

The 2003 50p TWELFTH

CELEBRATION—NOT PROVOCATION



ISSN 1740-1925

1690—2003: 313th Anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne

We are not defeated. We will not be defeated ...

WE ARE THE PEOPLE!

FOR NEARLY thirty years the Provisional IRA waged an imperialist and sectarian 'hot war' against the people and nation of Ulster. Republican death squads have killed thousands of people. Thousands more have been mutilated or horrifically injured.

For a variety of reasons, the Provos have halted their squalid 'hot war'. The armed struggle is over - for the moment at least. They are now waging a cultural war of position - a new 'cold war'. And the Loyal Orders - in particular the Orange Order - have been at the receiving end of this cold war.

The Provos see themselves as the cutting edge of a pan-Irish national chauvinist 'broad front'. This includes Sinn Féin, the SDLP, Leinster House and some elements of the Catholic Church.

During the Provos 'hot war' all Prods were tar-



Orangemen on parade —targets for republican lies, threats and harassment.

gets - especially those with security force connections. This new 'cold war' still targets Prods - especially those who enjoy any form of public cultural expression! Orange Halls have been destroyed. Lodges have been prevented from taking their traditional route to Church services. Individual Orangemen and women have been harassed by orangeophobic 'demonstrators'. Parades Commission

records on the organisers of Orange walks and loyalist band parades have 'fallen into the hands' of the IRA.

However, despite the lies, threats and intimidation from Provo hate mongers, Europe's largest indigenous folk and cultural festival - the 12th July celebrations - still goes on. That's why Sinn Féin haven't let up in their campaign of lies and vilification of the Orange marchers, the bands and

all those ordinary decent folk who go out to enjoy the colour and excitement of the day.

That's why they focus in on minor incidents when some-one lets down his colours by bad behaviour. That's why they blow up out of all proportion incidents of people drinking in the street, or urinating in garden hedges. They want to give the impression that this is a problem that needs to be eliminated - an evil nuisance that has to be stamped out.

Let's not take this lying down. That's what this little paper's all about. We need to focus on the real reasons for the Twelfth celebrations. We need to shout from the rooftops our commitment to celebration, not provocation or confrontation. Although we have been bombed, we have been shot at and we have been slandered, we are not defeated. We will not be defeated ... we are the people!

Read *The Twelfth* on-line. Visit www.the-twelfth.org.uk/

The Twelfth in pictures...

THE GOOD...



HIGHLIGHT OF THE YEAR

The Twelfth is Europe's largest indigenous cultural and folk festival. For tens of thousands of Ulsterfolk the colour, crack, noise and atmosphere of the Orange parades are the highlight of the year. The 12th July celebrations are a social, communal and commemorative event. Ulster's streets are lined with children, pensioners and all ages in between. In an increasingly bland world of commercialism and globalism, it represents a genuinely non-commercial, non-class, grassroots expression of popular culture.

We reject those hatemongers who claim that the Twelfth is intended to be deliberately provocative. They are the real bigots because they hate all expressions of Protestantism, either cultural or religious. The 12th July celebrations should offend no one. The Twelfth represents heritage – not hate and celebration rather than confrontation.

THE BAD...

THE FACES OF HATE

From left to right: **Breandán Mac Cionnaith** (Garvaghy Road Residents' Coalition), **Gerard Rice** ('Lower' Ormeau Road Concerned Citizens) and **Donncha MacNiallais** (Bogside Residents' Group).

All have terrorist related convictions. Breandán Mac Cionnaith (born Brendan McKenna) was jailed in 1981 for carrying a firearm with intent, false imprisonment, and hijacking. Gerard Rice was jailed in the late 1980s for IRA membership and arms offences. And Donncha MacNiallais (born Dennis Nellis) served time for possessing arms with intent to endanger life. During his time in Long Kesh he went on the dirty protest and the IRA hunger strike.

These three hatemongers are anti-Protestant bigots. They are pan-Irish national chauvinists who hate any popular expression of Protestant culture. Therefore, all Orange, Black and Apprentice Boys' walks are targeted. These three hatemongers talk about a 'united Ireland of equals'. However, the truth is that they 'don't want a Prod about the place'. They are the real face of cultural imperialism.



AND THE UGLY...

ORANGEOPHOBIA

Pan-Irish national chauvinists – Sinn Fein, the SDLP, the Leinster House regime and some elements of the Catholic church – claim that the Twelfth is a '*sectarian carnival of reaction*'. Some go even further and claim that Ulster Protestants have no culture.



These pan-Irish national chauvinists are Orangeophobic – they have an irrational fear and loathing of Ulster Protestants. All these pan-Irish national chauvinists want is an all-embracing 'one size fits all' Catholic Gaelic culture. They are cultural imperialists who tolerate no dissent from their Hibernian culture.

Our picture illustrates the usual pan-Irish national chauvinist contribution to cultural debate. Many like the chap pictured on the left – goaded by people like Mac Cionnaith, Rice and MacNiallais—travel for miles to come to places like the Crumlin Road in North Belfast in order to be offended by men walking by wearing Orange collarettes around their necks. Their idea of 'conflict resolution' is to try and sweep all Protestants off the streets. They have no time for the concept of civil and religious liberties for all. Their cry is '*Proddy lie down!*'

WHAT THE TWELFTH MEANS TO ME

I ENJOY the colour, noise and banter of the 12th July celebrations. The Twelfth is a very exciting period. I regard it as celebrating freedom and definitely not an act of provocation.

If it wasn't for the Glorious Revolution of 1688, there may have been no American Revolution of 1776!

However, things can get very tense in Portadown during this period. This is because the Parades Commission (PC) has repeatedly chosen to ban Portadown District LOL No 1's annual pre-Twelfth church parade from returning home by way of the Garvaghy Road. The PC is a dictatorial body, which exercises the 'right' to prevent God-fearing Christian men from peacefully walking home from Sunday worship. No wonder the Orange Order refuses to talk to the PC!

I'm very interested in Ulster-Scots history, heritage and culture. As such, I see important parallels between the Glorious Revolution of 1690, the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the Orange Order's rejection of the Parades Commission.

I regard the Glorious Revolution as a freedom struggle. James Stuart believed in dictatorship - 'the Divine Right of Kings'. Thankfully, King William of Orange defeated King James II at the Boyne in 1690. The Americans' war against King George III was also a freedom struggle. Here the British State acted as an imperial aggressor. And I think many people will see the Orange

Stephen Jackson lives in the Orange heartland of Portadown, Co. Armagh. In July he celebrates both the Williamite victory of 1690 – and the American Declaration of Independence in 1776! He believes that if it wasn't for the Glorious Revolution of 1690, there may have been no American Revolution of 1776. Stephen would like to see more emphasis on the link between Ulster and America – as around twenty million Americans are of Ulster-Scots/Scotch-Irish blood. He feels that the Ulster-Scots are a "remarkable people" who have played a crucial role "in the fight for freedom against imperialism, oppression and tyranny".



Order's stand at Drumcree as part of a freedom struggle. On these three occasions, people have stood up to tyranny and oppression.

Whilst we celebrate the freedom struggle of 1690, I think it's also important to celebrate the American freedom struggle of 1776. Many folks know about the events leading up to 1690, but how many know about the events leading up to the American Declaration of Independence?

What's important to remember here is the role played by a remarkable people – the Ulster-Scots. The Ulster-Scots fled these shores because of anti-Presbyterian bigotry and oppression. They sailed to America, where they became known as the Scotch-Irish. They mainly settled in the Southern States – an area later known as the Confederate States of America.

Ironically, years after fleeing religious oppression here, the Ulster-Scots/Irish settlers were faced by an imperial oppressor in the form of King George. No wonder they formed the backbone of resistance to this royal tyranny!

The Ulster-Scots played a very active role in America's War for Independence, both in the making of the Declaration and in fighting to make it a reality.

Out of the 56 signatories on the Declaration of Independence on 4th July 1776, eight of them were of Ulster-Scots descent. They were: John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, Thomas McKean, Thomas Nelson, William Whipple, Robert Paine, Matthew Thornton, George Taylor and Edward Rutledge.

The great honour of printing the first copies of the Declaration went to John Dunlap, who had moved to America from a printing firm in Strabane, Co. Tyrone. The Great Seal of America was

designed by Charles Thompson, from Maghera, Co. Londonderry.

It was General George Washington who remarked, "If defeated everywhere else I will make my last stand for Liberty among the Scotch-Irish of my native Virginia."

No truer words did George Washington speak – as he knew that about 40% of his army was made up of people of Scotch-Irish descent. Men like General Henry Knox, the Second in Command of the Continental Army, Brigadier William Irvine, Richard Montgomery, John McKinley, General Andrew Lewis and General William Maxwell. All played an important role in America's fight for freedom.

We also must not forget the ordinary soldiers, both regular and militiamen, who helped make the Declaration a reality by giving up life and limb for their freedom struggle. These men showed great bravery and resolve, in the face of one of Europe's greatest armies.

Yes, I enjoy the 12th July Celebrations, but whilst celebrating 1690 I'm also thinking of the events that led to the 4th July 1776. Above all, I'm thinking of the crucial role the Ulster-Scots played in the fight for freedom against imperialism, oppression and tyranny.

My Old Man said follow the band...

The Twelfth looks at Ulster's Marching Band tradition

IN RECENT YEARS, Ulster's marching bands have received a lot of bad publicity. They have been accused of trouble-making, trampling over people's rights, and various forms of anti-social behaviour. Some criticism has been deserved, but much of it has been very unfair – if not maliciously and politically motivated. Clearly, something needs to be done to set things straight.

This is the thinking of the **Ulster Bands' Association**, an umbrella group for marching bands. The Association held a conference late last year in Broughshane to examine the future of such bands in the twenty-first century in the face of many challenges. Speakers at the conference came from the Ulster-Scots Agency, the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, the PSNI Parade Liaison Officer and Diversity Challenge.

The Ulster Bands' Association is not going to allow marching bands and their culture and traditions to be put down any longer. They are not resigned to hiding in cultural ghettos or to moan to one-another about not being understood, nor will they bury their heads in the sand and pretend that everything is all right and any problems are always someone else's fault.

The effects of this conference will have favourable repercussions for the future of the marching band culture in Ulster for years to come. As a start, the Association has drawn up a strict Code of Conduct for affiliated bands. A full report and commentary on the conference can be found on our website, <www.the-twelfth.org.uk>

In this fascinating interview, Iain McAfee— the chairman of the Association— talks to *The Twelfth*.

***The Twelfth.* When and why was the Ulster Bands Association formed?**

Ulster Bands Association. After a failed attempt the previous year, the Ulster Bands Association, as we are presently constituted, first met in March 1998 in a North Antrim Orange Hall.

The Association initially adopted the motto 'Unity Is Strength', as its original function was chiefly to unite all marching bands under one umbrella group, irrespective of political preferences, so that they may be better equipped to counter the growing number of attacks, especially through the media, on bands and the organi-

sation of parades.

Although in theory this seems sensible, such a strategy was and continues to be difficult to implement.

Bands in the most part are autonomous and retain an insular viewpoint. As long as their band has sufficient finances, members and faces no problems with hosting their parade, most are unlikely to feel the need to become members of our Association. The thought of any outside influence can also cause problems, even if that outside

influence is striving to improve the overall band situation.

Although it is clear that bands face numerous problems and the only way to counter these is by strength in numbers most continue to make the effort.

The bigger picture such as negative perceptions of bands and its effect on falling audiences at parades were also issues that the Association ini-

tially aimed to address.

Since then the number of matters, which the Ulster Bands Association has addressed, debated or confronted, has grown enormously. The many aspects that encompass the unique culture of the Marching Bands have surprised even long-standing band members who now serve on our Central Committee.

***The Twelfth.* You allude to the negative perception of band parades. How do you hope to change this perception?**

Ulster Bands Association. Since 1999 the Ulster Bands Association has had a Code of Conduct for its members. The code is in no way draconian but aims to deal with the problems

that we have (and we do admit we have some problems) in a common sense way. Ultimately, and mainly because of the autonomous nature of Marching Bands, it is for each band alone to make the effort to enhance its public image.

Because of the strong social aspect of the culture of the Marching Bands, it has sometimes been difficult for band masters/captains to deal with certain issues, without alienating its membership.

Contrary to popular opinion, the majority of





bands who regular parade week in, week out, have an internal code of conduct and plenty of bands have proved that they can still attract the younger generation whilst retaining discipline. Others however regrettably do not have such a code. There has to be a realisation amongst certain bands that their actions have affected the public perception and unfortunately it is the entire band community that has suffered.

Much of the damage that has been done to our reputation stems from the wild days of the troubles in the 70's and 80's, when there was not the same spotlight on parades. Especially with the political changes of the past decade and the concerted campaign by Republicans against our culture, there is now more focus on parades and the behaviour of participants. Although since those days the behaviour of band members has improved enormously, there is still a stigma attached to us.

In recent times we have especially encouraged our members to ignore the deliberate goading of Republican anti-parades protests. We feel that bands are singled out with the specific design to provoke a reaction that will be used to further discredit parades through a some-

what biased media, which seems to conveniently ignore the provocation of protestors.

From an Association viewpoint, we have a responsibility to take our message to everyone possible and promote the positive aspects that make up the unique cultural identity of the Marching Bands.

Never before has anyone, especially outside the Marching Band community, taken the time to treat bands as equals and try to talk to us about the difficulties we have. People have always been quick to criticise bands. Although many of the criticisms may be true, it is wrong to treat us all as criminals.

The Ulster Bands Association believe that once there is a greater appreciation of the positive aspects of bands, by both the general public and band members themselves, many of the negative perceptions that plague us will be dispelled.

The Twelfth. Could you tell us about your magazine and website?

Ulster Bands Association. The Ulster Bands Association's magazine *To The Beat Of The Drum* was first produced in March 1999. That first volume had

five issues however each volume since has been reduced to three issues (April/May, June/July and August/September).

The magazine is the Association's most powerful and productive propaganda instrument and has won us many friends. It gives the Marching Band community a voice which they do not have through a biased media or other productions.

The editorial has always attempted to make the magazines contents easy to read and understand so that our message gets across.

“We have encouraged our members to ignore the deliberate goading of Republican anti-parades protests”

Up-to-date Association news, cultural articles and basic information on the cultural identity and ethos of the Ulster Marching Bands supplement regular features such as parade dates and member band histories.

Approximately 1,500 copies are sold of each issue, the majority of which are available through and sold by member bands. It is the Association's only serious form of income.

To The Beat Of The Drum has undoubtedly been the success story of the Association since its formation and something that we fully intend to develop further.

While the magazine

has been very successful in explaining why bands and our parades are so important to us, it has its limitations. This does not however apply to our official web site. The web site is a vital tool in influencing the views of millions of people both home and abroad.

First launched in 1999, it has seen many changes. Since then it has had a number of webmasters which has unfortunately not helped with its development. At present a lot of work is required to give the site more depth and information.

This will take time, as like most things we must rely on the efforts of a few, of whom free time is limited. A very common problem throughout the Protestant/Unionist/Loyalist community.

It is fortunate though that many Marching Bands, in particular members bands of the Association have produced excellent sites which promote our culture in a positive light, however it remains important for the Association to take the lead and develop and maintain a web site that is effective in explaining, educating and countering the many misconceptions that exist about bands.

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LET'S TELL THE TRUTH!

ARE YOU fed up with the way the media reports the Twelfth of July celebrations? Are you fed up with pan-Irish national chauvinists painting a picture of 'Orange Monsters' rampaging through quiet and peaceful Catholic areas or the horror stories of towns and cities turned into 'ghost towns' because of the Twelfth break?

Are you also fed up with the inability of Orange and unionist leaders to

explain their position? You are? Then why not do something about it?

Take extra copies of *The Twelfth* and distribute them to friends and relatives at home and abroad. We particularly need to step up the propaganda war abroad. The article below is aimed at an overseas audience – that is why it has been translated from English into Spanish. Other language versions are planned. It shows how the 'Twelfth' is not some



reactionary sectarian circus but a turning point in European history. Far from being a hangover

from the seventeenth century, the celebrations are a distinct part of Ulster's cultural identity.

1690 – THE YEAR OF EUROPEAN FREEDOM



English

THE TWELFTH celebrates the Williamite victory of 1690. This was when the forces of William, Prince of Orange defeated those of his father-in-law, James Stuart at the Battle of the Boyne. This was no family squabble, but a real turning point in European

history.

King James II was a stout defender of the doctrine of 'the Divine Right of Kings', as practised in France by the 'Sun King', Louis XIV. Louis was the absolute dictator of France and James wanted to have the same dictatorial powers in England, Scotland and Ireland. In England, the principle had become well established that elected representatives of his subjects should check the King's actions and that those representatives should be able to make laws. It was by no means truly democratic, but it was a step away from

'absolutism'. It is not surprising that James encountered strong opposition, which led to his removal by William and his final defeat at the Battle of the Boyne.

The accession of William and Mary to the Throne was a progressive step forward for the British peoples. The Stuarts' tyrannical arbitrary power was overthrown and the Constitutional Monarchy and parliamentary government were established. (We now know that the system of parliamentary representation is not in itself genuinely democratic. However, it's better than the

royal tyranny and arbitrary power that James represented).

As we all know, the limited freedoms gained by the Glorious Revolution are still remembered today. Celebrating the Williamite victory is not a 'sectarian coat-trailing exercise'.

'The Twelfth' is Europe's largest indigenous folk and cultural festival. Historically and culturally, it inextricably links Ulster with Europe. It marks one of the most pivotal dates in the shaping of European history – for 1690 was the year of European Freedom.

1690 – EL AÑO DE LA LIBERACION DE EUROPA



En Español

El Doce celebra la victoria de El Príncipe William de Orange. Era cuando sus fuerzas vencieron la guerra de su suegro James Stuart en La batalla de Boyne. Esto no ere disputa familiar pero fue un evento que cambio la historia de Europa.

El Rey James II era un fuerte defensor de la doctri-

na de "El Divino Derecho de Reyes," como fue practicado en Francia por 'El Rey del Sol,' Louis XIV. Louis era dictador absoluto de Francia y James queria tener los mismos poderes en Inglaterra, Escocia, y Irlanda. En Inglaterra, la ley fue bien establecida que los representanes elegidos de sus subditos deberian de fijarse que las acciones de El Rey y esos representanes podrian hacer las leyes. Y no era realmente democratico pero fue un paso fuera del reino absoluto. No fue sorpresa que James se encontro con fuerte re-

sistencia y lo que ayudo a William quitarlo de poder y por fin, ocasionar su final derrota en la batalla de Boyne.

La subida de William y Mary Stuart al reinado era un paso progresivo para la gente Britanica. El poder tiranico de los Stuarts fue derrocado y la monarquia constitucional con el gobierno parlamental fue establecido. (Sabemos que el systema parlamental no es democratico en verdad. Pero es mejor que la tirania de la fuerza real y el poder arbitral que James representaba.)

Como todos sabemos las libertades limitadas ganadas por la "Revolucion Gloriosa" son recordadas hoy. Celebrando la victoria de William no es costumbre secta. "El Doce" es el festival mas grande de la gente de Europa. Historica y culturalmente une a Ulster con Europa y marca una fecha pivotal en el desaroyo de la historia de Europa. 1690 fue el año de la libertad de Europa. Y por eso es que debemos seguir recordando el año de 1690.

Thanks to Maria from Los Angeles for this Spanish translation.

The Sash my Father wore...

ORANGEISM IN SCOTLAND

THE ORANGE ORDER originated in September 1795 after the Battle of the Diamond in Loughgall, Co. Armagh. Here, Protestant residents successfully beat off an attack by a Catholic secret society called the Defenders.

And it wasn't too long before Ulster's most famous export made its way across the North Channel to Scotland. Thus Ulster Protestants who emigrated to lowland Scotland for economic reasons founded the Orange Order in Scotland. Recession in the linen industry forced many handloom weavers into ruin and the only way many of them could continue their trade was by migrating to Scotland where work was plentiful.

Ex-servicemen formed the first Scottish Orange lodges around 1807. They had returned to Scotland after serving in government militia regiments used to suppress the 1798 United Irishmen rebellion. However, early growth was very slow. Indeed, the first recorded Scottish 'Twelfth', held in Glasgow, was in 1821.

This all changed during the 1830s with the transformation of Scotland's industrial landscape. The modern textile industry replaced handloom weaving, and the coal and iron industries developed, as did shipbuilding. This scale of industrialisation ensured the survival of Orangeism. Indeed, it has often been noted that Scottish Orangeism is essentially a by-product of the

Industrial Revolution.

Politically, the Scottish Orange was very active. Their 'Use and Wont' campaign – to keep Bible study in Schools – saw many Orangemen being elected to school boards in 1873. After the Great War there was even an Orange and Protestant political party in Scotland. Also of great interest was the Scottish Orange's response to the Home Rule crisis. Around 6,000 heard Carson at a meeting in Glasgow – where seven UVF companies were raised.

In 1835, Scottish Orangeism fell upon hard times. This was because the Loyal Orange Institution of Great Britain and Loyal Orange Institution of Ireland were 'dissolved' for their part in the 'Orange Conspiracy'. This was a bizarre yet treasonable plot to place the Duke of Cumberland (Imperial Grand Master of the Loyal Institution of Great Britain and the Loyal Institution of Ireland) on the throne in place of Princess Victoria. In addition, the reigning monarch, King William IV was to be deposed for sanctioning reform!

However, in 1836, the Orange reformed as the Grand Protestant Confederation of Great Britain, later known as the Grand Protestant Association of Loyal Orangemen of Great Britain.

The Orange Order is well known for its family and kinship traditions. This is particularly so in Scotland where there is much more than the annual 12th walk or Burns' supper. Indeed, entire communities have evolved based on an ethic of communal solidarity and mutual aid.

ONE OF the most fascinating aspects of Orangeism is its family and kinship traditions. Many Lodges can boast links between the generations that span hundreds of years. Sons and daughters follow their parents into Lodges, where, in many cases, they will be related to other members. These articles first appeared in the increasingly popular e-zine, *British Loyalists Newsletter* www.worldwideloyalists.com and demonstrate this generational link. The authors both hail from the East End of Glasgow. Due to a climate of anti-Orange hatred and bigotry, both wish to remain anonymous.

Like Father ...

For years I had followed Orange parades. I'd never thought or even contemplated how I could become a member. I was never approached by any members on the road to ask me why I was not on the road with them.

But five years ago that changed. One member approached me and asked why I was always at the side of the road, and why did I not join. I told him I was waiting to be asked. He asked, I said yes, and the rest is history, but not quite.

After certain events, my date for joining the Order was set. Me - and my wee pal Joe - joined at the same time. My first meeting I was a bag of nerve's. My nerve's got worse at a certain other meeting, months further down the line.

Since that day, I have learned so much more of what my heritage and culture is all about. I have also learned so much more about the Protestant faith, from Reformionists to Covenanters. I have made bonds of Brotherhood, which will never be broken. Plus, I've made friends from all over the world.

On a wet November morning I made my first parade as an Orangeman. Now following parades, I loved the music. I loved that first tap of a drum. But this was different, this time I was on the road. The feeling of pride can't be easily described on paper, but the hairs on the back of my neck were standing.

It's no wonder I'm proud to be an Orangeman.

Like Son ...

For years I had wanted to join the Orange Order. I had marched beside the Orangemen with my Father each year from six years old. At that age the walks seemed to last miles, with the 12th celebrations taking a heavy toll on my young legs. But nothing would stop me from marching beside my icons and hero's. I loved the men and woman all dressed up in suits, dresses and hats, they looked so proud to be marching along. The reason to me at this time was unknown, but I had a burning curiosity and desire to learn about Orangeism.

My downfall was I had never been one for learning things when I was younger. So my desire although strong was tapered by my laziness to learn new idea's.

I followed each year, until one year my Father eventually joined. After years of wishing to become a member he had entered the fold. It had now become easy for me. My desire grew greater to the point where all I would speak about was the Orange Order. I was like a radio!

I eventually joined in November 1998. Although I wished to join for so many years, I felt no nerves on the few days beforehand, even after my investigation still I felt it was just my natural progression in life. I was to become an Orangeman and nothing would stop me.

My day of initiation arrived, still I felt no nerves. But during my initiation I was overcome with nerves, I was shaking like a leaf. After it I just sat and felt this burning pride within myself. It lasted weeks. I would sit in work and say to myself "I'm an Orangeman".

It was a pride I had never felt before, I thought nothing could compare to this. But then the day arrived when I took my Royal Arch Purple, and that is unrivalled. But then that's another story...

ANYONE who wishes to learn more about the Scottish Orange should read William Marshall's *The Billy Boys: A Concise History of Orangeism in Scotland*. Writing *The Billy Boys* presented William Marshall with two main problems. Firstly, as the Orange Order hasn't lodged records with any Scottish library, there are very few primary sources of information. Secondly, an impartial look at the Orange Order isn't very Politically Correct. As Marshall notes: "Orangeism is an unpopular and controversial subject shrouded in misunderstanding, half truths and mythology". Despite this, *The Billy Boys* successfully outlines the turbulent social, political and religious history of the Orange Order in Scotland from its origins in the late eighteenth century to the present day. For an online review see www.the-twelfth.org.uk/billy_boys.htm

No Surrender!

"The Twelfth of July Battle of the Boyne celebrations are a wonderful sight to see, probably the most fantastic display of culture in Europe which can be enjoyed by anyone who decides to accommodate the culture and spectacle".

WELCOME to issue 4 of *The Twelfth*. It is produced by **Glenwood Publications** to present a positive side of the 12th July celebrations and to counter the lies and misrepresentations told about Europe's largest indigenous cultural and folk celebration. For tens of thousands of Ulster-folk the colour, crack, noise and atmosphere of the Orange parades are the highlight of the year. The Twelfth is a social, communal and commemorative event.

The 12th July celebrations also represent a great common denominator. For instance, there is a broad spectrum of pro-Ulster groups. They range from those who support the union, those who want some form of devolution and those who support independence for Ulster. There will always be differences in personal and group politics. However, the 'glue' that binds everyone together is the 12th July celebrations.

Glenwood Publications would like to promote this form of 'Unity through Diversity'. We'd particularly like to meet other groups and individuals who are serious about promoting aspects of the culture, heritage and history surrounding the 12th July celebrations. We can win the PR battle around the 12th, but it will need a hardcore of people who are willing to devote all their available time to this project. This can lay the foundations of an alternative media of news and entertainment.

One such group who are doing their bit is the folk behind the weekly **British Loyalist** e-zine. The original idea for the **British Loyalist** e-zine was muted in England. It was seen as the ideal method of communication between loyalists, given the distances between Liverpool, Glasgow, Belfast and even rural Ulster. Representing a partnership between Ulster and Scots Orangemen, it has proved a big success. Its quality has surpassed all expectations - and is improving all the time. (The article entitled **Like Father ... Like Son** on page 7 first appeared in this e-zine). It has a large and varied readership, including politicians from all the main parties.

The 12th July celebrations are a social, communal and commemorative event. No one should be offended by the Twelfth. Now is the time for the Orange Order to reach out and extend the celebrations. For as Stephen Moore argued in our columns, the Twelfth is: "Ulster's Mardi Gras, potentially the biggest celebration and largest single tourist attraction Ulster and indeed Western Europe could have. If only the Northern Ireland Tourist Board, the British Government and the nationalist community would recognise it as such. It is part of Ulster's, Ireland's, Britain's and Europe's shared heritage and history and the very legacy of the Battle of the Boyne has produced the Europe we have today". (*The Twelfth* issue 2)

We realise that the 12th celebrations cannot be transformed overnight. A lot of thought and planning will have to be put into this. However it can be done. One only has to look at the way the Apprentice Boys of Derry have involved themselves in the 'Maiden City Festival' - a week long celebration of Protestant heritage, history and culture.

Why can't the Orange go one further than the Apprentice Boys? They have the numbers, the experience and substantial financial resources. They could bypass the naysayers and the orangeophobic bigots by transforming the Twelfth fortnight. It could be exactly that - a two week celebration of heritage, history and culture. We've already noted that the Twelfth is Europe's largest indigenous folk festival. Surely it's also now time to make it into Europe's longest cultural festival!

It may be some time before the whole 12th celebrations can be extended. But simple things can be done on a community basis. For instance, more - and much smaller - bonfires for children. Just look at how some districts turned out to celebrate Queen Elizabeth's Golden Jubilee last summer! There were street parties and community events everywhere with face painting, bouncy castles and so on. We think that this could be done easily and no-one - not even Gerard Rice - could credibly be 'offended' by children scoffing ice cream and jelly to celebrate the Twelfth.

Those folk who cherish the Twelfth and all it means - whether or not they are Orangemen - can win back support for the festival from those who presently keep away for fear of confrontation and violence. To pretend all is well, or to do nothing but drift on aimlessly will cause public interest to fall away even further. 'No Surrender' is not just a slogan. It doesn't have to mean hiding in a trench while opponents bombard us. It means taking back control over events and turning them to our own advantage. Let's do it. No Surrender!

THE TWELFTH

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ISSN 1740-1925

This issue of *The Twelfth* is dedicated to the memory of our dear friend and comrade, Harry Irwin. He was only 62 when he died on 19th September, 2002. 'Big Harry' was an enthusiastic reader of both *The Twelfth* and *Ulster Nation* magazine. He was a true Ulster patriot and was one of life's real gentlemen. Gone but not forgotten. In proud and loving memory.

MAIL ORDER MERCHANDISING

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The items listed below therefore serve a dual purpose - as each item sold helps us raise money to spread the word. We can guarantee that all money goes into building this mass media, as those involved with *Ulster Nation* and *The Twelfth* don't take a penny in wages or expenses. Please make your cheques or postal orders out to ULSTER FUND. For a new catalogue, write to the address below or e-mail us at catalogue@ulsternation.org.uk

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The Twelfth: what it means to me. Gordon Lucy and Elaine McClure (editors). A compilation of short contributions from a wide spectrum of often conflicting opinion on the subject of 'the Twelfth' celebrations. It is intended to promote informed and intelligent debate regarding the largest indigenous folk festival in Europe. 153 pages. Get your copy for just £6.00 (including post and packing).

