had served on the Lockwood Committee, there was a real risk that if the Lockwood Report was flaunted the U.G.C. might decline to take any further interest in Northern Ireland.

The Minister of Education referred to paragraph 215 of the Report, and commented that it was easy to understand why, using these criteria, the Committee had not favoured Londonderry as a location. The Minister of Agriculture, on the other hand, commented on the advantages of a residential university as opposed to one served by lodgings, and wondered whether a location on the outskirts of Londonderry would not be an acceptable compromise. The Minister of Education stressed, however, the need to devote available funds to academic facilities. If residential accommodation had to be provided, this would add enormously to the cost.

The Chief Whip said that he was afraid that the Lockwood Report would produce a dangerous and powerful "lobby", consisting of disgruntled people in areas which had hoped to obtain a university, such as Londonderry, Armagh and Lurgan/Portadown; elements in Queen's University [Belfast] who wished to see a great expansion there; and the supporters of Magee both in Londonderry and throughout Northern Ireland. To prevent this wide-ranging alliance of disappointed interests, he believed that in some way or other Magee must be continued as a university-level institution. In
reply, the Minister of Education said that wherever a second university was to be located, other areas would be disappointed. The best hope of riding out the storm was to stick closely to the Lockwood Report. As for Magee, it should be understood that the future of the Theological College, which in any case only had five students at present, was not in question. On the University-College side, the great bulk of undergraduates eventually took Arts or Science degrees at Trinity College, Dublin. Very few ever returned to Londonderry. From the point of view of the local economy, expansion of higher technical education would confer much greater benefits.

The Minister of Finance recalled that the Minister of Education had explained at the previous meeting that it would probably be difficult if not impossible to recruit a suitable Academic Planning Board for the new university with the pre-condition that Magee must be associated with it. He wondered, however, if it would be possible to recruit a Board while asking them specifically to consider whether Magee could be associated. If they could find a solution, such as conversion into a university-level college for teacher-training, so much the better; but if they rejected the idea, the Government would face the difficult decision to "phase-out" with the support not of one but of two expert bodies. Such a procedure might mean some delay, but a delay of another year would not be disastrous. The Minister of Education replied that he would consider this suggestion before the next meeting, but that he was anxious at the prospect of further delay in view of the need for urgency stressed throughout the Lockwood Report. The Prime Minister commented that in some ways university-level teacher-training might be a particularly suitable alternative use for Magee.

Source: Minutes of NI Cabinet meeting, 6 January 1965. PRONI, CAB/4/1287

Exploring the evidence

1. What reaction to the Lockwood report does the Minister of Commerce predict?
2. What reaction to the report does the Chief Whip fear, and what solution does he propose?
3. What are the different views on student accommodation expressed here, and how does this question affect the question of Magee's survival?
4. What compromises are proposed to reconcile the recommendations of the Lockwood report with the survival of Magee, and how are these compromises received?
5. Comment on the language used by the Minister in the Senate to discuss the possible closure of Magee.
6. What is the cabinet's attitude to the UGC?
7. What conclusions can be drawn from this report concerning the cabinet's priorities?
It is only four miles from Coleraine to the seaside resorts of Portrush and Portstewart. The three towns form a triangle of rich bogland. Somewhere here, a new university is expected to rise up from the brown earth within the next two or three years, eventually catering for a student population of 7,000.
Northern Ireland should have a second university and this is the best location for it - that is the view of Sir John Lockwood's committee on adult education. It is the view, too, of the Northern Ireland Government for in a White Paper they say they accept most of the Lockwood committee's recommendations. The news has delighted the Coleraine district and incensed Derry, the other principal contender for the university. This could become one of the stiffest political issues the Stormont Government has yet to face.

The impartial layman might ask why Coleraine was chosen in preference to Derry city, which already has Magee University College, or Armagh, with its long ecclesiastical tradition. Coleraine, many say, is just another Northern provincial town with none of the historical or academic significance of Derry or Armagh.

'The Ferny Corner'

According to the Book of Armagh, it was St. Patrick who named the town Cuil Rathain, or 'The Ferny Corner,' after a local chieftain had given him a site to build a church where some children were playing among the ferns. A number of religious foundations sprang up and Patrick himself placed a bishop here.

The town has a tidy, Presbyterian appearance - the population is 13,000, over 70% of which is Protestant. The great religious revival of 1859 brought the business of the town to a standstill for some days. Even the local paper was held up for a week so great was the religious emotion experienced by the compositors.

There is a strong Plantation tradition now mainly carried on by the Irish Society. The society was originally formed in London to administer the settlement and colonisation of two thirds of Co. Derry with English and lowland Scots and thus help to keep the Irish clans under control. The Coleraine town guide comments that “unfortunately the seeds of trouble have yet to be settled when these same clans were deprived of their lands to make room for the newcomers.”

The first “newcomers” came to the Coleraine area 355 years ago. They stayed and multiplied. Their later day descendants are now the farmers, merchants and businessmen of Coleraine and district: their cars choke the narrow streets, but they have, by their enterprise, contributed to Coleraine's success as a commercial centre.

There is little unemployment. There are four important industries in the town, including the American Chemstrand factory, where synthetic man-made fibre is manufactured. Coleraine also is a port and an administrative centre for Co. Derry.

It has also a prominent public school, the Academical Institution. Thus, the new university will be established near a town that is both ancient and modern, depending mainly for its livelihood on agriculture and industry.

Portrush and Portstewart, the other towns of the triangle, play a dormitory role in Coleraine. As seaside resorts their traditional reliance is on the few months of a northern tourist season. In contrast to Coleraine, there is an air of depression and desertion in the resorts after September. Paint peels off most of the bay-windowed boarding houses; the seaside landladies (sic) go into enforced hibernation: the cafes and coffee bars are closed and the juke boxes are silent.

But this picture of depression may soon change for the boarding houses and cafes of these two resorts. With the new university only a few miles away, the reliance on the short tourist season is
likely to be supplanted by the accommodation requirements of the new student population, which is expected to number at least 2,000 by 1968.

The availability of accommodation in the otherwise deserted boarding-houses of the resorts was one of the major factors submitted by the Coleraine-Portrush-Portstewart area to the Lockwood Committee. There are 2,600 places available in boarding-houses in the resorts, which represents the largest single block of accommodation available anywhere in the North. Their submission pointed out that this also was a major factor in the siting of the new University of Sussex at Brighton.

This, then, is a brief geographical and historical synopsis of the new university area; but who and what was the motivating force behind Coleraine's quest to have the second university?

**DRAPER**

It all began three years ago when Mr. John Moore (37), whose family have a drapery business in the town, had the idea of Coleraine becoming a university town. He was president of the local Chamber of Commerce at the time, and, at his suggestion, a "University for Coleraine" committee was formed, representative of the various local authorities in the triangular area. Mr Ronald McCulloch, the 37-year-old managing director of the Chemstrand plant, and Mr. Moore also joined the committee. Mr. McCulloch acted as secretary and Mr. Moore was chairman.

The committee, under the guidance of the two men, undertook a massive amount of research into the development of university education. Millions of words were read at the study. The committee appeared before the Lockwood Committee and presented their case orally. There also was a written submission, a booklet only one eighth-of-an-inch thick, and with less than 2,000 words. “We were concise and to the point,” Mr McCulloch told me. “We presented our facts fairly and squarely without any fancy dressing. Coleraine is the proper place for a university in Ulster and we tried to show that.”

They feel that claims of other areas have become clouded with sentimental issues. “We were not even sure whether the Lockwood Committee was going to recommend a second university,” Mr. Moore said. “We should all recognise that this is for the benefit of Northern Ireland as a whole and not just for the Coleraine area. It would be an awful pity if this became a political issue.”

Ronald McCulloch only came to Coleraine eight years ago. He is a married man with five children. “I am a Scotsman so I have no axe to grind in this particular matter,” he said. “Anyone viewing the situation objectively will see that the Coleraine area is the place for the university.

If Derry or Armagh had been chosen, we would have abided by the committee's decision and by the Government's decision. I suppose both places thought they should have the university because of their historical connections. We think that is completely irrelevant in this technological age.”

These two men are leading Coleraine's fight for the university. Coleraine, Portrush and Portstewart are completely behind them. Support also has come from the north Antrim towns of Ballymena, Ballymoney and Ballycastle.

“We are a united community here,” the Town Clerk, Mr. W. E. Henry, told me. “We have never had any religious troubles. All creeds and classes believe that we are entitled to the new university.”

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History Support Service, Documents for case study: *The Coleraine University controversy*
The farmers, landladies and businessmen of this area are looking forward with eager anticipation to 1968. But it may be a tough fight.

Source: *The Irish Times* - Monday, February 15, 1965 - Page 7

From *The Irish Times* digital archive [http://www.irishtimes.com/search/index.html]

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Exploring the evidence

1. What information does the article give about the religious profile of Coleraine?
2. What benefits for Coleraine does the columnist foresee?
3. How do the members of the 'University for Coleraine' campaign defend the decision to locate the new university there? How would their arguments work against Derry as a site?
4. Why, according to McCulloch, would Derry have felt entitled to be the site of a new university? How does his perspective compare with Derry's claims and expectations as expressed in other sources?
5. What is the impact of the photographs of the town published with this article?
6. What presumptions does the columnist make about his readers?
7. Is this article likely to convince the reader that “Northern Ireland should have a second university and this is the best location for it”?
A song reportedly written by Magee College students and sung at meetings held to protest against the failure to locate the new university in Derry, Spring 1965

John Lockwood, John Lockwood, lend me your grey mare,
Derry down, Derry down, down die,
For I want to go to Coleraine Fair,
Wi' Major Glen, R.B. Henderson,
Sir Willis Jackson, W.H. Mol,
Miss Murray, Dr. Rebbeck, Sir Peter Venables.
Old Uncle O'Neill and all,
Old Uncle O'Neill and all.

And what will ye do when you get to Coleraine,
Portrush and Portstewart. (But where's the Ballymoney?)
We'll propose a new varsity out on the plain,
Wi' Major Glen, R.B. Henderson,
Sir Willis Jackson, W.H. Mol,
Miss Murray, Dr. Rebbeck, Sir Peter Venables.
Old Uncle O'Neill and all,
Old Uncle O'Neill and all.

We'll bring out a report and we'll have a debate,
Derry down, Derry down, Derry down die,
Hould your whisht there, Armagh,
For you're always too late,
Wi' Major Glen etc.

John Lockwood, John Lockwood, your plans I would spoil,
Derry down, Derry down, down die,
Do you not know the boom town way down by the Foyle?
Wi' St. Columcille, King William,
George Walker, the Apprentice Boys,
Old Uncle Bob Lundy and all
Old Uncle Bob Lundy and all.

You've not heard the end of this shocking affair,
Derry down, Derry down, Derry down,
We'll take our mare's nest to the Parliament there,
Wi' Albert Anderson, Eddie MacAteer,
Paddy Gormley, Major Glover,
Johnnie Hume, Teddy Jones,
3,000 jalopies and all
3,000 jalopies and all.
And all the long night be heard shrieking and groans,
Derry down, Derry down, Derry down die,
From ole Mother Magee and her rattling bones,
Wi' St. Columcille, King William,
George Walker, the Apprentice Boys,
Old Uncle Bob Lundy and all
Old Uncle Bob Lundy and all

Source: Original typescript in Magee College Papers, 9.5

Exploring the evidence

1. Where does the author of this song stand on the universities debate?
2. What event is referred to in the line “3000 jalopies and all”?
3. There are three versions of the chorus of this song, each listing different characters. What is each list supposed to represent?
4. Why does the author refer to a varsity [university] “out on the plain”?
5. What impression of Derry's community is created in this song, and how does the author create this impression?
6. Can this song be seen as a reply to any of the criticisms of Derry and/or Magee raised in other sources? Are there important criticisms which are not addressed?
7. What are the different purposes that a satirical song like this can serve in a protest movement?
Letter from Sir John Lockwood to Sir Willis Jackson, March 1965

BIRKBECK COLLEGE LONDON
From The Master

Malet Street
W. C. 1.

Dear Willis [Jackson],

I much enjoyed the copy of the letter which you received from the Northern Ireland member of Imperial College staff. It was particularly encouraging on most of the major matters contained in the Report. I liked his comment on the final choice of Location. In my own experience most choices have to be arbitrary. What other way is there of choosing?

I do not know whether Ewing has been sending you copies of the Northern Ireland press in the volume that has come to me. Many of the letters and comments by various bodies have been extremely entertaining. It is good to know that some people regarded us as naive, incompetent and ignorant and that there is some gross disadvantage in being English. Nothing, however, pleased me more than the interjection of a member of the Senate in the course of a debate in the House that we "ought to be executed".

To cap all this I have just been invited by the Students' Representative Council of Queen's [University Belfast] to address them on 3rd May in a Conference with the extraordinary title of “After Lockwood -the future of Higher Education in Northern Ireland”. By one of those rare signs of real pre-vision on the part of Providence, I am having to give a public lecture here in London on that day so that I have an honest excuse for declining what might have been a rather dangerous invitation.

As you know, the Report was being debated yesterday and today in the Northern Ireland House of Parliament.

I can hardly wait to read the Hansard account of the Debate.

With my best wishes,
Yours ever,
John

Sir Willis Jackson, D.Sc.,
Department of Electrical Engineering,
Imperial College of Science and Technology,
Exhibition Road,
Exploring the evidence

1. What does this source tell us of the content of the letter which Jackson had forwarded to Lockwood?
2. What does Lockwood consider a “dangerous invitation”, and why?
3. What are Lockwood's sources for the responses to his committee's report?
4. What is the tone of Lockwood's response to criticism of the report produced by the committee he had led?
5. “In my own experience most choices have to be arbitrary. What other way is there of choosing?” Does this reflect the discussions of the Lockwood committee reproduced elsewhere?
6. Is it appropriate to use this source to judge Lockwood's attitude to the Northern Irish university question as a whole?
Mr. [John] Hume (Foyle): I gave notice last week that I wanted to raise today a matter which I regard to be of urgent public importance; I am speaking of the future of university education in Derry and in particular at Magee University College. Over the past few years we have been treated to what I would describe as double talk, vague comments and vague assurances from the Government side with regard to the future of university education in Derry and to some degree an attempt to mislead the public as to the future of university education in that city. Therefore I think it of extreme importance that hon. Members should have a look at the facts of the situation as they have developed since the publication of the Lockwood Report and since the decision to site the New University at Coleraine. I would appeal to hon. Members to pay close attention to these facts because what is being called in question is the word not only of the Government but of this House.

Agreement was reached between the then Minister of Education and the trustees of Magee University College in May, 1965; this agreement stated:

“The University College to be enabled to offer complete undergraduate courses, including honours, in a reasonable range of subjects in Arts (including economics and geography) leading to primary degrees of the new university.”

That was regarded by all parties at that stage to be a minimum, yet six months later, after a lot of negotiations had taken place privately, an arrangement was announced which has since in many people's minds appeared to supersede the agreement reached between the Government and the trustees. This arrangement has been described as a supplementary arrangement. To me a supplementary arrangement is one that adds to and does not subtract from the original agreement. The facts and the developments since would lead one to think otherwise.

The arrangement states:

“The University will in consequence assume direct responsibility for maintaining university activities in the College at or above their present level.”

I would ask hon. Members to remember all these phrases such as: “at or above their present level”.

That is the level of 1966. If one reads further this rather vaguely and woolly worded arrangement one finds some indication of what was actually in store when one sees:

“As the University evolves it is possible that it may be more desirable, academically and economically, to discontinue at Magee some of its functions.”

Yet while that was written in the agreement the chairman of the Academic Planning Board, Sir James Cook, was saying that what they had now agreed was in no sense a repudiation of the agreement reached between the trustees of the College and the
Government but that it represented an advance on that agreement and an extension of college activities which were envisaged at that point. It would seem from the public statements of the public persons involved that an extension of university activities in addition to the agreement was being planned and this was the distinct impression that was being given to the public.

But, meanwhile, while the public statements were being issued, negotiations were taking place between the Vice-Chancellor-elect of the university and the trustees and at that time part of a confidential document which the Vice-Chancellor had submitted to the trustees was leaked to the Press. The contents of that document are so important to the public understanding of what is happening to the future of university education in Derry that I feel they should be brought to the attention of this House. In that document two choices are offered to the trustees and faculty - and by faculty I mean the professional staff in Magee.

The two choices could be summed up by quoting from the alternatives offered. Choice A was offered and it was the agreement as the Government proposed. But what had the Vice-Chancellor to say about that agreement? He said:

“There would be no obligation on the University to maintain numbers at the College or to channel work to the College additional to that provided for in the Agreement. The University would be free to run courses parallel with courses provided by the College to such extent as the University thought fit.”

This is the important bit.

“There could be interchange of staff and joint use of staff by agreement between the two institutions, but there could be no obligation on the University to answer any responsibility for redundant members of the College staff.”

In other words, the choice was: “If you accept the Government agreement we don't guarantee you your job.” That is what the first choice was.

The second choice which was in the agreement but which has since turned out to be the arrangement was as follows:

“It seems probable that there could be a natural running-down of full-time undergraduate work over a period of years, but the University would be under obligation, if this should happen, to replace such work by other types of University work. Academic staff at the College would, of course, have the same rights and responsibilities within the University as all other members of the Academic Staff. The College Professors would be given University Chairs.”

There was the choice offered to the staff of Magee University College. “If you accept the Government agreement you have lost your jobs. If you accept the arrangement your jobs are safe, and those who are at present professors in Magee will, in fact, be given Chairs in the New University.” I would submit that that was a choice offered and that was a choice which represented blackmail of the Magee University College staff.
What this second choice meant was spelt out in this confidential document which reads as follows:

“If a scheme such as this were worked out, then I think it might be relatively easy to maintain a substantial undergraduate commitment at Magee for several years. At the same time, we would endeavour to build up alternative functions for Magee along the lines of extra-mural or extension work, Diploma courses such as in Social Science, Residential Courses of short duration. If, after three or four years, it became apparent that it was difficult to maintain full undergraduate courses at Magee, we would by that time have built up an alternative place for Magee in the University world.”

In other words, what people in public have been saying for some time is envisaged for Magee is a run-down in undergraduate activity and a replacement with extra-mural or extension work and with diploma courses. Thus the future of undergraduate university education in Derry is in no way guaranteed. These are all public documents by public people.

It is only when one looks at the clear facts that one finds what is happening. What are the facts? The facts are that the president of Magee University College, a man who had served this community academically for 40 years, resigned. What did he say when he resigned? He said, referring to the department of which he was professor, the Mathematics Department:

“Instead of a steady expansion of the department, as visualised at the time of the May 1965 agreement, with full staffing for general studies and honours, there is instead the prospect of a steady diminution, or even extinction, of the work of the department here.”

Speaking generally of the College itself when he resigned, what did he say? This is why he resigned. He did not resign for any other reason other than that he was dissatisfied with the future. He said he resigned because of the

“the lack of any capital development of the College by the Government;”

even though in paragraph 8 of the agreement capital development was promised immediately. He resigned because of the

“transference of staff and courses to Coleraine;

The prospective diminution of undergraduate numbers;

The lack of a positive academic policy for the development of the College;

The increasing stress on non-university activities.”

Meanwhile, what has happened? Economics have gone from Derry; geography has gone; mathematics has gone; natural science has gone and the majority of history teaching has gone. That is since the agreement. The student numbers have fallen from 1966, that is, in the last three years: 304; 324; and in the first year of the New University, 233. The first year intake, which is a real barometer of how the New University is treating Magee, is 146; 137; and 46 students respectively over the past three years.
The staff of Magee University College who are employees of the New University - and as such therefore their personal positions are quite secure - and who could not be described as having any vested interest in Derry as opposed to Coleraine, have come out recently with a strong statement in which they have said that there is a rapid run-down of the College - a rapid run-down - and that already over one-third of the staff are either living in Coleraine or buying houses there.

The students have similarly come out with a statement of concern and the Vice-Chancellor himself, in January of this year, at a meeting with the staff of Magee, refused to give any guarantee that undergraduate studies would continue at Magee. Would the Minister repudiate that statement or give that guarantee? Again, he claimed in part of clause 9 of the arrangement of December, 1966:

“Postgraduate studies will be developed alongside the undergraduate work of the College, which may well change in character and extent with the passage of time.”

He said that that clause could be interpreted to mean that undergraduate work might disappear entirely from the College; and, thirdly, he suggested that a viable future for Magee might be as an institute of advanced studies financed by bequests and appeals.

Those are the facts of the situation as opposed to the woolly public statements that we have been getting from the Government side of the House. No more recently than in the Queen's Speech, which opened this Session of Parliament, we had the Prime Minister - who, remember, made the whole question of the second university a vote of confidence in his own name in this House - again making a virtue of the fact that the Government saved Magee.

What I am saying here is that the word of the Prime Minister, the word of the Government and the word of this House is being tested by this issue because clear, public promises have been made which are not being kept and university education in Derry must be put on a basis where it will not lessen but expand. That is the only thing that the people in that area and, indeed, in the whole community, will accept. As I have already said, we are testing the Government's word on this. They have made an agreement. If they do not keep it then the word of this Government will not be worth two balls of roasted snow - and that is not very much.

Commander Anderson (City of Londonderry): Before I deal with the matter before us, may I take this opportunity to congratulate the Minister of Education on his elevation to the Front Bench? I think the House will follow with interest and, indeed, a great deal of sympathy, the spectacle of a poacher turned gamekeeper.

I am speaking on this matter today because I think there is much to be answered about the promises made with regard to Magee University College; I think it is better to speak now so that answers can be given. This is not a debate, for my part, asked for out of anger or to cause trouble. The reverse is the case.

I hope that a lot can be cleared up today in this House and that some satisfaction or at least some assurance will be given that the matter will be fully looked into and every effort made to implement the promises given by the Government some four years ago. I do not see why the matter cannot be discussed without heat but in an effort to
achieve something well worthwhile. I know that the Minister has not had very long to make himself fully familiar with all that is involved. However, I feel that time is of the essence and that the matter must be raised now or things might be done which would cause real trouble later.

I had hoped to raise these matters in December or January but I was asked by the then Minister and some of the Magee University College trustees to await the outcome of the negotiations then going on between the Government and the Presbyterian Church. It is necessary to get the sequence of events in the matter quite clear. First, after the Lockwood Report was published the Government quite plainly and unequivocally said that they did not agree with the suggestion in that Report that Magee College should be closed. They promised to keep the College as a university college and to establish in Londonderry a centre of higher non-university education. With the second promise we are not now interested but we will come back to it at a later date.

Secondly, we had the agreement with the trustees of Magee University College and the Government in May, 1965, which included the following statement:

“The University College is to be enabled to offer complete undergraduate courses, including honours in a reasonable range of subjects in Arts including Economics and Geography, leading to primary degrees of the New University.”

This the Government honourably included in the terms of reference to the Academic Planning Board of the New University in the summer of 1965. I quote:

“To make provision for the incorporation of Magee University College in accordance with the agreement made between the Government of Northern Ireland and the Trustees of the College.”

Then we come to what has become known as the arrangement between the trustees and the university authorities. This is a rather more vague document but it is quite clear in some respects. The important sentence is that with which section 2 begins. Again I quote:

“The University will in consequence assume direct responsibility for maintaining university activities in the College at or above their present level. This will secure the interests of the University College against any natural diminution in activity at the College inasmuch as the work to be carried out at the College will be considered in the pattern of work of the whole University.”

There are other clauses in this arrangement which, if interpreted out of context of the first sentence, will allow for the less principled operator to do almost what he likes with Magee University College. This, I believe, is to some extent what has happened. It could be said that there has been a death sentence pronounced with a stay of execution. The Government gave this arrangement their blessing and support and, so far as I can see, they have behaved throughout this affair with propriety and have tried to honour their promises.

Exploring the evidence

1. What was the agreement reached concerning Magee's future status in May 1965?
2. What agreement was made six months later? How, according to Hume, did it relate to the statements on Magee's future made in May 1965?
3. On what basis does Hume argue that the staff of Magee College have been blackmailed?
4. How, according to Hume, has the new university affected the student body at Magee?
5. On what basis does Anderson argue that the government “have behaved throughout this affair with propriety and have tried to honour their promises”?
6. What larger issue is raised by Hume at the end of his speech?
7. Both Hume and Anderson represent parts of Derry: is there evidence in this or other sources that they are cooperating on the university question?
8. To what extent does Hume's argument here correspond with his later reflections on the significance of the university question for Derry?