

‘Orangeism and the Twelfth: what it means to me’

**An account of a cultural evening
organised by
Ballymacarrett Arts & Cultural Society**

Contributors:

**Gordon Lucy
Ian Adamson
Sammy Wilson
Ken Wilkinson
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Gordon Lucy
Ian Adamson
Sammy Wilson
Ken Wilkinson
Elaine McClure
Nelson McCausland

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Introduction

On the evening of 27 May 1999, at the Harland & Wolff Welders Club in East Belfast, Ballymacarrett Arts & Cultural Society brought together a number of prominent Unionists to address the theme: ‘Orangeism and the Twelfth: what it means to me’.

What ensued was a lively and engrossing debate. By good fortune the invited speakers addressed the theme from a wide range of perspectives: some detailed the historical context within which Orangeism had developed, some gave personal accounts of their first childhood encounters with the colour and pageantry of the ‘Twelfth’, while others spoke of the cultural significance of Orangeism for Northern Ireland’s Protestant and Unionist community.

Not all the speakers were uncritical of the present Orange Order leadership. Some accused elements within that leadership of not having a clear enough determination to see the Order through the difficulties presently confronting it. Others felt that the Order’s refusal to talk directly to the Nationalist residents’ groups, currently involved in ‘stand-offs’ in Portadown, Belfast and elsewhere, was a major tactical mistake.

As the pamphlet reveals the audience too were just as divided in their opinions as the speakers, and a lively exchange of opinions punctuated the evening. However, what most of those present – panellists and audience alike – agreed upon was that the Orange Order was losing the ‘PR’ battle, and the institution’s inability, or unwillingness, to take adequate steps to rectify this was something which caused a great deal of frustration at grassroots level.

As if to underline this situation the organisers of the cultural evening had to admit that no-one from the Orange Order could be inveigled to speak at the event. At one stage it had seemed that a representative of the Orange Order *had* agreed to attend, but he failed to turn up on the night, with no subsequent explanation forthcoming. The complete absence of an Orange Order representative, during an evening devoted to Orangeism, only served to compound that sense of frustration.

Nevertheless, the event was an important one in that a worthwhile debate was engendered. Some of the invited speakers have since been in touch with the organisers, congratulating them on their efforts to instigate what is now seen to be increasingly necessary for *all* communities in Northern Ireland – an ongoing debate at grassroots level.

George Newell (for Ballymacarrett Arts & Cultural Society)

Michael Hall (for Farset Community Thinks Project)

Orangeism and the Twelfth – What it means to me

Sammy Douglas: Could I thank people for coming here tonight. What we're hoping to do is have a number of panellists who are each going to speak for about five to seven minutes on the theme: 'What Orangeism and the Twelfth means to me', and then we'll give everyone an opportunity to express their opinions or ask questions. The panellists are: Gordon Lucy, Ulster Society; Dr Ian Adamson, Ulster Unionist Party; Alderman Sammy Wilson, Democratic Unionist Party; Ken Wilkinson, Progressive Unionist Party Cultural Officer; Elaine McClure, Ulster Society; and Councillor Nelson McCausland, who came here tonight as a spectator and ended up as a panellist. We had hoped to have a representative of the Orange Order here too, but unfortunately, for some reason that hasn't been possible. Could I stress that all the panellists are speaking tonight in a personal capacity, and are not representing their parties or organisations.

Gordon Lucy

On learning that his father had undertaken to write the 'Penguin history of the seventeenth century', the young Matthew Kishlansky asked what no doubt seemed to be an eminently sensible question: "Was the seventeenth century decisive in the history of penguins?" The Professor of English and European History at Harvard responded gently with the observation that the seventeenth century was decisive for everything.

On the Twelfth Orangemen celebrate the momentous events towards the end of the seventeenth century which the Whig historians called the 'Glorious Revolution'. The 'Whig Interpretation of History' is not as fashionable as it once was but it is not insignificant that Lord Beloff, former Gladstone Professor of Government and Public Administration at Oxford, writing in *The Times* on 9 August 1997, did not hesitate to describe the Glorious Revolution as "the defining moment of the modern British state". The Glorious Revolution inaugurated the *decisive* shift in the transfer of power away from the Monarchy and to Parliament. Indeed, it was only after the Glorious Revolution that Parliament became a regular and permanent feature of political life. It may be justly observed that the Glorious Revolution laid the foundations of both our constitutional monarchy and our parliamentary democracy. Revisionist historians may modify the historical landscape but they cannot conjure its principal features out of existence.

The Glorious Revolution, and all the other benefits which flowed from it – civil and religious liberty, the independence of the judiciary and the abolition of censorship among them – were secured by the epic siege of Londonderry, the exploits of the Enniskillen men, the valiant deeds performed at the Boyne and, finally, the most bloody engagement in Irish history on the plain of Aughrim.

Ian McBride notes in *The Siege of Derry in Ulster Protestant Mythology* (1997) that the greatest of the Whig historians, Lord Macaulay, gave Ulster Protestants “a central place in the myth of the unfolding British

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Constitution”. Rightly so, and it is most appropriate for Orangemen to commemorate and celebrate these events and our ancestors’ part in them.

Being born in Enniskillen and having grown up on the outskirts of the town, on the Twelfth my mind turns inevitably to the place of Enniskillen in the quartet of ‘Enniskillen, Derry, Aughrim and the Boyne’. A certain James Lucy was one of those who espoused the Williamite cause in 1688-89. Whether he was an ancestor or whether he was constant to the cause I do not know but, generally speaking, only ‘the great and the good’ switched sides with alacrity. Enniskillen offers a stirring story to rival that of Londonderry. The town had its equivalents of the Apprentice Boys. In Gustavus Hamilton the town had an inspiring leader and in Thomas Lloyd, aptly nicknamed ‘little Cromwell’ by his men, a commander with a genius for something akin to guerilla warfare.

As the Rev Andrew Hamilton, Rector of Kilskeery and author of *The Actions of the Enniskillen Men*, a book written in 1690, acknowledged, Enniskillen’s efforts were of considerable assistance to the defenders of Londonderry:

... it is well known that during the whole time of that long siege the men of Enniskillen kept at least one half of the Irish army from coming to Derry, and kept them in so great fear of their coming to relieve the town that they durst never make a regular attack upon the place but were forced to divide their men, keeping strong guards at Strabane, Lifford, Castlefin, Claudy Bridge, Newtownstewart, Castlederg and Omagh, lest the Enniskillen men should come. By doing so they made the siege a great deal easier to the besieged. And therefore (as those who were best acquainted with the affairs of Derry do confess) Enniskillen does deserve no small part of the honour of that place’s preservation.

A member of Schomberg’s entourage who kept a diary provides an interesting but not altogether flattering description of the rough-riding, hard-fighting Enniskillen men – their reputations greatly enhanced by their magnificent

victory at Newtownbutler over a superior Jacobite force – on their arrival in Schomberg’s camp:

The sight of their thin little nags and the wretched dress of their riders, half-naked with sabre and pistols hanging from their belts, looked like a horde of Tartars . . . These brave people offered themselves as volunteers for the advance guard. Only they could not bear to be given orders, but kept saying that they were no good if they were not allowed to act as they pleased. This was such a contrast to Schomberg’s strict discipline that he decided to make an exception and let them go according to their own genius.

At the Battle of the Boyne a contemporary broadsheet records that William III was pleased to tell the Inniskilling men that he had heard a great character of them and therefore would do them the honour to head them himself, which accordingly he performed; for after he had passed the ford he charged at the head of them and they fought like tigers.

For any Enniskillen person the Twelfth is and ought to be an occasion for intense local pride.

The Twelfth is a day which combines historical commemoration and thanksgiving for the triumph of civil and religious liberty. For some it may also be a political event but most Twelfth speeches have only the most tenuous relationship to serious politics. Above all, the Twelfth is a carnival and a family day out. It is a day to enjoy the colour, the spectacle and the music of the greatest and the best folk festival in the British Isles, if not Western Europe. It certainly puts morris dancing in the shade. Besides being a cultural event the Twelfth is very much a social event. It is an opportunity to meet friends and renew old acquaintances and an occasion to exchange news and to chat. It is a day which evokes memories of childhood and past Twelfths spent in Fermanagh and Donegal. The combination of the Twelfth and seaside for a child is difficult to surpass. It also prompts smiles at the thought of childish re-enactment of the Twelfth on the days which followed.

Ian Adamson

Orangeism to me is centred on the personality, sensitivities and beliefs of William of Orange. Orange is a small principality in France. Many years ago, when we formed the Farset Youth and Community Project in West Belfast, we thought we would bring the young people from that area and other parts of Belfast to Europe to show them places of interest to themselves. One of them was Thiepvall Tower in northern France and another was the principality of Orange in southern France.

The reason why William, who was of Dutch extraction, was Prince of Orange, is quite complex, but his family inherited the principality from the French kings. William was descended not only from the French nobility but from the

German princes as well as his own Dutch nobility. But his mother was Mary Stuart who was the eldest daughter of Charles I, and this is often lost on many people. Mary has a tremendous influence on William's life: most of what he thought, most of what he was, he got from his mother, as his father had died before he was born.

Mary didn't really like Holland, she preferred England where she was brought up. And hence many of William's own sensibilities of belief were formed in England. I think Orangeism has a lot to learn from William. Orangeism has been founded around William of Orange, but one often wonders how much is actually known about the man.

He was a very devout Protestant, of course, but without that rancour and intolerance so prevalent during that part of the seventeenth century; indeed, he was extremely tolerant. The Dutch Republic was really the most advanced Republic of the age, in which flourished some of the world's greatest thinkers and artists. This was the time of Rembrandt, Spinoza, Grotius, Descartes . . . And the small Republic of Holland became the centre of civilisation in Western Europe. Here was formed the Bank of Amsterdam, which of course was the first great bank of the Western world.

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William absorbed a lot of this, as well as from his upbringing in England. That is why in the reign of William of Orange in England the Bank of England was instituted, the role of the Army changed completely, control over the Army left the king and went to Parliament. And of course, this is the time when the religious and political values which came to be espoused as modern democracy took their first form. So William then was not only a religious man, but an extremely political man, which is why he fought against Louis XIV, who was an absolute monarch, and of course against his own uncle, the Catholic King James II of England, who was espousing the absolutist values of Louis.

What also interested me in William of Orange was his ancestry. I have mentioned his Dutch, French and German ancestry but that through his mother he was a Stuart –he was a Stuart through and through. The Stuarts were descended in the main line from a Brêton, or 'Old British' nobleman called Alan, Son of Flaald, who arrived with William the Conqueror in 1066. These Breton nobles were descended from the old nobility of Britain, that nobility which had been expelled when the Anglo-Saxons, or English, invaded the mainland of Britain. And when the Normans came, under William the Conqueror, they brought with them many of the Old British nobility from Brittany, who thought that they were returning to the lands of their ancestors and were in fact getting back their ancient kingship.

One of these was the Stuart family. The Stuarts were the ‘Stewards’ of the kings of Scotland; they intermarried with the kings of Scotland, and *their* ancestry was through the old Ulster line, and that brings us to an Ulster-Scots connection with William of Orange. So basically he was of British descent, as well as the other parts of his descent from Europe. But fundamentally his beliefs were formed around his British ancestry.

All these things were important to me as a young man and I wrote a lot about them in books about the history of Ulster and of Scotland and of Britain in general. And I am left, in my attitudes towards William, with the sense that he was a man who should be honoured, he was a man whose values we should follow, and a man who has much to offer us in this modern time, a tolerant man, a just man, a good man, and that’s why I am proud to call myself a ‘William of Orange’-man. Thank you very much.

Sammy Wilson

I’m not going to try and compete with either Ian or Gordon as far as their historical knowledge is concerned. I want to take a different angle, and look from my own personal experiences and perceptions of what the Orange Order and Orangeism is all about. Can I say at the very start that I am looking at this probably more as a spectator than as a participant in as much as I am not and never have been a member of the Orange Order, not because I have any difficulty with it but simply because given all the other things I am involved with I never had the time.

I think the earliest recollection I have is of the Twelfth being something of a fun day, and the time leading up to it as being something which, as a youngster, gave you a bit of colour and excitement. Things you don’t see so much of now: pretending to be in a band and having a wee drum and going around beating it, or collecting stuff for the bonfire, all of that. And then of course on the Twelfth itself, being taken along to watch the parades and all of the other parades that were associated around that time. For a youngster it was a day of colour and excitement. And later on, of course, you began to realise the important cultural significance of the occasion, and so, in a chronological sense, what was originally an opportunity for a fun day out for me as a youngster changed into a deeper understanding of what Orangeism was all about, as an expression of our culture.

I suppose another important aspect was that it gave you a sense of community. Gordon has already mentioned this – that the Twelfth was a time when people meet up with folks that they haven’t seen for some time. But there was also a *general* feeling of community – that you’re with people who have a like view of life, a like background, face similar difficulties, have similar ideas about the way our society should be organised and progress. That sense of community which I believe the Orange Order gives is a very important part of Orangeism,

and of course right throughout the history of the Orange Order that has been something which has been demonstrated time and again in a very practical way.

Let me give you one example, one particular historical incident which helps to illustrate this. We all know that the term ‘boycott’ originated during the campaign for land reform in Ireland, when Nationalists decided that one of the ways of forcing the issue with the landlords was to treat them, in the words of Parnell, as “if they were lepers”. And Captain Boycott was the first target

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of this campaign and people refused to work on his farm, refused to bring in his crops and he was left in a situation where he had a farm which he couldn’t work because the population around were mostly Catholic and he was a Protestant landlord and he was being ‘boycotted’ by them. So the Orange Order organised 25 men from Monaghan and 25 from Cavan; 50 men went down and they harvested his crop, they stayed on his farm and they did the job. Incidentally, he didn’t repay them very well, for he actually charged them for their own food! But, nevertheless, it’s an illustration of the way in which the Orange Order tried to foster that sense of community and to identify with their own people who were in trouble.

Many people in Northern Ireland today would tell you, especially in border areas where Protestants have been under attack for so long and where ethnic cleansing has been taking place, that one of the main parts of the cement that kept them together has been the existence of the Orange Order and the central role played by the rural Orange halls. Why have the enemy decided to target those Orange halls, why have so many been burnt down – indeed on some occasions attacked and people killed, as at Tullyvallen? Because I believe that the enemy

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recognises the community cement which the Orange Order provides, maybe not so much in the city but certainly in rural areas.

I suppose as time went on the other thing you became more aware of was the political dimension to the Orange Order. I’m not talking about the party

political dimension, and I know there have been criticisms of the Order being associated with one particular Unionist party, but more generally the political affiliation with Unionism. At times the Unionist Party has not been a friend of the Orange Order. In 1936 when there were riots on the Woodstock Road – when the chapel at Willowfield was being completed – it was a Unionist Minister of Home Affairs who banned the Twelfth. He was later forced by a revolt within the cabinet to overturn that decision. So there have sometimes been party political tensions between the Orange Order and other Unionists, but generally to me the Orange Order, and the Twelfth especially, symbolises that solidarity and that expression of Unionism.

In relation to the present day, I believe that the Orange Order and the Twelfth have now become the focus of attention for our enemies. In particular, if you look at the way Sinn Féin, having campaigned to push individual Protestants out of their homes, have openly admitted that in various areas of Northern Ireland they are now also trying to prevent Protestants, wholesale, from expressing their culture and their Protestantism through the Orange Order. And we've got the Ormeau Road, we've got Drumcree, we've got Dunloy, we could rhyme them all off. And what I think is also significant is that some people within the Orange Order seem to have abandoned those who are taking a stand. That is not an unusual thing, it has happened in the past. When the Orange Order was banned in 1825, some of the leading lights in the Orange Order, rather than curry disfavour with the establishment, accepted the ban and left many of the rank and file members to fend for themselves.

The one last thing I would say, in my perception of the Orange Order, is its religious aspect, and I know that as a younger person I was taken along by my uncle to Orange services when entire lodges went en masse to church to keep alive, and promote within its ranks, the Reformation faith, and I believe that that's an important aspect as well. Now, at times some of these aspects become more important than others. But when I think of the Twelfth, I think of *all* of these things, and of the Orange Order through its activities promoting those aspects of my Protestantism and my Unionism.

Ken Wilkinson

It is ironic that the person who introduced me to Orangeism lived at the end of this street, at 6 Wye Street – my uncle Jim Rooney, who I reckon was one of the greatest Orangemen I ever met in my life. I think he even planned his death – he was buried on 1 July. I was born and bred in Ballymacarrett a couple of hundred yards away from here in Bright Street, my father belonged to the Cookes Defenders Lodge, me and my twin brother belonged to LOL 152 'Commercial', and as the years have moved on my brother now belongs to Ulster Royal Scots LOL 1690, from California, who will walk for the first time

this year in Belfast, God willing, on the 12th of July. And within the past six months I have also started another lodge in San Diego. And yet what I have to say would be critical of members of the Orange institution, for the stand that they have taken.

The Orange Order is at war. It is a war of their own making. It is a war which has crept up quietly, almost without warning. This is not a war of bombs or bullets but a subtle battle of words, of media manipulation and of skilful propaganda. If this is indeed a war of words, then judging by the performance of some so far, the Orange Order hierarchy need to buy a dictionary, because they have systemically failed

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to represent the fervently-held views and opinions of the rank and file and to present an adequate case in their defence.

This war, then, demands great skill and expertise. It's quite easy to take someone on in open battle, but this is a totally different affair. Make no mistake – the enemy is very clever. They have managed to gain the upper hand in the tactics employed thus far. It's sad to say that those from the ranks of the Orange Order who have tried to present their case are but raw recruits when compared to the enemy. As a result of this, every trap that has been carefully set and strategically placed always gains the desired effect. The spokespersons of the Orange Order fall blindly into trouble and time and again the enemy claims the victory. And I am not being hypocritical of David Jones or Harold Gracey, who I have a lot of respect for – I visit Harold Gracey with other members of our party at least once or twice a month. Contrary to what some people might think about the Progressive Unionist Party we support the right of the Orangemen and the right of Drumcree. [*Female*: “you should walk it!”] I have, I was one of the first people who stood at Drumcree and made that stand at the very first Drumcree.

It is incredible that those who represent the Orange Order in the media do not yet seem to have realised that this is a war that is as much about image, public perception and sympathy as it is about preserving the culture and heart of the Protestant people. It is certain that our enemy have realised this. To the Order, it is a question of rights and heritage, to the enemy it is one of gaining the destruction of Protestantism and Unionism, something they could not achieve through years of bloodshed. Now they attempt to destroy our culture with the use of tactics and battle plans. The response to this has been so weak that if this was a physical war, the Orange Order would still be in the trenches.

The decision not to talk to residents' groups, preferring instead to retain the moral high ground, has been a huge mistake and has handed success on a plate to those who wish to destroy the Order. I believe that dialogue is the only way forward. I believe that we should confront these people and take them to task, and let the world see them for the hypocrites they are. In the past I with other people confronted those who said that bands could not walk in Ballycastle. We confronted these people and we succeeded. This is the only way forward – never run away from your enemy, always confront them. We must talk to these

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people, play them at their own game. To try and ignore the situation has simply made it worse. It is time to call their bluff and meet them head on. Failure to do so could mean the end of the Order as we know it.

The clearest thing to emerge from this situation is that the Order needs to choose its friends wisely. I would argue that it is as much a victim of its so-

called friends as it is of its enemies. I refer of course to those politicians who use the situation for their own advantage. These are those politicians who have nothing left to offer, no fresh message to assist the situation in any way. They use the Order and this sad situation to further their own careers. They use the media to expound the old rhetoric which simply makes the matter worse.

I put it to you that the Paul Berrys of this world and indeed the Ian Paisley Juniors, who's not even a member of the Order but advocated that 100,000 Orangemen walk down the road, couldn't really care less about the cause of the Orange Order. If this situation was resolved they would lose their platform which the media provides for them persistently. I would suggest that the longer this situation continues the better it is for these men who put their own welfare over that of their followers. I implore you not to let them use the Orange Order for their own ends. Their motives are so obvious that their involvement simply serves to reduce the standing of the Orange Order in the eyes of the general public. They have done more for the cause of the enemy than anyone could begin to imagine, and their involvement must end now.

In reality, the Drumcree situation represents the wider political problems in Northern Ireland. It is the old story of lack of mutual respect, loss of dignity and jealous guarding of territory. If the Orange Order do get to walk down the Garvaghy Road this July, it will not be a victory for either the Orange Order or the Unionist community as a whole – it will be a victory for respect and common sense and for those from both communities who seek a way forward that has learned its lessons from the past. I implore you to let us learn our lessons well and desist from our present failed policy – the future of the Orange Order and Protestantism lies with you. Thank you very much.

My interpretations of Orangeism and the 12th of July have been formulated by my 35 years spent living in Newry on the border. This [piece which I will read to you] was written in the context of a border Protestant – for that is what I am. No matter where I end up in Northern Ireland or in this life that is what I will always be. This article was written in the context of July 1997 where, at about a quarter past nine on the night of July 11th, Newry District was forced to abandon its traditional route through Newry town. This is the 12th morning, and the context our hall is on the outskirts of the town, so what we really did was went out and turned left [instead of right].

A quiet stillness descends over the crowd, prompted by the Commons' Silver Band's decision to play a hauntingly beautiful piece of music, and which I hope will remain locked deep within my heart forever. The overpowering feeling that you do not belong is a strong and memorable one. And like the Ulster-born author Alexander Irvine "I am a stranger in the [town] of my birth". It was only recently, when I was asked in the course of a radio interview what the 'Twelfth' meant to me, that I was able to explain – albeit very simply – why this day in early summer is so precious. On this day of the year I can make a *connection*.

I have lived all my life in an area, Newry town, which accepts me as a ratepayer, but continually rejects me as an individual with a unique – and, more importantly, a genuine and legitimate – cultural identity. I have a ready affinity with the poet T S Eliot, who in his poem 'The Wasteland' cried out: "I can connect nothing with nothing." I live through my own cultural 'wasteland', and like the lady who adorns the banner I also cling to my rock as do seven hundred and sixty-one other souls like me, for they too, are strangers.

My earliest memories of the 12th of July were formulated by a man I called my uncle Joe. He was a stonemason. To a young, 4-year-old girl he drove the largest of cars, the back of which was always jam-packed full with the tools of his craft and the inevitable large bag of sweets. The car was always full except for one day in the year – the 12th July.

I can still feel the anticipation. Standing resplendent in a new outfit, ankle socks and patent shoes, eyes closed at the front of the house, willing that large brown Ford Cortina into the cul-de-sac beyond the glass. Suddenly it was there, gobbling up its passengers: my mother, my father, my auntie Ruth, cousin William and me. Together with auntie Lucy and uncle Joe, we were a few, a "happy few, a band of brothers". And the very mention of the words 'the Twelfth' transports me back to a time with golden happy summer days spent with my family and a time when I was truly, truly happy, before that 'happy band' was cruelly fractured by early sudden death.

So you see, far from 'the Twelfth' being a 'triumphalist, coat-trailing exercise', whatever that syntactically invented phrase may mean, for me, the individual, it is a time for thinking not only of the present but also savouring

the past. To think lovingly of the members of my family who sadly are no longer here but who were able to fill *my* day with so much love and excitement; to remember the smell of an English Tea Rose, the gentle perfume of which brings before my eyes a giant of a man – Uncle Joe. His endless ham sandwiches spread thick with mustard and wrapped in greaseproof paper, placed in stout brown cardboard boxes tied up with prickly string; the enormous brown aluminium teapots bubbling atop primus stoves fired by methylated spirits, which produced tea on which an army could have marched.

As a child my blood family took me to watch and enjoy the colour and pageantry of the Twelfth of July. Now, no longer a child, my *Orange* family have welcomed me as an active participant in that pageantry. Among these good fine people, I truly belong; they are my rock. Altnaveigh LOL 37, the frontier lodge of Ulster, which sits on the border and whose members and band are drawn almost exclusively from the townland of the same name, and against whose members the infamous 1922 massacre was perpetrated; Bernagh LOL 302, the lodge in which my great-uncle Joseph and grandfather William Rainey held the offices of Deputy and Worshipful Master respectively, and my own friends in Sheepbridge LOL 1350, which bears the same name as the road upon which my uncle lived. To be among these people who share my hopes, my thoughts, my fears, my identity, is such a privilege; I feel so very lucky, because I say it again, these are *good* people.

My friend, the radio interviewer, posed another question: “what goes through your mind, Elaine, on the 12th July morning?” Now here again I am afraid I disappointed those who were expecting my answer to be couched in sectarian tones. In taking part in the Twelfth demonstration I make a

In taking part in the Twelfth demonstration I make a statement about who I am and where I come from and which I hope offends no one.

statement about who I am and where I come from and which I hope offends no one. When the call is given, the drum beats roll, the banners are hoisted, the swirl of Altnaveigh’s pipes, the strains of the Commons’ bugles, Finnard’s accordions and the Hunter Moore’s flutes are heard, I cannot deny that I feel a certain pride in my heart,

to look at that small group of Protestant people, living in an area which positively loathes, hates and detests them, and who have managed to keep the small Orange halls going in the townlands which are under constant attack. As one said to me: “if we did not have our hall, we would have nothing.”

Last in the parade are 1350 and the only ladies’ lodge in Newry District – led by South Down Defenders. Walking behind the last of the bandsmen, my thoughts turn to how like my uncle Joe in appearance and stature cousin William, now in the band, really is and how I wish for that time to come again when two small children could slip their hands in his, rough-hewn from honest toil, and feel safe once more.

An acquaintance whose political and cultural aspirations I do not share, but nevertheless respect, heard my interview, and told me that she did not agree with me – that I was wrong! Incredulous! I strive very hard to

understand the arrogance of someone who seeks to deny me my personal experiences and emotions because their own are not the same and therefore do not deem mine to be legitimate.

Unlike so many other writers, I do not offer any far-reaching historical or sociological reasons as to why my Twelfth means so much to me. It is written from the heart and I hope it shows. Despite recent setbacks, one thing gladdens my heart. There is a deep commitment among my generation to providing the same precious memories of this very special day for generations to come.

Nelson McCausland

I think that for all of us our earliest encounters with something always help to shape our thinking about it. And, as with some of the other speakers, some of my earliest memories of the Twelfth are things that have remained with me – collecting wood for the bonfire and all the things that children get involved with, those things linger in my memory. I remember as a child that my parents were so keen to see the bands that you were taken to Carlisle Circus to see them setting off, then when they had left Carlisle Circus you got back into the car and moved up the Lisburn Road to see it a second time, and if they were really eager you saw it again when they took you to see it arriving at the ‘Field’.

As well as a time of enjoyment, it was also a time of stability, a time when you thought that things were never going to change in Northern Ireland. If we look back to those days we never imagined that we would see the changes that we have seen over the last number of years, and things that we held dear and we thought would last for our lifetime have now vanished and we are in a very difficult situation.

Things which stick out for me would be the pageantry and colour. If you think back to those days Belfast was a pretty drab city and here was this splash of colour and excitement once a year. Then, the sense of community which has been mentioned, when lots of people whom you could identify with came together for a community celebration – there was that sense of identity and community that was very important. So those are the things stick in my mind.

I joined the Orange Order in 1974 and I think the reason was that for me the Orange Order represented all the things that I felt very strongly and passionately about. It expressed my religious convictions, because it was a Protestant organisation committed to a Protestant faith – and we see that obviously reflected on the banners that are carried in the parades.

For me the qualifications for being an Orangeman are things I would totally identify with. It expresses for me not only religious conviction but also a strong political conviction, in that here is something which down the years has served as a bulwark for the British community here in Ulster and against any move towards a United Ireland. These are things which I felt very strongly about and

for me joining the Orange Order seemed the natural thing to do.

There is a strong cultural aspect to Orangeism. The images depicted on the banners, the music as well, all of these things – there is a strong cultural element with it that I can identify with.

I think also the sense of a social occasion, when you get to the ‘Field’ and you see all the people you maybe only get to see once or twice a year, you see people at the side of the road as you are walking along. Again, that social communal thing is very important. It is something that we all hunger for, to belong, to be a part of something. It is very important for everybody in society, and the Orange Order in part meets that.

So for all those things I feel strongly that it was the right thing to do to join the Orange Order. It was not about triumphalism, it was not about offending people, it was about celebrating the things that I felt strongly about. Now in recent years the Orange Order has come under tremendous attack, and I think the reason is simply because it *is* something that has that central role within the Protestant, Unionist community. I think the enemies of Orangeism realise that the Orange Order is, in a sense, a cement that holds all the disparate elements

So for all those things I feel strongly that it was the right thing to do to join the Orange Order. It was not about triumphalism, it was not about offending people, it was about celebrating the things that I felt strongly about.

within the Protestant community together. Because within the same Orange lodge you may have people from different political parties, slightly different religious viewpoints and so on, but all bound together in some way by the Orange institution.

And I think that because it has that sense of strength and solidarity within the community this is why there is a determination on the part of Republicanism to attack the Orange Order and to try and destroy it. Plus the fact that so much energy and effort has been put in by the Republican movement to organising and orchestrating opposition to parades. My own area is North Belfast and last year we had the re-routing of one of our traditional parades in that area. We were able to have the traditional parade two years before that – it’s a biannual parade – but this past year it was re-routed.

And I felt hurt and offended very much by that, because the area that we were being re-routed away from was the Cliftonville Road. Now as a boy going to school I walked up and down that road three or four times every day; I drive up and down that road every day. I have been doing that for the last 40-odd years, virtually every day. And yet one day in the year I am told that because I have a particular collar round my neck I am not accepted on that road and am not allowed to be there. And three years ago when the parade was attacked, the Republicans who were saying they were offended by the Orange parade were

people who had travelled from Andersonstown and all the areas of West Belfast – who had gone *all the way* to the Cliftonville Road to be offended. There were even people who were so easily offended that even though they were standing in a different street behind houses and couldn't see the parade, they were throwing stones over those houses at the parade.

It's quite clear that there is a strong strident determination there to attack and confront Orangeism, and I found very hurtful that I was therefore put off a stretch of road that I feel is part of my community. It doesn't 'belong' to somebody else, I have lived in that area all my life and I believe I have a right to be there.

Someone mentioned there about challenging people about the parades issue, and I think that the case *for* the parades is so strong and the case against them is so weak that it's an issue that needs to be addressed. Certainly, on the occasion of the 'Tour of the North' parade three years ago, I was asked to write an article for the *Irish News*, and it was interesting, because when the arguments were made there was very little by way of response, because I think the points being made were so obvious they were very difficult to answer.

What they were saying was we don't like your parade because we don't like your flags. Well, every day in the year I have to look at the Tricolours on the top of the flats at the bottom of the New Lodge, which have been flying there an awful long time. Now, I also find it insulting to see a message down the side of the flats saying "Time to Go", which is obviously directed at the Protestant community –that to me is something that *I* find offensive. They also say they find the music offensive, and yet when the Ardoyne Fleadh is on and the Wolfe Tones are playing to 2 o'clock in the morning people right across North Belfast in Protestant communities have to endure the music whether they like it or not.

What I am getting to here is that in every society there has to be an element of tolerance. But what we are seeing towards the Orange Order is an *intolerance*, and that is something which needs to be said quite clearly: that the problem is not one of Orangeism, the problem I believe is one of intolerance within the Republican community.

In every society there has to be an element of tolerance. But what we are seeing towards the Orange Order is an intolerance, and that is something which needs to be said quite clearly: that the problem is not one of Orangeism, the problem I believe is one of intolerance within the Republican community.

I said why I believe the Orange Order is important, and why I joined it 25 years ago, and I have no intention of parting from the principals I espoused all those years ago. I haven't changed, they haven't changed, and to me the Orange Order and the 12th of July are still as important now as they were all those years ago. Thank you very much.

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Sammy Douglas: Could I thank the panellists for their contributions. I think we've had a very wide range of views describing what the Orange Order and the Twelfth means to the speakers. It is now up to you now, the audience – this is your part of the evening to make comments or ask questions.

Male: Could someone tell me the difference between the Independent Orange Order and the Orange Order that we're talking about here today?

Gordon Lucy: The Independent Orange Order dates from the beginning of this century, initiated by a Belfast shipyard worker called Thomas Sloan, who was a street preacher and, from some people's perspective, a bit of a rabble-rouser. At the 12 July demonstration in Castlereagh in 1902 Sloan heckled Colonel Edward Saunderson who was not only the leader of the Irish Unionist Parliamentary Party but also the County Grand Master of Belfast. As a result he was disciplined, and took great umbrage at this. At the same time the MP for South Belfast died and Sloan stood for and won the by-election. This gave him the confidence to set up his own Independent Orange Order, which garnered quite a remarkable amount of support within a very short space of time. There were something like 55 Independent Orange Lodges within a year or so. The two powerbases of the Independent Orange Order were Sandy Row District in Belfast and in North Antrim. In Sandy Row District the Independent Orange Order capitalised on the socio-economic discontent with the Unionist Party. In North Antrim again there was also an element of socio-economic discontent, largely based on tenant farmers aggrieved with their Anglican landlords. So the Independent Orange Order at the beginning of this century had a radical streak.

Then the Independent Orange Order ceased to be a Unionist organisation. In the Magheramorne Manifesto of 1904 Lindsay Crawford drafted a document which was very strong on socio-economic points, but also seemed to indicate an approval for Home Rule, and that caused significant ructions within the Independent Orange Order and greatly reduced its support and appeal.

The present-day Independent Orange Order hasn't really a lot in common with the original Independent Orange Order. The Independent Orange Order these days is perceived as having its powerbase largely in North Antrim, very often Free Presbyterians or supporters of the DUP, and admirers of the Rev Ian Paisley. There's no strong historical continuity between the two organisations; it may be the same organisation, may be the same families, but in terms of what the Independent Orange Order stands for today and what it stood for at the beginning of the century there is little obvious connection.

Male: In my opinion the conflict that's going on in this island at the moment is very complex. Mention has been made that the seventeenth century was a very defining time. But you also had the exodus of those Ulster people who sailed

west after the Boyne period because they were being persecuted by the Anglican Church. I think also that the French Revolution and the American War of Independence had a major impact on people here, certainly in Ulster in relation to the 1798 Rebellion, when Protestants did try to get people to live in an island that was united. But when that attempt failed relationships between both communities became increasingly sectarian, with Catholic sectarianism coming from the ‘Ribbonmen’ and others. And I think that today’s Republicans, when they seek to stop Protestant marches, are still playing the same sectarian game as the Ribbonmen. There is nothing new in what’s happening to us at the moment; it’s a very old tactic. So I think that our history is very complex.

Ian Adamson: It is complex. The Ulster-Scots population in America, for example, who had been forced to emigrate because of absentee landlordism and rack-renting and religious persecution, were generally orientated towards radical politics – and became the staunchest supporters of a Republic in America. Some of the sections of the population which supported the British government were cultural minorities – the Black population and the Indian population. They supported the British because the British believed in multi-culturalism, even in those times. In fact, some of the staunchest Orangemen today are the Mohawk Indians, some of whom came over here for the Tricentenary celebrations. The Orange Order itself, after 1798, took in a lot of United Irishmen who were disenchanted with the sectarian aspects of the United Irishmen in the south of Ireland. But the Orange Order was really formed to look after the interests of the landed gentry, the Anglo-Irish ascendancy. It was only really with the development of the Home Rule crisis that Orangeism became the mass movement of Unionism, and the voice of organised Protestantism, and that was when it was at its strongest. And unless the Orange Order *does* take cognisance of the views and attitudes of working people I think it will have a lot of problems in the future.

My own beliefs are fundamentally ‘British’ in orientation, but in the sense that they take in the history of the British Isles as a whole, and I don’t think that we have done enough to explain this all-embracing British identity to other communities.

My own beliefs are fundamentally ‘British’ in orientation, but in the sense that they take in the history of the British Isles *as a whole*, and I don’t think that we have done enough to explain this *all-embracing* British identity to other communities. That is why I support organisations such as the Ballymacarrett Arts & Cultural Society, because they will help to educate people who will then be able to approach other communities in dignity and strength. I think that societies such as this create the conditions under which communities can grow strong and united again, and then dialogue can take place.

Male: I've been in the Orange Order, I've also been in Long Kesh and in Crumlin Road jail. But I'm very disappointed in the Orange Order because I always looked on it as embracing *every* part of Loyalist society, from the working class to the middle class to the upper class. And I get disappointed when they start taking political decisions and they leave a certain section of our community out on a limb – such as when they advised people how to vote over the Referendum. I always looked on the Orange Order as something that belonged to *all* of us, and whatever way you wanted to vote was up to you, but you could still feel part of the Orange Order. But over the last few years it's obvious that the Orange Order are taking stances that are political instead of religious. I personally think that the Orange Order should not have got involved in the Referendum, or made decisions as to what way their members should vote. As a result the Orange Order is starting to lose support from different sections of this community. By making political decisions they have turned round and divided the Orange Order and fallen into the trap that has been laid for us, the seeds of which were planted in Long Kesh in 1974 by Gerry Adams and his squad, and we have now fallen into it hook, line and sinker.

Female: I would just like to say that I take offence at the PUP man saying about Paul Berry. Paul Berry is at the Drumcree hill seven nights a week; he's had to get his car changed 'cause he's under IRA threat. I think if a lot more politicians got their backsides down to Drumcree hill and came together and united instead of separating maybe the march would get down the Garvaghy Road.

Male: My question is: do you think it is still possible that any dialogue is possible at the moment? [*Female:* No, the IRA want everything!]

Female: We were at the Waterfront at the Orange culture evening, and Gerard Rice was outside, instigating all the trouble, harassing Protestant people going in to learn about their culture. Those ones don't want dialogue. And yet we don't stand outside and protest when they have their Irish dancing on.

Ken Wilkinson: With regard to the Waterfront: I was the person who brought the TV cameras there. I had to go in and get the Grand Master of the Orange Order, and the secretary of it, to come outside to do an interview, because they weren't interested themselves.

[A moment of barracking then occurred between two groups in the audience, both in disagreement as to what exactly occurred regarding the media at the Waterfront.]

Ken Wilkinson: Isn't it so sad that the small group of people that are in this room here are all Unionists and Protestants and yet we're so divided. But to answer the other question from the floor there – about dialogue. I belong to the Orange, the Black and the Apprentice Boys, and I also run a flute band in

memory of an RUC constable who was blew up at the border – and I believe in dialogue. Without dialogue over what has happened on the Garvagh Road the Unionist party has been divided, the Church of Ireland has been divided, the Orange Order has been divided. You only have to look back a few hours ago today when Breandan MacCionnaith was confronted in court over what he put forward, and he was shown up for the liar that he is.* That’s dialogue and that’s how dialogue worked today.

Female: I don’t see where dialogue is going to come to on the Garvagh Road when Breandan MacCionnaith refuses to let ‘Orange feet’ walk down the Garvagh Road – he’s stated that time and time again. There’s no compromise possible with the Residents Coalition on the Garvagh Road.

Ken Wilkinson: What is lacking within the Orange Order is their ‘PR’ – we haven’t got it; we have failed. For an institution that is over 200 years old they haven’t progressed very much, believe me. And I have a great lot of respect for Allister Simpson of the Apprentice Boys and what he has achieved. And believe me, I stood as one of the marshals last year on Derry Day and on the 12th December and the most abuse I got wasn’t from Nationalists and Republicans, it was from the Protestant people, even though we were defending their rights to march in the Diamond. I think that without dialogue we’re beat. You must have dialogue, you never run away from your enemy –you always confront your enemy.

I think that without dialogue we’re beat. You must have dialogue, you never run away from your enemy –you always confront your enemy.

Sammy Wilson: Could I just say a couple of things. First of all, I want to get the ‘party politics’ over with very quickly, as it wasn’t introduced by me. I find it extraordinary that Ken comes in here and says that it’s sad that we are ‘divided’. Now when we were supposed to be talking about what the Twelfth means to me, *three* minutes of the total seven and a half minutes that Ken spoke for was devoted to attacking other Unionists, like Paul Berry and Ian Paisley Junior...

Ken Wilkinson: Excuse me, Sammy, Paul Berry made a statement in the *Irish News* the other day which he had to retract; Ian Paisley Junior made a statement that he would take 100,000 Orangemen down Garvagh Road. And yet Ian Paisley Junior, like his father, is not a member of the Orange institution.

Sammy Wilson: Leaving Ken’s diatribe aside, let’s get onto the bit about talking and whether or not dialogue is likely to produce an outcome. We’ve

* This is a reference to a Judicial Review hearing during which the Garvagh Road Residents’ Coalition failed to stop a Junior Orange parade from proceeding along part of the Garvagh Road in Portadown.

heard it talked about regarding the Ormeau Road, and yet when dialogue eventually took place, it did not resolve the Ormeau Road situation. In fact, we have been told specifically by Republicans that they have spent three years *agitating* to produce the kind of confrontation which Ken is now saying you can *talk your way out of*. I mean, if they intended to be talked out of it, why on earth did they ever spend three years creating the confrontation in the first place! They have no intention of being talked out of it. But what they *have* sought to do is to create some credibility for IRA spokesmen in all these areas. They were the ones who have agitated and have artificially created situations of

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confrontation where no confrontation existed before. Ken may be the kind of forgiving person who can accept that Republicans can burn your Orange halls, they can attack your parades, they can denigrate everything you stand for, and yet you sit down and talk to them. I don't find that acceptable, and I couldn't do that.

Male: What do *you* do, then! You'll sit in the house, Sammy, and you'll watch the news and urge us on to victory, same as usual.

Ken Wilkinson: That was a direct attack on me, Sammy, and what I would ask you is: what is the answer? Without the dialogue, what is the answer?

Male: He hasn't got an answer!

Sammy Wilson: Implicit in what you're saying is that dialogue produces an answer.

Ken Wilkinson: No, there has to be dialogue. And you still haven't answered my question. And the question I asked you, Sammy, was: what other alternative is there to dialogue?

Sammy Wilson: Ken, the implications of what you say is that dialogue *will* provide the solution which will enable people to get marching where they've a right to march. And when you ask what the alternative is if you don't have dialogue, the implication is that dialogue is the *only* alternative.

Ken Wilkinson: But you sit with Sinn Féin on certain policy committees within the City Hall.

Sammy Wilson: No, I am not in *dialogue* with Sinn Féin within the City Hall.

There are some Unionists who do –I don't, I never have, and I don't believe that there is any mileage in entering into any dialogue or seeking to communicate with people who have openly admitted that they have created this confrontation.

Ken Wilkinson: You won't answer me. I'm asking you again –what is the alternative? Is the alternative what Ian Paisley Junior said – to push 100,000 people down the Garvaghy Road, is that the answer!

Sammy Wilson: On past occasions when bans have been imposed, even imposed by other Unionists on the Orange Order, whenever there was clear determination by the Order then the authorities had to rethink their situation. And I think that one of the reasons there is difficulty at present is because there has not been that clear determination. There have been different signals sent out by different people within the Orange Order, different signals sent out by various political groupings and all of that division has given the impression that if the authorities hold out then the ban can be imposed. And I think the first thing that we need is to have a clear determination on behalf of the Orangemen that they are going to march their traditional routes. And the second thing that must be done is that those who are their spokesmen must make it quite clear that there's a moral, there's a political and there's a legal case for what they're doing. And that argument must be pushed and must be progressed. I think there are plenty of arguments which must be put forward in that way. So there are alternatives, but not one which gives credibility to those who have created the situation.

Male: The Orange Order is very divided at the minute, and I feel that if they talked to the residents, if they exposed these people, then the Orange Order would be united to do whatever they need to do. I agree with Sammy that eventually when you do talk with these residents' groups they will say "no, we don't want youse to walk down the road *no matter what*", but at least you will have exposed them. If you remember in Londonderry when John Hume walked out of a meeting with the Bogside Residents condemning them for not being prepared to go any further than what they did, especially when the Apprentice Boys were so conciliatory in *their* approach. And it ended up the Apprentice Boys *did* get walking on the Walls of Londonderry because there was so much pressure being put back onto the Bogside Residents for not wanting to meet them halfway. We have to expose these people

We have to expose these people for what they are. They call us sectarian, they call us bigots, let's make them out for what they are. But at the moment we're fighting with each other and we're letting them win.

for what they are. They call *us* sectarian, they call *us* bigots, let's make *them* out for *what they are*. But at the moment the Protestant community is divided, and we're fighting with each other and we're letting them win.

Male: I can speak a wee bit about the Ormeau Road, I'm from Ballynafeigh and I married a girl from Ballynafeigh. I stood on the Ormeau Bridge at 7 o'clock in the morning when the Orangemen said they would stand there until they got over the bridge. I was still standing there at 11 o'clock when they were in Ballynafeigh Band Hall drinking. If they're going to stand, then make a stand! Don't let politicians lead them up the path!

Female: I'd like to ask the panel what their opinions are about the Orange Order taking on a more educational role within the Protestant communities and the Protestant schools.

Sammy Douglas: Just to add to that question: this thing tonight has been organised by a community organisation, and organisations like this exist across East Belfast. Could we ask Elaine – do you see a role for the local community, through these various community groups, to get involved with the Orange Order in an educational sense?

Elaine McClure: I think actually the role of the community group is vital, because as I was listening to the question, I also wrote down beside it: "who in the Orange Order would be capable of doing it?" At the end of the day, if we want to go out and educate people as to our proud history and identity, where it actually starts is in the classroom and with the children. And, unfortunately, given the profile which the Orange Order sadly has today, few education personnel within schools would be willing to actually invite members of the Orange Order in to talk about this. Which is sad but is the reality. I work for the Ulster Society and in many respects the Ulster Society, along with community

The Ulster Society, along with community groups, is actually doing the Orange Order's work for it, by promoting culture and heritage and books and pamphlets.

groups, is actually doing the Orange Order's work for it, by promoting culture and heritage and books and pamphlets. One interesting thing: my best friend is a librarian and she pointed out that in the children's section of her library there is a section of

books published under an Irish title telling children about all the Irish myths and legends, and where – if you're a Nationalist child – you come from, where your traditions come from, etc. But there's no child's account of the Battle of the Boyne or what have you, and there is obviously a gap for that. I think it is an indictment on the upper echelons of the Order when groups such as the Ballymacarrett Arts and Cultural Society, the Ulster Society and others, have actually had to respond to this need, and go and organise seminars. We have tried time and time again to organise seminars on 'what the Twelfth mean to me' and nine times out of ten we get a very good response from the public but sometimes high-ranking representatives of the Orange Order have actually been

reluctant to come and take part in these things. I also feel that if we had more women involved in these things we wouldn't be in the mess we are in at times.

Nelson McCausland: I think the issue of education is fundamental and the Orange Order has not really addressed that issue properly yet. In terms of the schools the Education Department is at the moment starting the whole process of reviewing the curriculum. In the year 2001 there will be a new curriculum and there's an opportunity for us at the moment to help shape that curriculum, because they're looking for comments as to what should be included in it or what should be changed in any way. I think that the Orange Order and Protestant community groups, cultural societies, the Ulster Society, and so on, should all be working at that, putting influence on the Department and on the Curriculum Council – to provide elements within the curriculum so that their young people go through the school system learning about Protestant history and culture and identity. The extra-curricula activities, the work done outside school by community groups and all the rest, is crucially important but it has to be complemented by what goes on in the schools. You are always fighting a battle to get your own people into activities and so on, whereas there is a captive audience in the school, the children are there being educated. There's a responsibility on us, it's very easy to criticise and condemn – here's an opportunity to put pressure on the Department to make changes and to give Protestant culture and history its rightful place in the curriculum. And that means that once it's in there, there will be an onus on the educational system to provide those materials so that children can be taught these things.

There's a responsibility on us, it's very easy to criticise and condemn – here's an opportunity to put pressure on the department to make changes and to give Protestant culture and history its rightful place in the curriculum.

Sammy Wilson: I think that Nelson has perhaps left out one aspect. More recently there *has* been a greater emphasis on local Northern Ireland history being taught as part of the curriculum, but unfortunately most of the textbooks are very often written from a point of view which, if not pro-Nationalist, is certainly not sympathetic to the Protestant and Unionist tradition. I know that in my own school I was instrumental in drawing to the attention of the headmaster the very biased nature of some of the textbooks being used by the third form and GCSE youngsters, and some of the parents complained as well. To be fair to him, they were withdrawn, but the point he made to me was, and the head of the history department made this point to me as well: look, these are the *only* books which are available. There *were* teachers who were sympathetic to the Unionist tradition and who would have welcomed the opportunity to buy in material – had they been available. It is not the Department which produces these books,

it is commercial organisations, who get other people to write them and then send brochures to the schools and the schools then purchase them. There is a dearth of material and as a result many youngsters are getting a particular bent to local history which is detrimental to their knowledge of their own community.

Male: I'm an Orangeman, Holywood District. I was particularly interested in what some of the speakers were saying with regard to the lack of communication and public relations skills – there are virtually none – and my question is how do we go forward, because we won't go forward unless we sharpen these up enormously. Whether it be Portadown District or whether it be the Grand Lodge, or our First Minister Elect – none of them can communicate, not one of them can stand on their feet and say that the two points of confrontation against the Order – Garvaghy Road and the Ormeau Road – are organised by the IRA and nothing else. None of them can stand up and say categorically that this is so. We can't communicate even with the Church of Ireland it would appear, which now seems to contain a number of individuals who want to withdraw from the Orange Order, and yet that church was the one that has been most closely associated with the Orange Order over the centuries. Now the Church of Ireland should not really be withdrawing the way it is, but it is withdrawing

So how do we progress, because it doesn't matter how many you get out at Garvaghy or how many fireworks you throw and all the rest of it, it makes no difference unless you can communicate, not to the people of Northern Ireland, but to the people across the channel. Unless you can communicate to them, and convert them, then you are wasting your time.

because none of us can communicate with it properly. So how do we progress, because it doesn't matter how many you get out at Garvaghy or how many fireworks you throw and all the rest of it, it makes *no difference* unless you

can communicate, not to the people of Northern Ireland, but to the people across the channel. Unless you can communicate to them, and convert them, then you are wasting your time. And you've got to do it, and you've got to do it very quickly. But how do you do it?

Ken Wilkinson: The Orange Order need to move into the 21st century. They need 'PR', to promote professional PR within the Orange Order. Whenever David Trimble was visiting the Pope . . .

Female: He should never have done that! He should no longer be an Orangeman!

Ken Wilkinson: And what would that promote to the rest of the world? That we were bigots? We had a chance of PR there and our people need to move forward and use PR to promote themselves.

Nelson McCausland: I think the issue is one of presentation. I personally do not believe in negotiation with residents' groups because we have a *right* to do certain things. We have human rights, we have civil rights, and those civil rights should be asserted. One of the things we learn is that language is immensely powerful and how we use language in our presentation is very important. A lot of our language has been unchanged for a long time. And one of the key phrases we need to learn is 'human rights', because we have now in Northern Ireland a human rights commission, which has been set up for a certain purpose but I think it puts the issue of human rights on the agenda, and we should be asserting the human rights of the Orange institution – that I have a right to assembly, I have a right to walk. We shouldn't allow ourselves to be railroaded into the use of the word 'marching' – we are out 'walking'. The word 'march' was introduced by Republicans to give that aggressive, triumphalist tone to Orange parades – we are out 'walking', we are out celebrating our culture and we have a right to do that.

So those issues as to how we present it, how we promote our case, and the language we use are crucially important.

Male: Youse are talking here about dialogue. Okay, I agree up to a point, but talk to the people from the area, not those who claim to talk

for them. You've got Gerard Rice at the bottom of the Ormeau Road, who says he talks for the people at the bottom of the Ormeau Road – and yet he lives seven miles away in Carryduff! How can *he* represent the people of the Ormeau Road? Let the people speak for themselves, not these plants who've been put in – people aren't being allowed to speak up for themselves.

Sammy Douglas: On that note we'll have to close now. We talk about communication, I appreciate the people on the panel coming here communicating their message. Even if people didn't agree with them, at least they were honest and up-front. So, on behalf of BACS, can I thank all the panellists from their contributions. Could I also thank the Walkway Community Association for putting on the food, the Community Relations Council for funding this event, and George and Caroline Newell who have worked so hard to make tonight happen. Thanks for coming.

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