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Orange Alba: The Civil Religion of Loyalism in the Southwestern Lowlands of Scotland since 1798

A Dissertation Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
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ABSTRACT

This study introduces the idea that, taken together, the major institutional frameworks of the ultra-Protestant culture of loyalism in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland can be conceived as a civil religion. I argue that loyalist civil religion in lowland Scotland was comprised of a distinct set of institutions including the Orange Order, Glasgow Rangers Football Club, loyalist street gangs and paramilitaries and loyalist flute bands. The elements that informed each of these loyalist groups were not unrelated, but part of a multidimensional and interactive civil religious movement. Each institution appealed to a wide range of viewpoints within the loyalist community but they all rallied around the same general "cause" and participated in the same ritual gatherings. Loyalist civil religion in the urban lowlands was articulated through an understood system of rituals, folklore, symbols and moral values related to the Protestant Irish's shared experience of historical conflict and victimization at the hands of Roman Catholics. Regular ritual commemorations of past events guided contemporary loyalist agendas and actions. Through the folk collage of symbols, songs and other folk displays at loyalist ritual events, the history and contemporary goals of loyalism were relayed to future generations of potential loyalists. The recurrent celebration of past military heroes, battles and blood sacrifices in the name of the loyalist cause helped to legitimize and sustain loyalist culture in Scotland, even after the civil religion of loyalism developed into a civil religion of a "Lost Cause." This work argues that loyalist civil religion was not just a formation of an agreed-upon national creed, but functioned to unify a subgroup within a nation driven to articulate its identity in a way contrary to the national *status quo*. Loyalist civil religion forged not only a banner of collective allegiance, but also a charter for action. Loyalists not only believed they had the right to pursue their "way of life," but they were united by the belief that they were engaged in a

constant battle with the “shadowy” forces of Roman Catholicism whose collective was supposedly engaged in an ongoing quest to undermine the cherished British “civil and religious liberties” secured by William III in 1690 at the Battle of the Boyne.

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Abbreviations

CSC - Celtic Supporters Club

DUP – Democratic Unionist Party

FA – Football Association

FB – flute band

FC - football club

FIFA - Fédération Internationale de Football Association

GoMA – Gallery of Modern Art, Glasgow

IFA – Irish Football Association

IRA - Irish Republican Army

RIRA - Real IRA

LOL - Loyal Orange Lodge

LPWA - Loyalist Prisoner's Welfare Association

LVF - Loyalist Volunteer Force

MPs – Member of Parliament

NUWM - National Unemployed Workers' Movement

OPPP – Orange and Protestant Political Party

RFC - Rangers Football Club

RSC – Rangers Supporters Club

SFA – Scottish Football Association

SFL – Scottish Football League

SNP – Scottish National Party

SPL – Scottish Premier League

SPL – Scottish Protestant League

SPVS – Scottish Protestant Vigilance Society

UDA - Ulster Defense Association

UEFA – Union of European Football Associations

UFF - Ulster Freedom Fighters

UVF - Ulster Volunteer Force

YCV – Young Citizens Volunteers

INTRODUCTION

In 1999, Scottish composer, James MacMillan, delivered a lecture at the Edinburgh Festival entitled, "Scotland's Shame," which claimed that sectarianism was endemic in contemporary Scottish society. Using powerful and emotive language, MacMillan spoke of lowland Scotland as being like "Northern Ireland without the guns or bullets."[1] The renowned composer accused Scotland of being a land characterized by "sleep-walking bigotry" where "visceral anti-Catholicism" disfigured most aspects national life.[2] Although his accusations were certainly exaggerated, it was clear to anyone who attended a football match between Scotland's two most popular football clubs, Glasgow Rangers and Glasgow Celtic[3], that the ethno-tribal bitterness that historically plagued Ulster also contaminated sections of Scottish cultural life in the modern southwestern lowlands.

This work examines the making of a distinct and identifiable civil religion of loyalism in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland since the establishment of the Orange Order in the early nineteenth century. Loyalists were intensely loyal to the British Crown, the Act of Union of 1800,[4] the unwritten British Constitution and the Protestant faith. A critical clause in the British Constitution is the Protestant Establishment, comprising the Coronation Oath that proscribes any but a Protestant monarch, and establishes the Protestant Church of England as the state church. Associated with this Protestant ascendancy was a long-persisting system of privileged access to such things as government office, employment, education, relief aid and housing. The British

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[1] James MacMillan, "Scotland's Shame," transcript of speech delivered at the Edinburgh Festival, 1999, Mitchell Library (Glasgow), Glasgow Room Collection.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Rangers and Celtic are collectively referred to as the Old Firm.
[4] The Act of Union 1800 created the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland which was later reduced in the twentieth century to United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Union was the product of the crushing of the Irish separatist Rebellion of 1798, while the Protestant Establishment was the result of the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that saw England defending its Protestant Reformation against the Roman Catholic powers of Continental Europe, with Catholic Ireland serving as a frequent battleground or potential beachhead. Loyalists regarded themselves as defenders of the civil and religious liberties of British Protestants and sought to uphold the rule and ascendancy of a Protestant monarch in the United Kingdom. They had an unconditional, almost covenanted loyalty to the symbol of the British Crown and were willing to protect and defend the British Union at any cost. Those perceived as enemies of the Crown and or the sanctity of the British Union (i.e. Roman Catholics and later Irish Republicans) were ultimately considered enemies of loyalism.

Loyalist civil religion included a constellation of institutions, symbols, ideas, standards and practices that provided loyalists with a sense of belonging, history and destiny. It was identified through the loyalist civil religious community of believers' holidays, heroes, folklore, and, most importantly, observance of rituals. Rowland Sherrill argues that civil religion is "a form of devotion, outlook and commitment" that emotionally and physically binds members of an identity group together.[5] By the twentieth century, the civil religion of loyalism in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland was comprised of four separate institutional frameworks: the Orange Order, Glasgow Rangers Football Club, loyalist street gangs and paramilitary units and loyalist flute bands. Each of the four loyalist institutional frameworks was bound by their common devotion to a generally defined loyalist cause rooted in the ethno-tribal conflict in Ulster. Although each loyalist institution functioned autonomously, they all shared the common goal of uniting like-minded loyalists together to celebrate their common identity through a

[5] Rowland Sherrill, "Religion, Civil Society and Community," Conference paper delivered at *One Nation Under God: Political and Religious Dimensions of America* in Indianapolis, Indiana on September 23, 2002, www.facsnet.org/issues/faith/civil_religion1.htm#god (April 10, 2007).

variety of rituals and to claim and maintain physical and ideological space through various forms of ritual aggression. Each loyalist institution was bound by a shared sense of identity and common devotion to the general tenets and symbols of loyalism but they differed, sometimes dramatically, on the best way to express and pursue their visions. This study introduces the idea that, taken together, the four major institutional frameworks of the ultra-Protestant culture of loyalism in lowland Scotland can be conceived as a civil religion.

The civil religion of loyalism as it emerged in the Scottish lowlands functioned to bind members of the Protestant Irish/loyalist identity group together in common cause against, what they considered to be, the ongoing incursion of the devious forces of Rome into the social, cultural or political fabric of British life. The ranks of the loyalist civil religious group in Scotland were overwhelmingly comprised of Presbyterians who saw themselves as representing the Calvinist elect against damned Roman Catholics who loyalists believed were mentally enslaved by their tyrannical Vatican leadership (Fig. 1). Michael Burleigh explains that loyalists had "radically differing views about authority, ecclesiology and the transferability of spiritual merit through the meditation of an elite priesthood that were irreconcilable with the beliefs of the Catholic Church."[6] Loyalists, Burleigh suggests, "were intensely suspicious of what they regarded as the theocratic nature of Catholicism, and of the ways in which priestcraft seemed to control the minds and bodies of their adherents."[7] For intensely devoted loyalists, the civil religion of loyalism in lowland Scotland provided a sense of ultimacy and intimacy through an understood system of rituals, folklore, symbols and moral values related to the Protestant Irish's shared experience of historical conflict and victimization at the hands of Roman Catholics, often in apocalyptic terms. Incidents like the brutal massacre of thousands of Protestant Scottish and

[6] Michael Burleigh, *Sacred Causes: The Clash of Religion and Politics from the Great War to the War on Terror* (New York: Harper Collins, 2006), 380.
[7] Ibid.

English settlers in Ireland by Roman Catholics during the Irish Rebellion in 1641 and the more recent Provisional, Real and Continuity IRAs' terrorist campaigns against the Protestant community in Ulster were viewed as timeless historical episodes. Burleigh argues that, "wallowing in victimhood is an essential element of the Irish problem … providing as it does the emotional and moral 'justification' for bullying, intimidating and killing others."[8] Once a group accepts victim status anything is permitted because the cake of custom and morality has been broken in the process of victimization. Society's customs and moral values are no longer owed respect and restraint freeing the victimized party to act according to their own "higher law." The memory of past conflict and victimization was kept alive through regular ritual commemorations of past struggles. These remembrances served to reinforce the ideals and identity of the contemporary loyalist identity group. The civil religion of loyalism in lowland Scotland was a part of a larger Ulster Protestant folk culture[9] that operated as a surrogate support network for their "besieged" "kith and kin" in Ulster and as a united front against the "incursion of popery" at all levels of Scottish society.

Devout members of the Orange Order may disagree with the notion of lumping these four loyalist institutions together because they have publicly attempted to distance themselves from what they consider to be the "rougher" elements within loyalist civil religious tradition. However, the loyalist institutions must be examined as a collective because they share overlapping identities, loyalties, ritual observances, folklore, traditions and objectives. Each of the four loyalist institutions intersects on multiple levels. That is, a member of one loyalist institution may be a member of, or participate in, the rituals of others (Fig. 2). For example, Glasgow Rangers Football Club developed into the crossroads of loyalist culture during the

[8] Ibid., 377.
[9] In this context a "folk culture" includes a specific group of people who relate or identify with a certain locale. The locale that all loyalists identify with is the Province of Ulster in the north of Ireland.

twentieth century as Ibrox Park and the Rangers team came to symbolize the loyalist cause. Each weekend during Scotland's long football season members of each loyalist institution gathered together to celebrate "who they were" and "what they stood for" through their sporting heroes on the pitch. Loyalist Rangers supporters were spectators to (and sometimes participants in) the symbolic battle being waged in the name of the loyalist cause. The same degree of loyalist institutional ritual overlap was also present at Orange parades during the marching season, especially on the Twelfth of July.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau first coined the term "civil religion" in Book IV of his work, *The Social Contract*, in 1762. From Rousseau's standpoint, a civil religion was an inorganically created, top-down phenomenon that was an essential ingredient for the construction of a unified and stable nation. Rousseau reasoned that in a more secular post-Enlightenment world, the development of an agreed-upon civil religion "would define a common morality and help maintain a sense of community and cohesiveness among members of a society."[10] He believed it was important for "the sovereign to establish articles of a purely civic faith, not exactly as dogmas of religion but as sentiments of social commitment."[11] The creation of a national civil religion would lead to the legitimization of the state as the primary object of devotion of a united citizenry. In the Rousseauan model, the civil religion of the state was artificial. It was imposed on society from above and the individual was expected to identify (at least to a point) with the emblem of the state and all that it represented.

Over a hundred years after the publication of *The Social Contract*, Emile Durkheim revisited the idea of civil religion in his work, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*.

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[10] Marcela Cristi. *From Civil to Political Religion: The Intersection of Religion Culture and Politics* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001), 23.

[11] Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, and *Discourses*, trans. G.D.H. Cole (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1973), 275.

Durkheim believed civil religion was not made or manipulated by the sovereign but spontaneously emerged from society itself.[12] The organization of loyalist civil religion followed the Durkheimian model, as it was a phenomenon that was reinforced and strengthened over time through an identity group's regular ritual observances of collective triumphs and tragedies. These commemorations gave meaning to and informed the overall value system of the identity group further supporting the Durkheimian archetype. As Marcela Cristi argues, civil religion is "not something to be imposed on the individual," rather it is an organic "cultural force" that acts on the individual.[13] She agrees with Durkheim's idea that the state is too far removed from the people to act as a supreme moral agent in their individual lives.[14] Solidarity within a civil religious group was dependent on the group's regularly gathering together, often in some kind of ritual celebration to rekindle, what Durkheim referred to as, "the collective effervescence of the past."[15] Durkheim believed that gatherings that brought the "imagined community"[16] together and allowed the individual the "opportunity to renew and strengthen the bonds attaching him to society."[17] Thus, in Durkheim's view, civil religion was a byproduct of society itself and was strengthened and preserved every time members of the "imagined community" gathered in ritual celebration. Loyalty and devotion to the civil religious group was "naturally diffused throughout the whole society" and "spontaneously diffused every time the group meets together and celebrates."[18] As Cristi observes, "the resulting social [or civil religious] community is a natural

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[12] Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 5.
[13] Cristi, *From Civil to Political Religion*, 39.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, 240.
[16] The term "imagined community" was coined by Benedict Anderson in his work *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991). Anderson argues that a nation is social community constructed or "imagined" by individuals who believe themselves to be connected to the national group.
[17] Cristi, *From Civil to Political Religion*, 39.
[18] Ibid., 40.

phenomenon."[19] Civil religious rituals like Orange Order parades or mass gatherings at sectarian sporting battles like Glasgow's Old Firm derby brought members of the loyalist civil religious community in lowland Scotland together under the same transcendent banner – Orange/loyalist, Ulster-born Protestantism.

Sociologist Robert Bellah brought renewed interest to the idea of civil religion with the publication of his seminal work, "The American Civil Religion" in 1967. Bellah argues for the existence of an American civil religion that is embodied in a set of symbols, ideological beliefs, ritual practices and organizational structures that sought transcendent meaning in the nation.[20] Bellah believes civil religion is embodied in a "collection of beliefs, symbols and rituals with respect to sacred things and institutionalized in the collectivity."[21] He argues that civil religion is "a genuine apprehension of universal and transcendent religious reality" as revealed through lived experience.[22] Although Bellah's formulation of civil religion correctly identifies the existence of national civil religion in the United States, his work does not recognize the possibility that civil religion can operate among minority identity subgroups that exist within the nation but have goals and aspirations that are not shared by the majority of the national community. Civil religious subgroups like the loyalists of lowland Scotland functioned as an imagined community within the "imagined community" of a nation, or even here, a part-nation.

Symbols, songs, slogans, flags and other visceral components of an identity group's ritual celebrations develop unquestioned transcendent meaning over time and serve to unite an identity group and to unify them against a shared threat to their way of life. Loyalists believed that the Roman Catholic Church and its religious, socio-cultural and political agents represented an evil

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[19] Ibid.
[20] Robert Neely Bellah, "The American Civil Religion," *Daedalus*, 96 (1967).
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.

and undemocratic force determined to challenge and undermine their "civil and religious liberties" secured by the "Great Deliverer," William III during the Glorious Revolution of 1688. For loyalists, William III's victory at the Battle to the Boyne in 1690 was the symbolic beginning of the modern loyalist struggle to defend the Protestant ascendancy and their civil and religious freedoms from what they considered to be the ongoing encroachment (both visible and invisible) of an inherently evil and tyrannical Roman Catholic social, cultural and political value system. According to Durkheim, individual members of the civil religious group ritually gathered at regular intervals to reaffirm their common identity and shared value systems which were often defined against a rival value orientation. In the case of loyalist civil religion, adherents were defined as much by whom they were *not*, as they were by who they were and what they represented. Repetitious and ritualistic community gatherings over successive generations sustain and strengthen the continuity of the civil religious group even if the focus or emblem of ritual devotion gradually evolves over time into the celebration of what Charles Reagan Wilson describes as a "Lost Cause."

A "Lost Cause" means a political, socio-cultural or ideological cause rooted in the past that cannot realistically hope to be realized in a contemporary context. In his groundbreaking work, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920*, Charles Reagan Wilson took the idea of civil religion a step further by arguing that Bellah's model of civil religion could be applied, not only to the nation, but to subgroups within a nation. Wilson argued that defeated white Southerners preserved their heavily mythologized Confederate-inspired cultural identity from the Reconstruction period forward by blending Christian symbols and terminology with those of the bygone Confederacy. He claimed that white Southerners essentially made a secular religion out of their shared history of suffering and sacrifice during the Civil War. Once it

became clear the ideal political nation was unattainable, white Southerners began cultivating a cultural identity centered on the commemoration of the noble blood sacrifice made on behalf of the Confederate cause during the Civil War. A combination of rituals, symbols and myths associated with the Confederate cause, like the Confederate battle flag and Robert E. Lee, were used to teach defeated white Southerners to be proud of their cultural heritage despite their defeat in war. The civil religion that emerged from the ashes of a defeated and demoralized people rationalized Southern slavery and rebranded the war as a war of Northern aggression that was fought to preserve "states' rights." The virtuous and noble "Confederate Christian Crusaders" who answered the call to defend their way of life were involved in a righteous cause for which no guilt or apology was necessary. Wilson argues that this unique regional Southern civil religion was based on an attitude known as the "Lost Cause" which included "the use of the past as the basis for a Southern religious moral identity, an identity as a chosen people" who had not yet reached the Promised Land.[23] Like devotees of the "Lost Cause" in the Southern United States, instead of believing the inclusive notion of "we the people," lowland loyalists subscribed to the idea, "we *are* the people."[24] They believed, at least to a point, they were a "chosen people." Loyalists realized that in an increasingly secular and diverse society, their ideal political nation was unattainable so they clung to the loyalist cultural subgroup in an effort to prevent themselves from becoming a defeated identity.

Wilson's formulation of the a civil religious group's ritual celebration of a noble, yet, lost cause is helpful for gaining a clearer understanding as to why loyalist civil religion in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland managed to endure and remain meaningful over successive

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[23] Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause 1865-1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980), 1.

[24] The slogan "We are the People" is a popular chant among Rangers supporters and has been incorporated into a range of officially licensed Rangers merchandise.

generations despite the multiple challenges to its adherents' worldviews and their public ritual celebrations. I argue that loyalist civil religion gradually became a civil religion that celebrated a "lost cause," much like that of the civil religion of the former Confederacy. The problem with the idea of a "lost cause" in a given civil religion is that the lost cause must ultimately be reclaimed if the civil religion is to endure. Carolyn Marvin and David Ingle argue that "only another ritual can repair a failed ritual."[25] It was this continuous cycle of both real and imagined ritual confrontation that sustained loyalist civil religion in the urban lowlands of Scotland into the twenty-first century.

Loyalism provided individuals within the Protestant Irish Diaspora community in lowland Scotland with a comprehensive framework for understanding their shared historical experience despite being separated from their homeland. Periodic ritual gatherings like Orange Order parades and Rangers matches reinforced the unity and historical continuity of the group by infusing the loyalist collective and their "cause" with a sacred quality. The idea that the cultural aspects of the civil religion of loyalism had some sort of sacred quality depended on the perception of its unquestioned inviolability by members of the group. Like traditional supernatural religions, the ideas and mission of loyalist civil religion represented what Burleigh referred to as a "sacred cause" that was worthy of devotion, reverence and sacrifice. The belief system and moral values that defined what the group considered "sacred" dictated that it was noble to sacrifice oneself in defense of the sacred when it was under threat.[26]

The idea of the nobility of a sacrifice was a key component of loyalist civil religious practice. Loyalists believed that the preservation of the Protestant Union of the United Kingdom

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[25] Carolyn Marvin and David Ingle, "Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Revisiting Civil Religion." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 64 no. 4 (Winter, 1996), www.asc.upenn.edu/USR/fcm/jaar.htm (14 February 2007).
[26] Ibid.

against outside threats (namely Vatican tyranny) was a sacred duty worthy of blood sacrifice. Members of a civil religious group are "willing to kill and die for truth as they understand it."[27] When loyalists spilled blood in defense of the Crown, the Protestant Union or the Reformed Faith, it was to be sanctified through ritual commemoration. Peter Shirlow and Mark McGovern argue that the relationship between Orange Protestants and the British state was "sanctified in commemorations of sacrifices made in the past" by loyalists in defense of Protestantism and the Crown.[28] The blood sacrifice of Orange/loyalist martyrs was immortalized in parades, songs, chants, poems, murals, graffiti, festivals and folklore. Moreover, the sacrificial philosophy that underpinned the loyalist community was "evoked not only in the histories of [the siege of] Derry [1689] and the Boyne [1690], but even more powerfully in the memory of [the 36th Ulster Division at] the Somme [1916]."[29] The celebration of this sacrificial ethos among lowland loyalists found its greatest articulation in the popular practices associated with the Orange Order marching season (especially the Battle of the Boyne commemorative parade) and Rangers Football Club. What constitutes a civil religious group in any given historical period "is the memory of the last blood sacrifice."[30] It was the ongoing commemoration and glorification of the memory of the last blood sacrifice made for "the cause" that sustained the civil religion loyalism of in Scotland over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Not all conflicts were successful blood sacrifice rituals. In the context of loyalist civil religion, failed blood sacrifice rituals ultimately became, as Wilson illustrated, "Lost Causes." A blood sacrifice ritual in the name of the "sacred cause" was not committed in vain, but should be celebrated as the sacrifice in the name of a just and meaningful cause. Loyalist civil religion

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[27] Ibid.
[28] Peter Shirlow and Mark McGovern, *"Who are 'the People?'": Unionism, Protestantism and Loyalism in Northern Ireland* (London: Pluto Press, 1997), 6.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.

suffered major setbacks to the "cause" over the course of the twentieth century. Examples of such setbacks include: Ireland became a independent republic; the Good Friday Peace Accords led to a power-sharing government between Ulster Unionists and Sinn Fein; loyalist marches were forced to alter many of their traditional parade routes; Roman Catholic Schools in Scotland still received state funding; Glasgow Rangers Football Club was forced to abandon its sectarian hiring policy and to clamp down on sectarian chanting and other loyalist expressions at Ibrox. These are just a few of many obstructing events that could be detailed. Yet, despite numerous setbacks, loyalism continues to endure into the twenty-first century. The problem, as described previously, with the idea of celebrating a "Lost Cause" within a given civil religious group is that the lost cause must, ultimately, be reclaimed if the civil religion is to survive. Marvin and Ingle argue that the only way to repair a failed blood sacrifice ritual is to engage in further ritual combat with the enemy "other."[31] It is this ongoing cycle of ritual confrontation that sustains loyalist civil religion in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland.

The civil religion of loyalism in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland cannot be reduced to a simple byproduct of material or instinctive processes. Instead, loyalist civil religion is a complex cultural construction created over time through history, values, rituals, affinities and people's responses to events in the past and in the present, and then repeatedly chosen, expressed and passed on as cultural content and practice by its adherents. Some may try to reduce the idea of a cohesive civil religion of loyalism to material or economic causes or argue that loyalism merely represents a culture of consolation for the defeated. Others might reduce loyalist civil religion to knee-jerk tribalism, but it is much deeper than that. Loyalist civil religion is a historical cultural construction based on an understood system of common customs, core values,

[31] Carolyn Marvin And David Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Totem Rituals and the American Flag* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 185.

myths of origins, a shared past and shared experiences that are celebrated through a complex system of ritual observances. Loyalists were immanent in their self-representation and cannot be reduced to a product of external determinants. These are human beings with a culture they have created and nurtured over time.

This study is organized thematically. Each chapter focuses on the historical development of each of the four major institutional frameworks of loyalism in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland and on how ritual gatherings, symbols, ideas and other organizing principles contributed to the creation and vitality of a vibrant loyalist civil religious unit. Chapter I traces the origins and development of the first expression of loyalist culture in the Scottish lowlands, the Orange Order. Since it was first imported into Scotland from Ulster by Scottish veterans of the United Irishmen's Rebellion in 1798, the Orange Order has left an indelible imprint on lowland working-class life, particularly in the city of Glasgow. The Orange Order was the foundation of loyalist civil religious practice in the urban lowlands. It provided the symbols, folklore, heroes, language, and, most importantly, the rituals that gave meaning to and informed the general loyalist worldview shared by all other institutional frameworks of loyalism. Particular attention will be given to how the Orange Order's practice of public ritual parading functioned in lowland society. I argue that, as in Ulster, public Orange parading rituals were territorial displays of both real and imagined power. Parades were symbolic performances of strength targeted at the Irish Catholic Diaspora community. They were intentionally triumphalist exercises designed to flamboyantly exhibit their superior position in the lowland working-class society. Orange parades were a medium by which to witness to prospective members of the loyalist family. The symbols emblazoned on bannerettes and bass drum skins, the flags, the uniforms and the songs combined to make a complex loyalist folk collage that told the story of

loyalist history and culture. Parades represented an aggressive and unyielding statement of Protestant loyalist identity.

The first chapter also examines the Orange Order's various attempts at political mobilization, especially during the Irish Home Rule movement (1886-1914) and against the 1918 Education Act (Scotland) and during "the Troubles" in Ulster. Additionally it offers an analysis of the brotherhood's formula for remaining relevant in an increasingly secularized and diverse modern Scotland. It is in this context that I argue that the Orange Order evolved into a civil religion of a "Lost Cause." Although they still hold parades and celebrate their cultural heritage and identity by regularly gathering together in common "cause," the actual realization of that "cause" has become increasingly unrealistic. Following the cessation of "the Troubles" in Northern Ireland, the Orange Order functioned mainly as a historical folk preservation organization, mutual aid society and social club outlet in the Protestant working-class enclaves of lowland Scotland. Chapter I explores how the Orange Order and its public ritual dramas played a vital role in the creation, maintenance and endurance of a unique and identifiable civil religious culture of loyalism in the industrial lowlands of southwestern Scotland for the past two centuries.

Chapter II examines the multitude of internal and external factors that contributed to Rangers becoming the *de facto* sporting wing of loyalism. Specifically this chapter details how the civil religion of loyalism influenced the club's corporate philosophy and why that particular ethos was so appealing to legions of Protestant working-class supporters from the numerous Orange enclaves scattered throughout the southwestern lowlands of Scotland and beyond. Chapter II also explains the contribution of generations of dedicated Rangers supporters to the preservation of the club's symbolic status as an arm of loyalism through the creation of independent brake clubs, Rangers supporters' clubs and hooligan firms. Special attention is

given to identifying why members of these independent fan groups insisted *their* club remain a bastion of loyalist culture even after club officials began to distance Rangers from its sectarian roots in the 1980s. Furthermore, it traces the evolution of a network of loyalist supporters between Rangers, Chelsea and Linfield fans called the "Blues Brothers Alliance." Loyalist hooligans and other fans of these three football clubs were linked by shared nationalist political beliefs, intense anti-Catholicism and sympathy for the Protestants/loyalist cause in Ulster. The extent of "Blues Brothers" and other loyalist hooligan activity connected to Rangers supporters is thoroughly detailed. Lastly, Chapter II identifies how Rangers' home ground, Ibrox Park, was transformed into a symbolic ritual space where members of each institution of Glasgow's loyalist civil religious quadrangle regularly assembled to celebrate, affirm and even fight for the common cause of loyalism.

The role of street gangs and paramilitary forces in the expansion of the overall civil religious structure of loyalism in the Scottish lowlands during the twentieth century is the focus of Chapter III. I argue that in the course of the twentieth century, Glaswegian gangs and paramilitary groups that identified themselves as "loyalist," "Orange," or "Protestant" helped perpetuate the civil religion of loyalism to a segment of Glasgow's young Protestant working-class population who were not attracted to mainstream expressions of loyalism like the Orange Order. The reason for this aversion to traditional outlets of loyalist expression by these youths was the perception that organizations like the Orange Order were not doing enough to fight the steady incursion of "Romanism" into British society. They promoted a direct, physical force approach to defending loyalism against what they believed to be the encroachment of Catholic tyranny into their immediate environment.

Young Protestants influenced by loyalism in their childhood, indentified themselves in terms of the loyalist worldview they were accustomed to. Most members of loyalist gang and paramilitary networks grew up in working-class Protestant households with intense loyalist sympathies and were regularly baptized in the symbols, rituals and language of loyalism in their schools, sporting events, and attendance at Orange parades during the marching season and other loyalist events. For individuals raised according to the gospel of loyalism, the loyalist customs that bound their community together were normal, unquestionable and worth defending from outside threats (both real and imagined). Although loyalist gangs and paramilitaries operated outside the confines of mainstream loyalism, they were nonetheless connected to the loyalist civil religious group by "having the same name and emblem" of the collective core.[32] Loyalist gangs assumed names that had symbolic meanings and could easily be recognized by both peers and enemies. They adopted the same symbols and public ritual expressions common in Glasgow's Ulster Protestant enclaves. Loyalist gangs like the Bridgeton Billy Boys added a youthful edge to the loyalist civil religious tradition, which attracted an entirely different breed of loyalist into the official fold of lowland loyalism.

The final chapter focuses on the evolution of loyalist flute band culture in lowland Scotland with particular emphasis on the rise of militant Blood and Thunder flute bands from the 1970s forward. Loyalist flute band organizations were able to exploit already established Orange rituals as a resource for articulating their own vision of loyalism and consolidate themselves as a viable institutional framework of the overall civil religious structure of loyalist civil religion. I argue that loyalist flute bands played a vital role in the transmission, maintenance, preservation and durability of a distinct Ulster-inspired loyalist identity and civil religious culture in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland. Chapter IV describes how loyalist flute band culture

[32] Cristi, *From Civil to Political Religion,* 31.

functioned and how it was interconnected with each of the other institutional frameworks of loyalism, especially the Orange Order. The uneasy relationship between loyalist flute band organizations and the Orange Order and their efforts to control loyalist cultural expression among the flute bands will also be detailed.

This work builds on the theoretical foundations of pioneering work on civil religions by American scholars like Bellah and Wilson. In this study I apply their methodologies in a European context to analyze the emergence of a vibrant civil religion of loyalism among members of the Protestant Irish Diaspora community in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland. Like Wilson, I argue that loyalist civil religion was not just a formation of an agreed-upon national creed, but functioned to unify a subgroup within a nation driven to articulate its identity in a way contrary to the national *status quo*. In lowland Scotland, the interlinking circles of historicized identity centered on the maintenance of British rule and Protestant privilege in Northern Ireland, forged not only a banner of collective allegiance, but also a charter for action. Loyalists not only believed they had the right to pursue their "way of life," but they were united by the belief that they were engaged in a constant battle with the "shadowy" forces of Roman Catholicism whose collective was supposedly engaged in an ongoing quest to undermine the cherished British "civil and religious liberties" secured by William III in 1690 at the Battle of the Boyne. It is my hope that this study will provide a trailhead for further research into the connection between civil religion and the making, maintenance and endurance of European civil religious subgroups like the Basques in Catalonia, Irish Catholics in Scotland or Republicans in Northern Ireland.

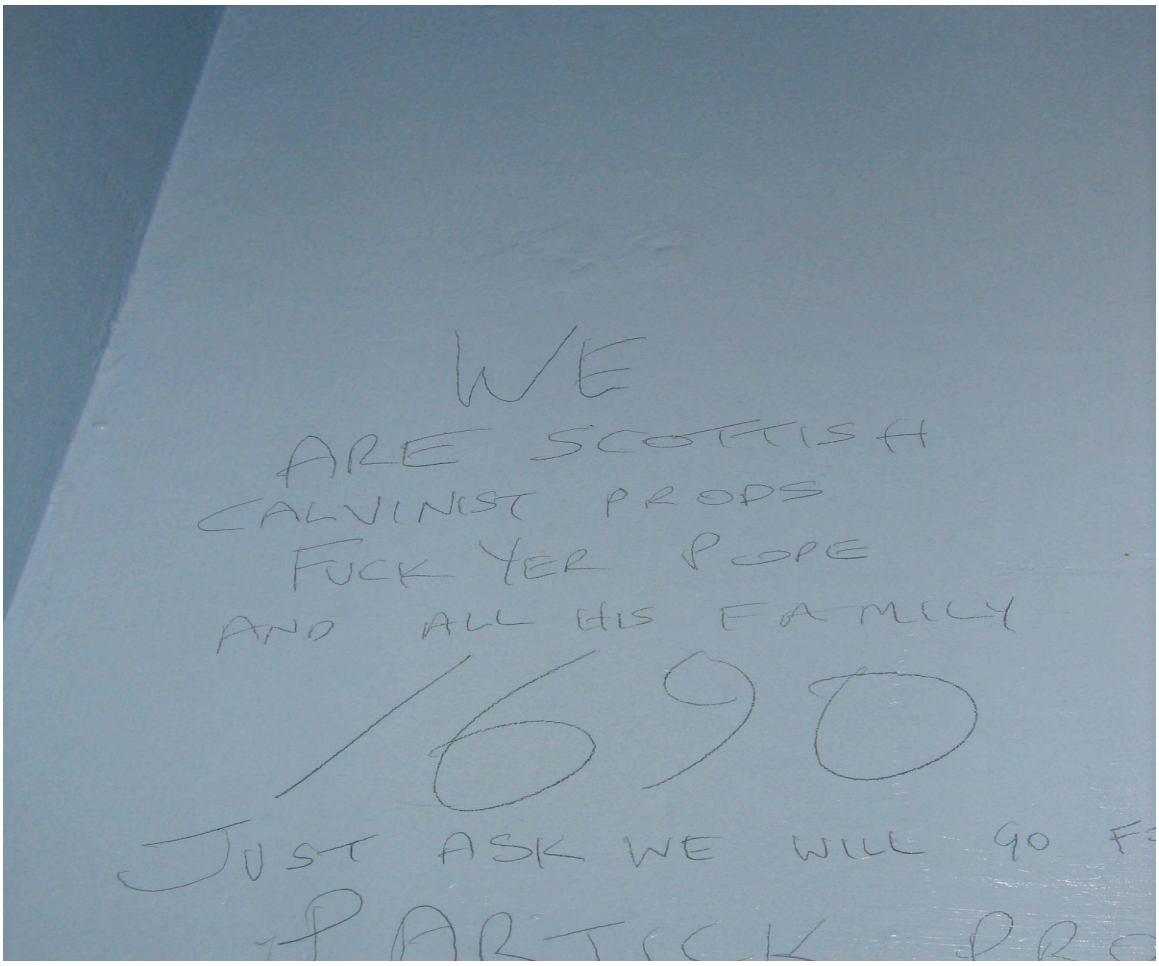

Figure 1. Crude sectarian loyalist graffiti left on the wall of the bathroom of The District Bar in Govan following the Rangers vs. Chelsea match - 28 July 2007.



Fig. 2. The intersection of loyalist civil religious institutions: Orange Order Rangers supporters from County Antrim, Northern Ireland visiting the Rangers Megastore at Ibrox Stadium in Govan – 7 July 2007.

CHAPTER I
The Sash My Father Wore: The Orange Order and the Civil Religion of Loyalism in the Southwestern Lowlands of Scotland

I remember being seven or eight years old and standing at the side of the road outside my Granny's house in Cessnock [an area of Glasgow] *with my dad. When I heard the parade first approach I didn't know what to expect. The streets were lined with people all anticipating what was to come. I can vividly remember the feeling of wonder and excitement as I heard the bang of the bass drums in the distance. You could feel the earth tremble beneath your feet! And then I heard the flutes.*

As I stood at the side of the road for what seemed like an eternity, waiting on the parade reaching us, I wondered why people were coming out of their houses, shops etc. to line the streets. They obviously knew what was coming, at that time I never.

Then all of a sudden the traffic stopped. It seemed like a ghost town for a few minutes and then I saw the banners and flags, coming along the Paisley Road West. It's a sight I will never forget.

I remember every band that passed, the 'stick men' at the front spinning their sticks all around their bodies and then firing it up into the air. They were superb. The bands wore different uniforms, played different tunes and every lodge that passed waved to the crowded streets and made us feel part of the parade. We were part of the parade!

After that I decided to join the Orange Order. I joined the Juniors and Juveniles and then progressed into the Adult Lodge.[1]

- Stewart Mackay, Cessnock, Glasgow

The most obvious expression of loyalist civil religion in Scotland has historically been the Orange Order. During the course of its development through the nineteenth and twentieth century, the Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland provided a fount and blueprint for an overall loyalist civil religious culture by supplying the rituals, language, ideas, history, myths, symbols and shibboleths later embraced by all loyalist institutional frameworks. The Orange Order was the cultural nucleus of all loyalist expression in lowland Scotland. Burleigh correctly recognizes that by the middle of the twentieth century, "an Orange Order civil religion consisting of celebrations of royal occasions, the 12 July and 12 August commemorations of the 1689 siege of Londonderry and the 1690 Battle of the Boyne, and the more universal cult of the dead in the Great War cemented Unionist or loyalist solidarities."[2] The Orange Order in Scotland primarily functioned as a folk preservation association dedicated to promoting Protestant ideals and interests and defending the British link with their Protestant "kith an kin" in Ireland. While the Orange Order's loyalty to Protestantism was nonnegotiable, their loyalty to the Crown has historically been contingent on its support of the Reformed Faith and the continued political connection between Britain and her loyal Protestant subjects in Ulster. This chapter explains the Orange Order's role in defining *what is* as well as *what ought to be* by providing frameworks of self-understanding and intelligibility for the loyalist collective. I argue that the Orange Order

[1] Stewart Mackay, "Scottish Twelfth Memories," http://www.the-twelfth.org.uk/twelfth_memories.htm (14 February 2010).
[2] Michael Burleigh, *Sacred Causes: The Clash of Religion and Politics From the Great War to the War on Terror* (New York: Harper Collins, 2006), 384.

and the loyalist cultural tradition associated with it was an important unifying force that bound working-class Protestant Irish migrants and later Scots under the banner of patriotic imperial Unionism and identification with the Reformed Faith.

The Glorious Revolution, the Battle of the Boyne and the Making of the Williamite Commemorative Tradition in Ireland, 1688-1795

Although the Orange Order as it exists today was not founded until 1795, the idea of "Orangeism" as a bulwark against the "tyrannical" forces of continental Catholicism originated during the Dutch Revolt in 1568 when Protestants in the Low Countries began their fight against Spanish occupation and the forces of the Counter-Reformation. Under the leadership of Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, the United Provinces of the Netherlands won a string of victories over the Spanish during the 1590s. The conflict between the Dutch and Spanish ended in 1609 with a treaty that established a fixed boundary between the United Provinces and Spanish Netherlands (roughly where the present Dutch/Belgian border is currently situated). It was out of this conflict that the House of Orange established itself as champions of the Protestant cause in Europe. In 1668, Charles II's brother James, duke of York and heir to the English throne, converted to Catholicism and, reportedly, "tended thereafter to display all the zeal characteristic of converts."[3] This royal conversion initiated a chain of events that would eventually bring the influence of the House of Orange to the British Isles.

The duke of York's conversion disturbed many members of the Protestant landowning elite. Thus in 1679 the House of Commons passed the first Exclusion Bill, aimed at preventing James from taking the throne. Charles II, a cousin of Louis XIV, sought to extend toleration to Roman Catholics in Britain and was unwilling to accept a disruption in the natural line of succession. In 1681 Charles II suspended Parliament and ruled by royal prerogative for the rest

[3] Thomas Heyck, *The Peoples of the British Isles, 1688 to 1870* (Chicago: Lyceum Books, Inc., 2008), 26.

of his reign. Without the support of Parliament, Charles secretly requested financial support from Louis XIV. During Parliament's hiatus, Charles aggressively pursued a policy of gerrymandering borough constituencies and purging local government positions of Whigs. Thomas Heyck argues that the king's policies "threatened the liberties, rights and property of *all* local elites, not just those of Whigs."[5] Members of the two political parties formed during the Exclusion Crisis, the Whigs and Tories, were never able to form a united front against Charles II and his policies because of Tory anxieties over the possibility of another Civil War.

Despite the controversy over James' conversion and claim to the English throne, the transition of power upon the death of Charles II was relatively smooth. Most of James' Tory allies believed that the fifty-one year old monarch would not be on the throne long enough to irrevocably upset the social or political order. Tories took comfort in the fact that the next two legitimate heirs to the English throne were James' two Protestant daughters from his first marriage, Mary and Anne. Tory anxieties were also lessened by the knowledge that James' second wife, Mary of Modena, was declared infertile eliminating any possibility of a male heir.

Once on the throne, James had no intention of tempering his Catholic zeal. With the encouragement of his French allies and Jesuit advisors, the new king swiftly moved to implement his Catholic policy. The Tory Parliament was conciliatory to most of the king's initial requests but refused to agree to repeal the Test Act, which excluded Catholics from government posts such as British army officers. James felt that the inclusion of Catholic officers was crucial to the implementation and maintenance of his Catholic policy. Two rebellions during the first six months of his reign provided James with the opportunity to appoint as many as ninety Catholic officers in defiance of the Test Act. After the two rebellions were brutally crushed, James refused to disband the standing army or dismiss the Catholic officers he had

[5] Ibid., 28.

appointed. James stationed a garrison of thirty thousand men at Hounslow Heath under the illegal direction of a Catholic officer corps. A contingent of priests was dispatched to the garrison to convert the soldiers to Catholicism and to ensure their loyalty to the king. These deliberate, illegal actions by the king convinced most Tories to realize what their Whig colleagues had known during the reign of Charles II: "that their liberties and power were being threatened" by encroaching Catholicism.[6] This suspicion was confirmed in 1686 when James began to systematically enact his "Catholic policy." Besides his habit of regularly defying the Test Act and his methodical attempts to undermine the Clarendon Code, James also began to encourage Catholic priests to return to Britain. The king exchanged diplomats with the Vatican, accepted a Catholic bishop, and appointed the controversial Catholic Richard Talbot, earl of Tyconnell, as lord deputy (viceroy) over Ireland.[7] The next year James challenged the authority of the Anglican Church by restoring the king's right to discipline insubordinate clergymen restored and dismantling the Anglican monopoly over higher education at Oxford and Cambridge. The *coup de gras* of James' Catholicizing mission came in April 1687 when the monarch issued the Declaration of Indulgence by royal edict effectively eliminating the Test Act and lifting all penal laws that affected both Catholics and dissenters. Although dissenters welcomed toleration, most were vehemently anti-Catholic and no longer trusted James. Thus most dissenters opted for an "Anglican-dissenter alliance against the king's popery."[8] With stories of the horrors suffered by French Huguenots fresh in their minds, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by James II's close friend and ally, Louis XIV, Protestants increasingly feared the prospect of a similar fate in Britain.

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[6] Ibid., 30.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid., 31.

Despite the steady loss of what little support he had among non-Catholics, James foolishly continued to pursue policies that angered members of the Protestant gentry. By the end of 1687, members of Britain's small, but now mostly united Protestant political nation, were convinced that James' passionate desire to "restore" Catholicism was eroding the laws, customs, liberties, constitution and status of the Anglican Church and the Protestant landowning elite. When James's supposedly infertile wife gave birth to a son in June 1688 and the threat of a Catholic dynasty in England became a very real possibility, a Whig/Tory delegation of six noblemen and one Anglican bishop wrote the Dutch *stadtholder*, William of Orange, and asked him to raise an army to assist them in removing James from the throne. William had been interested in the political situation in England since his marriage to Mary Stuart. Historians have established that it was actually the Dutch prince who petitioned the "Immortal Seven" to formally ask for his services. William and his army left Holland in November 1688 and were carried by the infamous "Protestant Wind" that guided the prince's flotilla across the English Channel. William and his Protestant army landed at Torbay on November 5, 1688, initiating what is now know as the Glorious Revolution and William's seizure of the English throne. William moved to consolidate his power over Ireland where James intended to make his final stand in his quest to maintain the English throne. After suffering a few minor setbacks during the initial phases of the Irish campaign, William's army proceeded to win a series of major victories, the most significant of which was the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690. The Battle of the Boyne was a turning point in the Williamite campaign in Ireland. It severely weakened the Jacobite (followers of James) army and led to their final defeat at the Battle of Aughrim in 1691. The Battle of the Boyne saved the Protestant throne in an international war against Louis XIV's

imperial plans for conquest, so the Orange Order's July marches commemorate that triumph of Protestantism over the forces of Roman Catholic tyranny down to today.

Orange devotees believed William's victorious campaign against James' Jacobite army in Ireland symbolized a pivotal turning point in European history. It was considered by many to be the culmination of the Wars of Religion. James II was a staunch defender of the divine right of kings as practiced in France by Louis XIV and other continental monarchs. In England, the principle had become well established that elected representatives should be responsible for making laws. The English system was by no means truly democratic, but it had banished absolutism. Among the Protestant Irish, William was often referred to as "the Great Deliverer" and was considered a messiah figure sent by providence to deliver them from the "tyranny" of Catholic rule.[9] The accession of William and Mary was considered a progressive step forward for the British people. With the coming of William III, the Roman Catholic tyranny of the Stuarts was overthrown, the constitutional monarchy and Bill of Rights were established, and the Protestant ascendancy was secured.

The Orange tradition in Ireland can be traced back to the decades immediately following William's decisive victory over Jacobite forces at the Battle of the Aughrim in County Galway on July 12, 1691, and the resultant treaty of Limerick. It was during this early stage of the development of the Williamite/Orange tradition that the symbol of William III acquired cult-like status among many British Protestants, especially those in Ireland. Public and private material culture including pub signboards, portraits, engraved toasting glasses and other assorted Williamite kitsch was popular among Irish Protestants during the early eighteenth century.[10] Similarly, several Protestant pubs were renamed in honor of William III and Orange music

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[9] Kevin Haddick-Flynn, *Orangeism: The Making of a Tradition* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1999), 90.
[10] Heyck, *The Peoples of the British Isles*, 97.

commemorating Williamite victories became a fixture at popular music halls and public commemorations.[11] Countless Irish roads were named in the monarch's honor and several early eighteenth century architects in Dublin paid homage to William's Low Country roots by designing buildings with Dutch gables and high-latticed windows.[12] Accordingly, a host of highly visible memorial statues dedicated to William and his victories in Ireland were erected across Britain.

One of the most notable monuments was the Boyne Obelisk. The Boyne Obelisk was erected on the north bank of the Boyne River near Oldbridge. The impressive thirty meter high monument bore the following inscription:

> Sacred to the memory of King William the Third, who of 1st July 1690, crossed the Boyne near this spot to attack James the Second at the head of a popish army advantageously posted to the south of it, and did on that day, by a successful battle, secure to us and our posterity our liberty laws and religion. In consequence of this action James the Second left this Kingdom and fled to France. This memorial to our deliverance was erected in the ninth year of the reign of King George the Second, the first stone laid by Lionel Sackville, Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom of Ireland MDCCXXXVI."[13]

In 1923, the Drogheda Brigade of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) blew up the Boyne Obelisk. Since its destruction, the former site of the Boyne Obelisk, now known as "the stump," has retained its civil religious significance and continues to function as a sacred site of loyalist pilgrimage.[14]

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[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Haddick-Flynn, *Orangeism*, 98-99.
[14] Ibid., 99.

Organized public commemorations of William of Orange were first held in the immediate aftermath of the 1691 Treaty of Limerick. These celebrations were primarily held in Dublin and always included a colorful military-style parade that featured soldiers and civilian men from a variety of community organizations dressed in their "Sunday best" complete with Orange cockades affixed to their hats.[15] Accentuated by a host of national and royal flags and banners emblazoned with icons of the Williamite campaign in Ireland, the columns of men marched in step to the beat of music played by fife and drum corps and military brass bands. Unlike later Orange Order processions that focused on the Protestant conquest of Ireland, the earliest Williamite parades usually took place on November 14, William's birthday.[16] As Dominic Bryan notes, early "parades were part of an attempt to popularize William as a non-sectarian national figure by stressing the ideals of 'civil and religious liberty' and the Williamite campaign as a victory for parliamentary democracy."[17] Although members of the working-class participated as spectators and in the festivities surrounding annual Williamite commemorations, early Orange events were primarily the domain of the Protestant landed elite until the 1740s when fraternal brotherhoods like the Boyne Society began taking a more aggressive role in publicly celebrating the Williamite legacy in Ireland.[18]

The wave of Williamite fervor that swept across Protestant Ireland after the Treaty of Limerick spawned the creation of numerous fraternal societies dedicated to honoring and perpetuating a highly idealized version of the Williamite tradition. Most of these early Orange associations were composed of Williamite War veterans. Membership in these Williamite societies was initially confined to officers, but rank-and-file soldiers were soon included and

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[15] Ibid.
[16] Neil Jarman, *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Berg, 1997), 33.
[17] Dominic Bryan, *Orange Parades: The Politics of Ritual Tradition and Control* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 31.
[18] Ibid.

expected to participate in public Williamite commemorations.[19] During the first half of the eighteenth century, Protestant Irish landlords routinely recruited willing members of various Williamite societies to suppress periodic Catholic disturbances in the countryside.[20] The most influential of these early Williamite brotherhoods to the later development of the Orange Order was the Royal Orange Boyne Society.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, the Boyne Society became Ireland's largest Williamite brotherhood. By 1725, the Boyne Society had consolidated most of the island's existing Williamite organizations into a single body headquartered in Enniskillen. As its name implies, the Boyne Society's "symbols and ceremonies were often connected with incidents from the Williamite War."[21] The organization played a significant role in the establishment of an Orange parading tradition surrounding significant Williamite victories in Ireland, rather than the less divisive birthday celebrations. Prior to 1740, the anniversary of the Boyne was usually commemorated by the upper classes with special banquets and balls rather than parades. Neil Jarman notes that in 1740, the Boyne Society broke with established tradition and marked "the Golden Jubilee of the battle by marching to St. Catherine's Church for a sermon and then afterwards parading through Dublin, accompanied by music and the discharging of guns."[22] Boyne Society parades after 1740 were more provocative in character. This was in response to rising levels of agrarian unrest in the Irish countryside. The *Dublin Courant* described the organization's Battle of the Boyne demonstration in 1747 as being a "militaristic, warlike display."[23]

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[19] Haddick-Flynn, *Orangeism*, 100.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Jarman, *Material Conflicts*, 35.
[23] *Dublin Courant*, 4 July 1747, cited in Neil Jarman, "For God and Ulster: Blood and Thunder Bands and Loyalist Political Culture," in *The Irish Parading Tradition: Following the Drum*, ed. T.G. Fraser (Houndmills: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000), 161.

The aggressive nature of Boyne Society parades from the 1740s forward were followed by the brotherhood's sponsorship paramilitary militia units designed to protect rural Protestant settlements from attacks by Catholic guerillas known as "Rapparees."[24] The colorful nicknames of those units like "Rangers," "Defenders," "True Blues," "Williamites" and "Chosen Few," have since been adopted by a host of loyalist institutions including loyalist flute bands, Rangers supporters' clubs and even loyalist gangs and hooligan firms in both Scotland and Northern Ireland. At the first public gathering held by the Orange Order in Lurgan on July 12, 1796, the founders of the organization acknowledged that they were acting in the tradition of the Boyne Society.[25] The Orange Order issued a statement to Armagh County Magistrates on this occasion that read: "We are formed in imitation of that venerable body, the Boyne Society, whose principles we act and adopt as our own."[26]

The Early Development of the Orange Order in Ireland and Lowland Scotland

The Orange Order was founded in County Armagh, Ireland, on September 14, 1795, in the aftermath of a sectarian skirmish at the Diamond Crossroads near the village of Loughgall. The Battle of the Diamond pitted a contingent of Protestant Irish weavers, tenant farmers, and a collection of agrarian vigilante groups against a force of Catholic Defenders. After the Protestant victory at the Diamond Crossroads the Orange Order was established to defend Protestant interests against active bands of Defenders and other Catholic guerilla forces that were harassing Protestant settlements in rural Armagh. The Defenders had both militia and nationalist connotations. In short, the Orange tradition was born in a moment of armed conflict with the Empire in Ireland at stake, so that militarism was in its genes.

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[24] Haddick-Flynn, *Orangeism*, 102.
[25] Ibid., 107.
[26] Ibid.

From 1795 forward, the Orange Order was the primary vessel for the cultural articulation of Williamite tradition in Ireland and beyond. For the founding fathers of the Orange Order, "the Great Deliverer," William III, crafted Britain into the ideal state by instituting religious toleration, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, liberty of the subject, independence of judges to interpret the law and development of parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy. Although the founders of the Orange Order were Anglicans, Presbyterians and other dissenters made up a sizeable portion of the organization's membership within a couple of decades of 1798. The Orange Order was able to capitalize on the popular Williamite tradition already established in many sectors of Protestant Ireland. The very name of the organization was chosen to reflect the brotherhood's commitment to the Williamite legacy and, more importantly, to appeal to a broad range of potential Orange Protestants in Britain. Early Orangemen in Ireland were committed to defending Protestant supremacy and promoting the Williamite legacy.

The secular and political elements of Orangeism embodied in the symbolic figure of William III were combined with a heavy emphasis on the brotherhood's commitment to Protestant Christianity. Each lodge had a chaplain who opened and closed lodge meetings with prayer, led Bible studies and offered general religious guidance to members. Protestant symbols were also a common feature of Orange Order ritual displays. For example, during Orange parades, each lodge carried a large ornately illustrated bannerette. One side of the bannerette often featured a depiction of a biblical scene while the other side was dedicated to an image of their secular deliverer, William III (Figs. 3 and 4). The fusion of Christian and secular political symbols on the bannerettes reflected the identities and priorities of every Orangeman. Similarly, all Orange ritual processions were led by the quintessentially civil religious symbol of an open Bible topped by a replica British royal crown (Fig. 5). The Bible and crown reflected the Orange

Order's commitment to a way of life based on Biblical truth and obedience to the Crown as a symbol of lawful authority in their earthly lives. The Orange Order has historically described their belief system as "Christian, Protestant, patriotic and fraternal."[27] The Orange Order's philosophy is explained in the *Qualifications of an Orangeman*. It states that every Orangeman should:

> …have a sincere love and veneration for his Heavenly Father; a humble and steadfast faith in Jesus Christ, the Savior of mankind, believing in Him as the only Mediator between God and man. He should cultivate truth and justice, brotherly kindness and charity, devotion and piety, concord and unity and obedience to the laws; his deportment should be gentle and compassionate, kind and courteous; he should seek the society of the virtuous and avoid that of evil. He should honour and diligently study the Holy Scriptures, and make them the rule of his faith and practice. He should uphold and defend the Protestant religion and sincerely desire to propagate its doctrines and precepts. He should strenuously oppose the fatal errors and doctrines of the Church of Rome, and scrupulously avoid countenancing (by his presence or otherwise) any ceremony of popish worship. He should by all lawful means resist the ascendancy of that church, its encroachments and the extension of its power, ever abstaining from all uncharitable words, actions or sentiments towards Roman Catholics. He should remember to keep holy the Sabbath day, and attend the public worship of God, and diligently train up his offspring and all under his control, in the fear of God, and in the Protestant faith. He should never take the name of God in vain, but abstain from all cursing and profane language, and use every

[27] Sir John Orr, *Review of Marches and Parades in Scotland* (Edinburgh: The Scottish Ministers/Scottish Executive, 2005), 21.

> opportunity of discouraging those, and all other sinful practices in other. His conduct should be guided by wisdom and prudence, and marked by honesty, temperance and sobriety. The glory of God and the welfare of man, the honour of his Sovereign, and the good of his country should motivate his actions.[28]

The Orange Order in Scotland has military roots and dates back to the period of the United Irishmen Rebellion of 1798. While deployed in Ireland to put down the United Irishmen Rebellion Scottish soldiers who served with the Fencible regiments[29] were the first Scots known to have been exposed to Orangeism. A number of these soldiers were attracted to the idea of an exclusive Protestant fraternity that united like-minded British men together in defense of their religion, property and overall way of life. In 1798 Scottish Fencible regiments began applying for Orange warrants and establishing their own regimental lodges. The Breadalbane Fencibles (No. 346) and the Argyll Fencibles (No. 421) established the first Scottish Orange lodges within their regiments between March and May 1798.[30] Other Fencible regiments quickly followed suit. Between May 1798 and 1800 the Ayr, Tay, Dumfries, North Lowland, Caithness Fencibles, Eglin Regiment, Midlothian Dragoons and the 42nd Duke of York Highlanders, all filed applications for Orange warrants.[31] During the Napoleonic Wars the Highland Light Infantry, Scot's Greys, the Cameron Highlanders and the King's Own Scottish Borderers all obtained Orange warrants from the Grand Lodge of Ireland.[32] Thus by 1807, all lodges established in the Glasgow area, Ayrshire and Argyllshire, consisted exclusively of Scottish military personnel.[33]

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[28] Ibid.
[29] Fencible regiments were British defense forces, raised during periods of internal conflict. They were designed to relieve the regular army for service abroad. The Fencibles only served for the duration of a given conflict and were limited to home service unless its members voted to go overseas.
[30] *Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland, Bicentenary Program* issued by the Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland, Glasgow, 1998., 7.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.

Orange Order historian Brother Reverend Gordon McCracken explains that, "the notion of the importation of Orangeism into Scotland by migrating Ulstermen is one of the most enduring popular misconceptions of all time."[34] McCracken maintains that there were civilian lodges established in Scotland composed primarily of Protestant Irish migrants from Ulster. This, however, occurred during a later stage of development.

During the early nineteenth century Orangeism spread quickly in the industrial areas and weaving centers of west and central Scotland. One of the primary reasons for the Order's early growth was the substantial influx of rural Protestant Irish immigrants from Ulster into the cities and towns of the southwestern lowlands. This wave of Protestant Irish immigrants gravitated to Scotland for a number of reasons. Some fled Ireland because of the agrarian unrest that plagued the countryside in the north of Ireland during the late eighteenth century. Others, especially Protestant handloom weavers, were forced to leave Ireland for economic reasons. There was a marked decline in Ulster's linen industry at the end of the eighteenth century that left many Protestant handloom weavers unemployed. Many of these skilled handloom weavers were particularly attracted to the southwestern lowlands because of the prospect of employment in the textile industry, which was booming. Kin networks of immigrant Irish Protestants were already well established in Glasgow and Ayrshire. Most Protestant Irish settlers in these areas first came to Scotland around 1775 to work as "navvies," or manual laborers, on canal projects.[35] The existence of this Protestant Irish presence made the geographical transition less onerous for the next, much more substantial wave of Protestant Irish migration from Ulster. Many Protestant Irish sojourners, especially those who practiced Presbyterianism, believed assimilation would be

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[34] Ibid.
[35] Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 11.

easier in lowland Scotland than elsewhere in Britain because they shared a common ancestry, religion and culture with the indigenous population.

The first civilian Orange lodge on record in Scotland was established in the handloom weaving community of Maybole, Ayrshire, in 1808.[36] Following the devastating downturn in the handloom weaving industry in Ulster in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a considerable number of Protestant Irish weavers made the short voyage across the Irish Sea to southern Ayrshire where the textile industry was thriving. These Ulster weavers and small craftsmen played a vital role in the establishment of the Orange Order in the west of Scotland.[37] According to a Parliamentary report on Orangeism in Britain published in 1835, Orange lodges were mostly concentrated around the thriving handloom weaving communities that dotted the landscape of the industrial belt of lowland Scotland.[38] In these areas the Orange Order developed into "a community tradition, and memories of Orangeism were handed down across generations."[39] By the 1820s there were at least forty Scottish Orange lodges spread across Glasgow, Ayrshire, Galloway, Dalkeith, Musselburgh, Edinburgh and Dundee.[40] Orangeism was particularly popular in Glasgow which was home to twelve active Orange lodges by 1835.[41] Features of Orange lodge membership such as its associational culture implied a familiar framework of emotional and physical ties that transcended time and space. This social function underscored the durability of Orangeism and aided its appeal among the working-class Protestant

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[36] Walker, Graham, "The Protestant Irish in Scotland," in *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. T.M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishing Ltd., 1991), 50.
[37] Elaine McFarland, "Marching from the Margins: Twelfth of July Parades in Scotland, 1820-1914," in T. Fraser, ed., *The Irish Parading Tradition* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000), 62.
[38] *Report from the Select Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Origin, Nature, Extent, and Tendency of the Orange Institutions in Great Britain and the Colonie*s, 605 (1835), xvii.
[39] Eric Kaufmann, *The Orange Order: A Contemporary Northern Irish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 6.
[40] Sir John Orr, *Review of Marches and Parades in Scotland*, 19.
[41] *Parliamentary Report on Orange Institutions*, xi.

Irish migrant population seeking to anchor themselves in their new environment.[42] Orange Halls functioned as working-class Protestant men's clubs. For most of the nineteenth century Orange lodges helped Ulster Protestant immigrants by offering friendship and a sense of collective being. Scottish Orange lodges also functioned as benefit societies for the newly arrived Ulstermen. Members supported each other in times of sickness, injury even and death with their own insurance and burial programs.[43] Class and the experiences and needs of work also linked Orange immigrants in the industrial lowlands. Working-class Ulster Protestant migrants were drawn to the Orange Order because it provided a space where "they could develop their self-worth and self-confidence" in the harsh, unpredictable and impersonal urban environment of Scotland's industrial lowlands.[44]

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, most native Scots viewed Irish migrant workers and immigrants with suspicion regardless of whether they were Protestants or Catholics. This general attitude toward Irish migrants partly stemmed from the fact that both Protestant and Catholic Irishmen had conspired against the Crown during the United Irishmen's Rebellion in 1798. As a result of this interdenominational insurrection many Scots questioned the loyalty and "Britishness" of any of the newly arrived Irish aliens, especially during the first decade of the nineteenth century. This inhospitable attitude was particularly evident during the economic slump that hit the industrial Clyde Valley immediately after the Napoleonic Wars. Newly arrived "Orange" and "Green"[45] Irish immigrants were competing with native working-class Scots for a limited number of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. John Burrowes notes that

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[42] Unlike in Ireland where the Orange Order was a more elitist institution, the Orange Order in Scotland was overwhelmingly composed of working-class members. This remains true in contemporary lowland Scotland.
[43] *Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland Bicentenary Program*, 12.
[44] Steve Bruce, Tony Glendinning, Iain Paterson and Michael Rosie, *Sectarianism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 11.
[45] "Orange": Protestant Irish; "Green": Catholic Irish.

between 1811 and 1845, Glasgow's population almost doubled as a result of the inflow of Irish immigrants.[46] The increased traffic between Ireland and Scotland during this period was due in part to the lowering of transportation costs after the introduction of steamboats. In 1834 the owner of the Belfast and Glasgow Steamboat Company, George Burns, noted that traffic between Belfast and Glasgow rose steadily with the introduction of the steamboat and "rapidly increased since the lowering of fares during the last two years."[47] By mid-century "the Irish made up 7.2% of the Scottish population and 18.2% of that of the largest city, Glasgow."[48] Around twenty-five percent of these new arrivals were Protestants.

In this less than hospitable environment Protestant Irish immigrants made a concerted effort to differentiate themselves from the growing Irish Catholic immigrant population by demonstrating their loyalty to "king and country" through the medium of the Orange Order. Orange Order membership was viewed by working-class "Protestant immigrants as a way of maintaining a distinct identity" and "distinguishing themselves from the Catholic Irish."[49] This idea of "distinctiveness" is of critical importance in the early development of loyalist civil religion in lowland Scotland. One of the essential ingredients of any civil religion is the identification of an enemy "other" which an identity group can define itself against. To gain an upper hand in their new surroundings the Protestant Irish sought to prove that they were loyal British subjects committed to the Crown and the Reformed Faith. The Orange Order and their public displays were central to the transmission of this message to wider Scottish society. Unlike Irish Catholic immigrants who had an entirely different set of political, social and above all

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[46] John Burrowes, *Irish: The Remarkable Saga of a Nation and a City* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2004), 86.
[47] British Parliamentary Papers, "Appendix G: State of the Irish Poor in Glasgow," *State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain*, XXXIV (1836), 103.
[48] Gallagher, *Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace*, 11.
[49] Graham Walker, *Intimate Strangers: Political and Cultural Interaction Between Scotland and Ulster in Modern Times* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1995), 50-1.

religious traditions, the Orange Irish were generally "familiar with Scottish customs and institutions, shared the Protestant faith and were, in many cases, returning to the land of their forefathers."[50] This made their assimilation into Scottish society much easier by comparison. By identifying themselves as cultural hybrid of the lowland Scots or, "Ulster-Scot," "the Orange Order was able to transcend its function as an ethnic mutual aid society to become an institution embedded in the working-class culture of its adopted home."[51] Scottish Orangemen believed that as loyal Protestant subjects they were "fully entitled to their share in the dominant culture and value system."[52] Membership in the Orange Order offered Protestant Irish immigrants a reassuring familiarity at a time of social and cultural dislocation. It was a vehicle through which male working-class Ulster Protestant immigrants could continue to celebrate their peculiar folkways and preserve their unique identity in an alien land. Most importantly it was a vehicle for distinguishing themselves from their Irish Catholic counterparts. Publicly, the Orange Order demonstrated their loyalty to the British crown and constitution by holding an annual series of public parades, the most important of which commemorated Protestant victories over the "oppressive" forces of Roman Catholicism in Britain during the seventeenth century Williamite Wars.

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[50] Gallagher, *Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace*, 2.
[51] Marshall, "Orangeism and the Scottish Working Class," 4.
[52] McFarland, "Marching from the Margins," 61.



Figure 3. Orange Order bannerette depicting a New Testament scene.



Figure 4. Orange Order bannerette featuring representation of William III crossing the River Boyne.



Figure 5. Glasgow Orange and Purple, District 12, Glasgow Grand Lodge Church Parade - 1 July 2007. Note the Bible topped with the Crown carried by the leader of the procession and on the bannerette.

Orange Parades

The ritual act of parading was, and continues to be, central to the durability of both Orangeism and the broader civil religion of loyalism in Scotland. Although Scottish veterans of the United Irishmen Revolt first introduced Orangeism to Scotland in 1798, evidence suggests the earliest Scottish military lodges were not consumed with the practice of ritual parading like their Ulster counterparts. The introduction of the Orange parading tradition to Scotland during the 1820s was directly connected to the sustained flow of Protestant Irish immigrants into the rapidly industrializing southwestern lowlands. The Protestant Irish quickly established a number of civilian Orange lodges in the southwestern lowlands during the first two decades of the nineteenth century and gradually proceeded to reshape the Orange Order into an institution that more closely resembled the brotherhood in Ireland. The most important element of Orangeism imported to Scotland by the Protestant Irish was the ritual act of commemorative parading.

Orangemen considered their ritual parades to be unquestioned celebrations of memory and identity. Parades were regarded as "unchangeable, connecting present to the past and affirming the meaning of that past for those in the present."[53] These annual public street dramas instilled a quasi-sacred character on certain spheres of Protestant Irish community life and reinforced the imagined heritage and historical continuity of the group. Gerd Baumann explains that public ritual celebrations like Orange Order parades were "symbolic performances which united the members of a category of people in a shared pursuit that spoke of, and to, their basic values."[54] The regular ritual commemoration of historical Orange events imparted a sense of emotional power and transcendent meaning to loyalist identity. Orange parades were symbolic displays of strength used as a means to claim and demarcate space. For marginalized working-

[53] Jarman, *Material Conflicts*, 25.
[54] Gerd Baumann, "Ritual Implicated, 'Others': Rereading Durkheim in a Plural Society," in *Understanding Rituals*, ed. Daniel de Coppet (London & New York: Routledge Press, 1992), 98.

class Protestant Irish migrants living in lowland Scotland during the first half of the nineteenth century, "parades were at the very centre of the territorial, and with it the political and economic struggle. Where you could 'walk' you were dominant and the other things followed."[55] McFarland argues that "as Orangemen in Scotland were to become conscious during the course of the nineteenth century and beyond, claiming physical space entailed also claiming political and ideological space."[56] Orange parades in Scotland reaffirmed and preserved a sense of tradition, traditional rights and cultural identity among members of the Ulster Protestant expatriate community.

Orange parades in Scotland traditionally occurred between Easter weekend and the weekend closest to the twelfth day of August when loyalists celebrated the closing of the gates of Derry.[57] This period of sustained parading during the spring and summer months was collectively referred to as the "marching season." Orangemen and their families considered the marching season to be the highlight of the lodge year. For many Orangemen the sole reason for joining a lodge was the right to wear the sash and publicly march with the Orange rank and file. Membership in the Orange Order and marching in ritual parades represented a public profession of an individual's faith and commitment to the civil religious tenets of loyalism. Orangemen believed their parades represented "a medium by which they could publicly witness for their faith and celebrate their cultural heritage."[58] Most Orange Order members had a deep sense of connection with the past when taking part in ritual parades. In many areas of lowland Scotland generations of Orangemen paraded with the same lodge and on the same roads where their

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[55] Sybil E. Baker, "Orange and Green: Belfast, 1832-1912," in *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, ed. H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), 790.
[56] McFarland, "Marching from the Margins," 60.
[57] On December 7, 1688, a regiment of Jacobite troops advanced towards Londonderry. Paralyzed by fear and indecision, town leaders were prepared to surrender the city to the enemy when a group of thirteen apprentice boys yelled, "No surrender!" and closed the gates thus beginning the Siege of Derry.
[58] Orr, *Review of Marches and Parades*, 22.

ancestors marched. Orange collarettes (sashes) were considered by many Orange families to be treasured heirlooms that were often ceremonially passed down from generation to generation. Scottish Orangemen wearing sashes that were several generations old was not uncommon. Orange parades were public demonstrations designed to exhibit the organization's devotion to Protestantism and the constitutional settlement secured by William III during the Glorious Revolution and the Williamite War in Ireland that followed. The most important parade on the Orange Order marching calendar was, and continues to be, the Twelfth of July commemoration of William III's victory over the Catholic monarch James Stuart at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. It was this pivotal event in loyalist mythology that gave Orangemen the freedom of public assembly and by implication the right to parade down "the king's highway."[59] William's victory at the Boyne marked the beginning of the establishment of a kingdom "where only Protestants were granted full subject status."[60]

Orange Order parades during the nineteenth and twentieth century were, and continue to be, highly visceral productions specifically designed to reaffirm the ideas and traditions of the loyalist civil religious whole. Parades consisted of members of a number of local lodges parading in military-style formation down major town and city streets. Orangemen wore uniform black suits, white gloves, black bowler hats and vibrant orange collarettes (Fig. 6). Each lodge was led by a color guard consisting of lodge members (Fig. 7). For most of the twentieth century the color guard carried a combination of the Union Jack, the Scottish Saltire,[61] the Northern Ireland national flag and the Orange Order standard. In front of the flag-wielding color guard a single Orangeman carried an open Bible with a replica royal crown placed on top. The

[59] McFarland, "Marching from the Margins," 61.
[60] Patrick Tuite, "The Biomechanics of Aggression: Psychophysiological Conditioning in Ulster's Loyalist Parades," *The Drama Review*, vol. 44, no. 4 (Winter 2000), 12.
[61] The Scottish national flag or St. Andrew's Cross.

open Bible symbolized the religious aspect of the Order while the crown represented the constitutional settlement of 1688 – as long as the British monarchy remained Protestant it had the Orange Order's allegiance. Each lodge also carried large ornately painted bannerettes that depicted stylized renditions of various biblical scenes, portraits of William III and other Orange heroes, the contemporary monarch or significant buildings or places significant to loyalist culture. The bannerettes were affixed to two six-to-eight foot wooden poles and were carried by two Orange Order bannermen. Like stained-glass windows in medieval cathedrals, Orange bannerettes were storytelling apparatuses used to recount the biblical and secular triumphs and tragedies that informed Orange identity. Finally, each Orange lodge was followed by a loyalist band playing a combination of Orange standards, patriotic British songs and hymns. Although fife/flute and drum bands dominated the loyalist musical landscape, accordion bands, melodeon bands, bagpipe bands and brass bands were also common features at Scottish Orange parades in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Fig. 8). McFarland notes that "in holding public processions" Scottish Orangemen "were not only celebrating the shared traditions and mythologies of their own migrant community, they were also seeking to impose a familiar sense of "order" on their new surroundings by regulating relations between Protestant and Catholics in the interests of the former."[62] Orange Order parades were purposefully constructed to create a profound and overwhelming sensory experience with the use of sounds, symbols, messages and allusions to reinforce the identity of the loyalist expat community in Scotland.

The first Orange parade in Scotland was held in Glasgow on July 12, 1821.[63] This inaugural march had a dual purpose. First and foremost it commemorated the victory of William III at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 and Britain's deliverance from the Stuart tyranny.

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[62] McFarland, "Marching From the Margins," 62.
[63] Burrowes, *Irish*, 176.

Glaswegian Orangemen also hoped the Orange walk "would bring the Orange cause to the notice of the Glasgow public" in a favorable display.[64] Members of three Glasgow area Orange lodges, complete with a fife and drum corps, assembled at the Lyceum Room in the Merchant City and proceeded to march with their bannerettes and flags to Ingram Street.[65] It was on Ingram Street that "the first symptoms of disapprobation" were apparent.[66] A group of Irish Catholic protestors gathered along the parade route to taunt what they perceived to be nothing more than a triumphalist procession. Undeterred by the ceaseless barrage of sectarian insults coming from Irish Catholic detractors, the Orangemen continued to the beat of the snare and bass drums and the shrill melody of the fifes down Queen and Argyle Streets to the statue of their hero, William III, located in the heart of Glasgow Cross close to the iconic Tolbooth in the Trongate. The statue of William sitting astride his steed portrayed the loyalist messiah as a triumphant Roman Caesar dressed in a toga, crowned with oak leaf cluster and pointing his imperial baton toward the growing Irish Catholic enclaves on the city's East End. As the Orange procession approached the Trongate, the crowd of hostile Irish Catholic onlookers grew. Fearing for their safety the Orangemen decided to disperse to the safety of a cluster of nearby pubs. Glasgow's inaugural Orange walk did not live up to the expectations of its organizers. From 1821 forward Orange parades in Scotland were associated with working-class hooliganism, public disorder and sectarian violence.

On July 12, 1822, a larger contingent of Orangemen including members from seven Glasgow lodges, a lodge from Pollockshaws and a lodge from Paisley, once again marched in Glasgow as part of their annual Battle of the Boyne commemorations. Organizers hoped that their larger numbers would prevent the sectarian unrest that plagued the inaugural Scottish

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[64] Ibid., 175.
[65] *Glasgow Chronicle*, 13 July 1821, quoted in Burrowes, *Irish*, 176.
[66] Ibid.

Twelfth of July parade. The combined lodges also planned to use the event to raise money for destitute Protestants in Ireland.[67] The first leg of the parade that proceeded from the Gallowgate through the Trongate past the triumphalist statue of William of Orange to their destination at Fraser's Hall on King Street was peaceful. However, while they were in the Orange Hall, a large crowd of "zealous Irish Catholics, most ready to give battle" gathered outside and eventually attacked an unsuspecting Orangeman.[68] The attack caused a skirmish that was eventually broken up by Glasgow police and a small contingent of military personnel. The Orangemen under siege at Fraser's Hall were escorted to Glasgow's central police station "for their own safety" and to prevent further sectarian disorder.[69] After their release, the determined Orangemen stubbornly embarked on the return leg of the march but quickly adjourned to the safety of the pubs on King Street "with their sashes in their pockets" as Catholic crowds once again grew hostile.[70] Following the violent sectarian clashes that overshadowed the first two major Twelfth of July parades in Glasgow, the Glasgow Council decided that all Orange parades were to be banned in the interest of public safety.[71] As the Orange Order grew with the infusion of Protestant Irish immigrants into the southwestern lowlands, Scottish lodges began to "display that same spirit of combative sectarianism which had characterized their Irish counterparts."[72] For the duration of the nineteenth century most bourgeois Glaswegians viewed the Orange Order with suspicion and their parades as a socially disruptive alien import despite the their professed loyalty to "king and country." For this reason, Glasgow would not host an Orange parade again until the 1840s.

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[67] *Glasgow Courier*, 13 July 1822, reported that the Loyal Orange Lodge of Glasgow raised £3 4s. 11d. for the Irish poor at the 1822 Boyne march in Glasgow.
[68] *Glasgow Courier*, 14 July 1822, quoted in Elaine McFarland, *Protestants First: Orangeism in Nineteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 51.
[69] Burrowes, *Irish*, 179.
[70] McFarland, *Protestants First*, 51.
[71] Burrowes, *Irish*, 181.
[72] McFarland, *Protestants First*, 53.



Figure 6. The Orange Order on parade in Port Glasgow - 30 June 2007.



Figure 7. Orange Order color party carrying (from left to right) the Union Jack, the Orange Order flag, the Northern Ireland national flag and the Scottish Saltire – Port Glasgow, 30 June 2007.



Figure 8. A traditional loyalist accordion band at the Battle of the Boyne parade in Glasgow – 7 July 2007.

Nineteenth Century Growing Pains: The Dissolution and Reinvention of Orangeism in Scotland

The Scottish Orange Order made its initial forays into political activism during the late 1820s and 1830s. Orange political activity during this period was populist in scope and focused primarily on combating "the 'disloyalty' of Catholicism – an international church which were believed to be incapable of producing sincere citizens of a nation state."[73] Scottish Orange Order leaders forged informal alliances with "anti-popery" Tories to oppose Catholic Emancipation in 1829 and Parliamentary Reform in 1831. The political relationship between the Orange Order and the Tory Party drew the suspicion of Whig MPs who staunchly opposed the existence of the fraternal brotherhood. In 1835 a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to investigate the activities of the Loyal Orange Institution throughout Great Britain. The result of this inquiry was the publication of the *Parliamentary Report on Orangeism in Britain*. It ultimately found that the duke of Cumberland, Grand Master of the Loyal Orange Institution of Great Britain, had issued Orange warrants to military lodges against the orders of the Horse Guards.[74] This was an issue for Whigs and others who argued that the "loyalty" of Orangemen was "conditional." They believed that Orange Order would support the Crown as long as the king supported Protestant ascendancy in Ireland. If the king interfered with Protestant domination in Ireland, the Orange Order's loyalty ended. The fact that the duke of Cumberland defied the orders of the Horse Guards was an especially scathing indictment since he was a Field Marshal. The duke of Cumberland's immediate response to the scandal was to revoke all military warrants; however, the pressure from Whigs and King William IV forced him to formally dissolve the Orange Order in Britain and Ireland in 1836.

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[73] McFarland, "Outposts of the Loyalists of Ireland: The Orangeman's Unionist Vision," in *Unionist Scotland, 1800-1977*, ed. Catriona MacDonald (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishing, 1998), 27.
[74] *Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland Bicentenary Program*, 8.

The dissolution of the Orange Order created divisions and confusion within the ranks of Orangeism in Britain. Some Orangemen gravitated to the Grand Protestant Confederation of Great Britain founded in Halifax, England, as a legal alternative to the Orange Order in 1836.[75] The Orange Order in Scotland proved to be resilient in the wake of the sudden dissolution of the organization. Many Scottish lodges united immediately after the split and formed the Grand Orange Association of Scotland in 1836, headquartered at the King William Tavern in the Gallowgate on Glasgow's East End.[76] Other Orangemen unofficially kept their lodges together until they were able to gain formal recognition from the Grand Lodge of Ulster, which was reestablished in 1846. Initially it seemed as if the disruption of official Orangeism during the 1830s and 1840s would be disastrous for the Orange Order in Scotland. However, historical circumstances including rapid industrialization and the massive influx of Irish Catholic famine refugees into the urban centers of lowland Scotland promoted the survival of Scottish Orangeism.

Prior to the 1830s, the textile industry around Glasgow was almost entirely domestic. Southwestern lowland handloom weaving communities were comprised of fiercely independent skilled self-employed men and women who produced linen and woolen cloth in their homes. Protestant Irish weavers were heavily involved in this "putting out" system during the first three decades of the nineteenth century despite the gradual modernization of the Scottish textile industry. The first technological developments allowed for yarn to be spun in rural factories located near free-flowing rivers and streams. Free-flowing water was used to power the looms more efficiently. Eleven water-powered factories were located in the southwestern lowlands by

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[75] Ibid.
[76] Orr, *Review of Marches and Parades in Scotland*, 20.

1795.[77] Steam power was gradually applied to the textile manufacturing during first two decades of the nineteenth century. The transition to steam power allowed for the relocation of most textile mills to urban districts along the Clyde River. By 1829 there were at least ten thousand people employed as power loom weavers in Glasgow.[78] The modern textile industry did not supplant handloom weaving in the southwestern lowlands altogether because region was known for a fine delicate quality of cloth that could not be replicated using power looms. Despite this fact, most independent handloom weavers were eventually forced into urban textile mills. Protestant Irish textile workers who found themselves in this new urban environment flocked to the local Orange lodge as source of reassuring familiarity.

The devastating series of famines in Ireland between 1845 and 1852 had a profound effect on the revitalization of Scottish Orangeism. The steady stream of ships carrying desperate Irish immigrants up the Clyde River changed the socio-cultural and political dynamic of the Clyde Valley forever. Prior to 1845 Glasgow was an overwhelmingly Protestant city. A century before the Irish Famine only thirty-nine Catholics lived in Glasgow.[79] Andrew Scott was the only Roman Catholic priest in Glasgow in 1805 and he served an estimated four hundred and fifty parishioners.[80] At the turn of the century, most Roman Catholics in the southwestern lowlands were relocated Highlanders. Despite the insignificant number of Catholics in Glasgow during the second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there were no less than forty-three active anti-Catholic societies operating in the city.[81] As the number of foreign Catholic migrants arriving in the southwestern lowlands steadily increased during the decades immediately prior to the Great Famine the sectarian bitterness, tribalism and territorialism that

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[77] Irene Maver, *Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 38.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Burrowes, *Irish*, 120.
[80] Ibid., 121.
[81] Ibid.

was a hallmark of Ulster life was gradually transplanted to Scotland. This anxiety and sectarian tension escalated as the number of Roman Catholic refugees dramatically increased both during and after the famine.

The arrival of large numbers of Irish Catholics into the lowlands ultimately provided the fragmented Orange Order with a very real enemy to mobilize against. And mobilize they did. In 1850, the fractured Scottish Orange Order unified and enrolled in the Grand Protestant Association of Loyal Orangemen of Great Britain. With membership rolls in Scotland swelling the Grand Protestant Association established the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland. By 1878 there were at least a hundred Orange lodges in the Glasgow area with an estimated membership of around fifteen thousand men.[82] Competition between Irish Catholic immigrants and Protestant Irish and Scottish workers over employment, housing and other resources "provided an environment within which Orangeism could flourish" during and after the famine years.[83]

Following the reconsolidation of the Orange Order in the 1840s the number of annual Orange parades grew exponentially in lowland Scotland. Sectarian violence associated with such occasions also rose. McFarland notes that following the 1835 parliamentary report "some lodges reverted to their original functions as convivial clubs" while "many more began to display even more energetically the attributes of fighting societies."[84] Sectarian violence associated with Orange parades escalated with the arrival of large numbers of Catholic famine refugees from Ireland. Orange Protestant and Irish Catholic immigrant groups fought to claim and maintain both ideological and physical space in an alien environment. The "Orange" and "Green" tribes contested these spaces during the summer marching season. For example, the 1847 Battle of the Boyne parade in Dalry descended into a major riot after Orangemen fired a volley of shots at a

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[82] Orr, *Review of Marches and Parades in Scotland*, 20.
[83] Marshall, "Orangeism and the Scottish Working Class," 5.
[84] McFarland, *Protestants First*, 62.

group of Irish Catholics who attempted to steal their sashes and other regalia.[85] The local sheriff along with a party of yeomanry eventually quelled the riot, arrested several of the Orangemen and confiscated their weapons.[86] As disturbing as the sectarian confrontation in Dalry was, it was mild compared to the violence that plagued Orange parades in the 1850s.

One explanation for the rise in sectarian hostilities in Glasgow, Lanarkshire and Ayrshire was the enormous increase in the reserve army of labor, which was overwhelmingly Irish Catholic. To assert their traditional claims of ascendancy in the public sphere Orange parades became more overtly provocative and violent. In Lanarkshire alone local police recorded sixteen sectarian disturbances between 1851 and 1860 ranging from sectarian insults to severe rioting and even one murder.[87] 1853 was a particularly violent year in the areas around the Lanarkshire coalmines. In May 1853 an Irish Catholic man in Lanarkshire was lynched by a frenzied mob of Orange Protestant ironworkers.[88] Later that year Lanarkshire Orangemen stabbed two Irish Catholic workers to death after a "party dispute."[89] In 1857 several Coatbridge Orangemen were seriously injured in an organized attack on their Twelfth of July procession in Moodiesburn.[90] The following year intermittent sectarian violence prior to the Battle of the Boyne parade in Inchinnan forced the local sheriff to cancel the event, resulting in further sectarian violence.[91] In 1859 several Orangemen were murdered by Roman Catholic protesters during Twelfth of July celebrations in Linwood.[92] That same year police in Ayr, Renfrew and Lanark responded by

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[85] *Glasgow Herald*, 17 July 1847, quoted in McFarland, *Protestants First*, 62.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Alan B. Campbell, *The Lanarkshire Miners: A Social History of Their Trade Unions, 1775-1874* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishing, 1979), Appendix III.
[88] McFarland, *Protestants First*, 63.
[89] Ibid.
[90] *Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland Bicentenary Program*, 9.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.

banning all Orange Order parades for a period of ten years arguing that they simply generated too much violence.[93]

Orange parades in the Glasgow neighborhood of Kinning Park also generated sectarian disturbances that led to a police crackdown and bans on holding Orange ritual parades during the 1870s and 1880s. The marching ban in Kinning Park in 1878 provoked a poem in protest, "The Protestants of Kinning Park."

The Protestants of Kinning Park,
Though being but a hand full
Just for a lark, have made their mark,
For of Party Songs they're bang full.
They played their tunes through every street,
While the crowd it followed after,
Till one was caught, fourteen days he got,
For playing the "Boyne Water."[94]

Regarding itself as a society committed to the principles of law and order, the Grand Lodge of Scotland accepted the bans and ordered lodges not to hold processions to defy them. The Grand Lodge of Scotland's reluctance to fight the local marching bans caused a minor rift within the organization and led to the defection of a handful of Ayrshire, Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire based lodges to the Liverpool-based Institution of Great Britain.[95] In areas where public Orange parades were banned lodges continued to observe their commemorative rituals in indoor celebrations. In spite of the minor structural disunity over the issue of parading membership in

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[93] Ibid, 20.
[94] "The Protestant Boys of Kinning Park," *The Bailie* 6 May 1878, 2.
[95] *Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland Bicentenary Program*, 20.

the Orange Order rose steadily and annual Orange parades continued in areas with significant Ulster Protestant populations.

The Orange Order in Scotland during the Home Rule Crises, 1886-1914

Despite the significant surge in membership since the 1850s, the Orange Order enrolled primarily working-class Ulster immigrants and their descendants until 1886. In the summer of 1885, Gladstone's Liberal government decided to support Irish Home Rule legislation. Many Scottish Protestants interpreted Irish Home Rule as a direct attack on the Empire. During the late Victorian and Edwardian periods, Scottish contributions to the growth of the British Empire became a primary feature of Scottish national identity. Most Scottish Protestants looked to the ideas of "Britishness" or Empire as defining features of their political and social identities. Especially in the industrialized lowlands, Scots felt they had played a vital role in creation, growth and maintenance of British Empire. Many Scots saw Empire as a global stage on which they could demonstrate their intellect, industrial skills, economic prowess and bravery. They celebrated the Scottish Diaspora as a civilizing force in the modern world. The Scottish worldview during the late 1800s was "empire-oriented" and "it fed on notions of international prestige in industry, science and education."[96]

Urban lowlands Scots were especially ardent supporters of Empire, particularly in the Clyde Valley where "the region's identity had been shaped quite obviously by its economic character and the success of Scottish capitalism in capturing a substantial share of the imperial markets in heavy industry."[97] Because of Glasgow's position in the imperial economy it was often referred to as "the Second City of the Empire" or "the Workshop of the Empire." Although Scottish and English identities remained fundamentally different, Scots in the urban industrial

[96] Walker, *Intimate Strangers*, 23.
[97] Ibid.

lowlands saw themselves as equal partners in the imperial experience and embraced a dual British/Scottish sense of identity based on imperial capitalism. Many outward-looking urban Scots believed the success of Irish nationalism and Home Rule could result in a "domino effect" that would inspire other British imperial entities to demand independence thus resulting in the disintegration of the imperial economy on which their livelihoods and identity relied. Many Scots also believed their intimate connection with Britain and Empire provided Scotland with an extra a layer of security against the encroachment of Roman Catholicism.[98] Walker argues that Glasgow stood out as "a democratic city in which the self-improving ethos ran deep and a skilled working-class political culture, largely liberal but in part socialist and Unionist."[99] This skilled working-class political culture was overwhelmingly Protestant. The Orange Order was able to capitalize on Protestant attitudes towards Home Rule by presenting themselves as defenders of the British Union, Protestantism and staunch supporters of Empire. Membership in the Orange Order during the Home Rule period symbolized support of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the continuance of its imperial mission. Also, "economic fear of and prejudice against the Catholic Irish in Scotland well into the twentieth century was never hard to activate and they [the Orange Order] could be readily aligned to the cause of Protestant Ulster."[100] As a result, Scottish Orangeism during the Home Rule period was made relevant to a broader spectrum of native lowland Scottish Protestants.

During the Home Rule period (1886-1914), many Unionist Scots with no direct Ulster ancestry increasingly viewed the Orange Order as a champion of Unionism and Empire. According to Walker and Gallagher, "Orange ideology, with its stress on the Crown and parliament as guardians of civil and religious liberty, inspired a fundamentally British patriotism

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[98] Ibid., 21.
[99] Ibid., 20.
[100] Wood, *Crimes of Loyalty*, 327.

and loyalism," that appealed to Unionist working-class Scots.[101] Contemporary Orangemen remember the Home Rule period as the "heroic age" of the institution in Scotland.[102] Brother Reverend McCracken describes the early Home Rule period as a time of "crisis and anxiety" created by Liberals like Gladstone whose objective was to "appease Catholic opinion" in Britain for political gain.[103] Scots gravitated to the Orange Order because it provided "powerful imagery which legitimated political action against Home Rule and imbued such action with heartfelt religious fervour."[104]

One of the most important elements of loyalist civil religious mythology that emerged during the Home Rule era was the conscious creation of a distinct Ulster-Scot ethnic identity. This imagined identity focused on the "cultivation of an ethnic consciousness replete with its myth of birth, struggle and potential demise" and played a vital role in suggesting a "unity of purpose" between the Protestant settler population in the north of Ireland and lowland Protestants.[105] The creation and popular acceptance of ethnic continuity between lowland Scots and Ulster Protestants generating crucial underpinning for Scottish loyalist's identity. The primary motivation for the promotion of Ulster-Scot identity by Orange leaders and other loyalists was to counter Scots "Nationalist assumptions of the ethnic and racial homogeneity of the Gaelic/Roman Catholic Irish."[106] Outside of the Orange institution, scholars and politicians (particularly Liberal Unionists) were at the forefront of articulating this unique aspect of loyalist culture.

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[101] Ronald Johnson, *Clydeside Capital, 1870-1920: A Social History of Employers* (East Linton: East Lothian Press, 2000), 90.
[102] McFarland, "Outposts of the Loyalists of Ireland," 28.
[103] *Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland Bicentenary Program*, 9.
[104] McFarland, "Outposts of the Loyalists in Ireland," 29.
[105] Graham Walker and David Officer, "Scottish Unionism and the Ulster Question," in *Unionist Scotland: 1800-1997*, ed. Catriona MacDonald (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1998), 13.
[106] Ibid.

Scholars pioneered the idea of the existence of a viable Ulster-Scot identity through the publication of several quasi-scientific works devoted to chronicling the historical and ethnic connection between lowland Scots and the Protestants of Ulster beginning with the "Flight of the Earls" and the early establishment of the Ulster Plantation in 1607. Most of these works contained crude racial typologies that compared the fiercely independent Protestant Ulster-Scot with the racially inferior Gael. One of the earliest of these works was John Harrison's book, *The Scot in Ulster*. On a visit to the province of Ulster in the 1880s Harrison was struck by how "Scottish" the descendents of the Protestant settler population was.[107] He stated that he felt at home among his "kith and kin," particularly in areas like County Down.[108] For Harrison, the Protestant settlers' Ulster descendants were a bastion of British civilization in an otherwise wild and untamed land. Relying on popular Darwinian racial anthropology Harrison deduced that Irish Catholics were simply racially inferior to the Protestant Ulster-Scot population.

Another work that contributed to the creation of the Ulster-Scot myth during the Home Rule period was Charles Hanna's book, *The Scotch Irish*, published in 1902. This work did not contain the offensive racial typologies that characterized Harrison's earlier work. Hanna's book instead romanticized the pioneering spirit of the Ulster-Scot experience on the American frontier and celebrated the log cabin as a symbol of Ulster-Scot resilience, strength and civilization in a savage and untamed world. The log cabin symbolized "civilization" in the wilderness. Symbols of the Ulster-Scot experience in America like the log cabin, Davy Crockett and Andrew Jackson were often used by the Orange Order during periods of political or social crisis and were symbolic of the Order's unyielding commitment to oppose nationalist aspirations in Ireland.

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[107] Ibid., 15.
[108] Ibid.

During the Third Home Rule "crisis," J.B. Woodburn published *The Ulster Scot.* In Woodburn's account Presbyterianism rather than Anglicanism "became in effect the religious identity of Ulster Protestantism."[109] This is very important in the making of loyalist civil religion in Scotland because it made the Protestant struggle in Ulster more personal to lowland Presbyterians. If Presbyterianism became central to Ulster Protestant identity, the "Ulster connection" was not just ethnic; it was also religious. The Ulster Protestant cause was not only the preoccupation of Scots with ethnic/kin connections with Ulster, but now also concerned Unionist Scottish Presbyterians. Woodburn believed the Ulster-Scots represented the very essence of the British Empire's civilizing mission. His work produced a loyalist alternative to the well-established unitary vision of Irish nationalism by counterpoising an alternative ethnic origin myth, narratives of suffering, ideas of chosenness and blood sacrifice.

Scottish politicians also contributed to the notion of ethnic and even racial connections with the Protestants in Ulster. In 1886 Liberal Unionist T.W. Russell delivered a speech at Grangemouth where he stated, "three hundred years ago Ulster was peopled by Scotch settlers for State reasons. You are bound to remember this. The men there are the bone of your bone, flesh of your flesh. The blood of the Covenanters courses through their veins."[110] In 1912 the West of Scotland Liberal Unionist Association further perpetrated the myth of the Ulster-Scot when they issued a statement of sympathy to Ulster Protestants exalting them as "the finest population in Ireland… closely united to us by ties of race and religion."[111] Throughout the Home Rule era, Unionist politicians in lowland Scotland pandering to the "Orange vote"

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[109] Walker and Officer, "Scottish Unionism and the Ulster Question," 16.
[110] Ibid.
[111] "West of Scotland Liberal Unionist Association Secretary's Report," West of Scotland Liberal Unionist Association minute book, 5 December 1912, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Acc. 10424/22.

regularly employed the themes of "kith and kin" and "Ulster-Scots unity" to show their solidarity with Ulster Protestants.

The Ulster-Scot link was further established in the popular Scottish version of the Orange anthem, *The Sash My Father Wore* (Appendix A). This version of the Orange standard was markedly more hostile and sectarian than the traditional Irish rendition. Known as the "Richard Hayward version" the lyrics of the Scottish version of *The Sash My Father Wore* recounted the story of a Belfast Orangemen who made the short trip across the North Channel to Scotland to participate in the Glasgow "pre" Twelfth of July festivities.[112] This more bellicose version of *The Sash* referred to the Orange collarette worn by Orangemen on parade as "a terror to them paypish boys." It celebrated the idea of perpetual continuity between the Ulster Protestants and the Protestant Irish Diaspora community in the Scottish lowlands. The song explained how Glasgow was demarcated as loyalist space, at least temporarily during the marching season, and was symbolically designated a *de facto* extension of loyalist Ulster. It was designed to perpetuate the notion of Ulster-Scots unity based on the fact that all Orangemen were the same people connected by both blood and purpose.

A primary ingredient of most collective identities is the notion of common ancestry. The myth of the Ulster-Scot had the effect of narrowing the North Channel barrier by creating a unifying identity that stressed the connectedness of the Protestant people of lowland Scotland and Ulster. They were of the same blood, adhered to the Reformed Faith, had the same moral values, possessed an intimate connection to Empire and were both proud of their role in the civilizing process. Scholars and politicians who created and popularized the myth of the Ulster-

[112] Glasgow lodges traditionally hold their Twelfth of July celebrations the weekend prior to 12 July. Many loyalist Orange lodges and bands from Northern Ireland regularly make the trip to Glasgow to support their Scottish "kith and kin" and to celebrate their common hero. A substantial number of Scottish loyalists reciprocate by traveling to Northern Ireland for the Eleventh night bonfires, the parades on the Twelfth of July and the sham fight at Scarva.

Scot helped broaden the appeal of Orangeism in Scotland beyond the ranks of Protestant Irish migrants. The idea of the "Ulster connection" remained a major theme in all Scottish loyalist institutions through the course of the twentieth century. As the emotional connection with Ulster grew more personal to Scottish Orangemen and other loyalists (especially during "the Troubles") ties with their loyalist brethren in the north of Ireland were strengthened. For Scottish Orangemen, Belfast became a kind of holy city of loyalism. Every good Scottish Orangemen sought to make a pilgrimage to Belfast for the Twelfth of July celebrations at least once before he died.

As membership surged during the Home Rule "crisis," the Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland entered the twentieth century with a renewed sense of purpose. The Orange Order claimed at least twenty-five thousand members in Scotland at the turn of the century.[113] However, toward the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century membership in the organization slowly declined. There were several reasons for this decline. First, many loyalists in both Scotland and Ireland believed that the Home Rule issue had died with Gladstone in 1898. There was also a major coalmining strike that negatively impacted Lanarkshire (a stronghold of Scottish Orangeism). Lastly, there was a considerable recession during this period that may have encouraged members to forego their membership dues in lieu of other economic obligations.

The complacency of Orange Order members and other loyalists in Scotland was short-lived. By 1910, a new Home Rule crisis was brewing at Westminster. Following two general elections in 1910 Home Rulers "found themselves holding the balance of power" in the House of Commons.[114] Liberal Prime Minister Henry Asquith was determined to complete a budget that included his social reform package. For this to happen, Asquith needed the Irish vote and the

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[113] Steve Bruce, et al., *Sectarianism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 111.
[114] Haddick-Flynn, *The Orange Order: The Making of a Tradition,* 319.

only way to insure this was to reintroduce Home Rule legislation. With the support of John Redmond and his cadre of Irish Home Rule supporters the Parliament Act of 1911, "which curbed the absolute veto of the House of Lords and limited it to a two year period," was passed.[115] Unionists knew that the Parliament Act of 1911 removed the most formidable barrier to Home Rule legislation. After all, it was the House of Lords that had thwarted the first two Irish Home Rule bills. According to the Parliament Act, if three successive sessions of the House of Commons passed the bill, it became law. Asquith's government introduced the Third Home Rule Bill in 1912. This legislative move sparked a massive anti-Home Rule movement across Britain.

The Orange Order in Scotland reacted to the uncertainty at Westminster by appointing Reverend David Ness to the position of Grand Master in 1910. Ness was responsible for strengthening the ranks of the Orange Order and mobilizing the brotherhood in Scotland to oppose the third attempt by Westminster to establish a home rule government in Dublin. Historical circumstances definitely played a key role in drawing individuals to (or back to) the Orange Order, but Ness is credited with guiding and growing the organization during this watershed period in the brotherhood's history.

Under Ness's leadership the Orange Order in Scotland embarked on the largest and most ambitious mobilization and political protest campaign of their history. The Third Home Rule Bill galvanized the Orange movement in Scotland. During the height of the Home Rule "crisis" in 1912 the loyalist calendar in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland was filled with anti-Home Rule rallies and other events. These events were heavily attended and had the purpose of demonstrating Scottish solidarity with their "besieged" Protestant "kith and kin" in Ireland. The speeches delivered at most Glasgow anti-Home Rule rallies during 1912 and the first half of

[115] Ibid.

1913 had an apocalyptic tone. High-ranking members of the Protestant Unionist establishment repeatedly told audiences that if Redmond and other Irish nationalists got their way the Roman Catholic Church would ultimately control Ireland's socio-cultural and political spheres, and northern Irish Protestants would be stripped, not only of their ascendancy, but also of their political voice. Anti-Home Rule orators also stoked fears over the possibility of the dispossession of Protestant land and even ethnic cleansing. They told Scottish audiences "the general patronage" of Ireland "would go to the Catholics and that the sons and daughters of Protestants might either leave their native land or if they desired a living in it would have to prove recreant to their principles."[116] The Glasgow Chamber of Commerce was concerned that Home Rule could result in Ireland becoming a base for Britain's external enemies thus undermining British domestic security.[117]

One of the most fertile recruiting grounds for the loyalist cause in the Glasgow area during the Third Home Rule Period was within the Presbyterian Church. In February 1912, the Glasgow Presbytery met to discuss a number of issues including its current position on Home Rule. Reverend W.S. Provand from St. Ninian's United Free Presbyterian Church proposed a motion of solidarity with the Protestants of Ulster stating that the Presbytery of Glasgow "sympathized with the Protestants of Ulster in their present anxieties."[118] This was a huge step toward the creation of a loyalist civil religious identity in Scotland. Loyalist civil religious identity was intimately bound up with the ongoing political situation in Ulster. The hierarchy of the largest Protestant sect in Scotland, the Presbyterians, in the most densely populated city in the nation, were officially expressing support for the Protestant cause in Ulster. Representatives at the meeting were well aware that this was a potentially controversial move. According to the

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[116] "Ulster and Home Rule: Glasgow Protestants' Sympathy," *The Glasgow Herald*, 30 October 1912, 10.
[117] Walker and Officer, *Unionist Scotland*, 17.
[118] "Church Affairs: Home Rule and Ulster," *Glasgow Herald*, 29 February 1912, 12.

Glasgow Herald, the Glasgow Presbytery had never officially identified itself with "a political party or cause," but the threat of the "intolerant" influence of the Roman Catholic Church over their fellow congregants in Ulster was enough to motivate Presbyterian leaders to publicly oppose Home Rule.[119] The Presbyterian assembly was told the passage of Home Rule legislation would result in the "forced removal of all Protestants in Ireland."[120] The Presbytery's discussion of Home Rule issue was riddled with rhetoric similar to that of the Orange Order. The representative from Bellahouston, Reverend, Dr. Brown, alluded to a historical commitment to their Protestant Ulster brethren. Brown called on "the decedents of the Covenanters of Scotland" to stand "with their brethren in Ulster."[121] He stated that the Scottish "Covenanters fought for civil and religious liberties. They fought on the soil of Scotland, and they won."[122] Brown told his fellow Presbyterians that the message the Presbytery of Glasgow "should send their brethren in Ulster" was that "they sympathized with them," and that their "forefathers won civil and religious liberty in Scotland, so their Irish brethren might win that fight."[123] A motion was passed pledging the sympathy and support of the Glasgow Presbytery for the Protestants in Ulster who they believed were "under siege" by both internal and external forces. Similar declarations of sympathy for Ulster Protestants were delivered to Presbyterian congregations throughout Glasgow and the southwestern lowlands.

On June 17, 1912, the Imperial Grand Orange Council of the World held its triennial conference in Glasgow. The main topic of discussion at the conference was the impending specter of Home Rule. Representatives from Scottish, English, Irish, Canadian and American Orange lodges pledged to stand with Irish Protestants against the establishment of Irish Home

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[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.

Rule. Scottish Grand Master David Ness told those in attendance that any action Ulster loyalists might take to resist Home Rule would be justified "because of the conduct of the present government."[124] The Orange leaders consensus was that Asquith's government was attempting to pass a major piece of legislation without the consent of the governed. Money was raised at the conference to fund anti-Home Rule campaign events.

On July 6, 1912, the Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland held its annual Battle of the Boyne celebration the northeast Glasgow community of Coatbridge. Held during the height of the Third Home Rule period, the event attracted an estimated forty thousand people including seventy-four loyalist bands.[125] According to *The Glasgow Herald*, "the length of the procession was so great that it took 2 1/2 hours to pass a given point."[126] The highlight of this particular Battle of the Boyne ritual commemoration was the series of midday speeches held at Dunbeath Public Park. Grand Master Ness presided over the speeches. In his opening comments Ness warned of the constitutional crisis that would emerge in Britain if Home Rule were granted to Ireland. He argued that the electorate rather than Redmond and the Liberal government should decide the Home Rule issue. Ness declared that the combined effort of Unionists across Britain would result in Home Rule being "dead as Queen Anne."[127] Following Ness's speech, Brother J. Victor Logan "proposed a resolution opposing Home Rule and promising every assistance to Ulster loyalists." The loyalists resoundingly approved the resolution.[128]

Ness and other Scottish Orangemen looked to Unionist anti-Home Rule leader, Sir Edward Carson, for guidance and inspiration when it came to mobilizing loyalists in lowland

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[124] "Imperial Orange Council Conference in Glasgow," *The Glasgow Herald* 17 June 1912, 8.
[125] "Orange Demonstration at Coatbridge. A Large Gathering. Demonstration Against Home Rule," *Glasgow Herald*, 8 June 1912, 11d.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.

Scotland. Beginning in 1911 Carson used his platform as leader of the Ulster Unionists to warn Westminster of the possibility of loyalist physical resistance to the establishment of a Dublin government. Loyalists in Northern Ireland and lowland Scotland considered Carson to be "their greatest hero since King William himself."[129]

Sir Edward Carson realized that there was considerable animosity toward Home Rule in Scotland, particularly in the industrial areas around Glasgow. In an effort to capitalize on it Carson made several appearances in Glasgow to rally loyalist support against Liberals' Home Rule. Carson effectively used populist language interlaced with apocalyptic rhetoric that foreshadowed the eventual downfall of Empire to emotionally appeal to his overwhelmingly working-class audiences whose livelihoods were directly connected to the vitality and endurance of British imperialism. In October 1912 Carson spoke to a large audience at St. Andrew's Hall in Glasgow where he clearly explained Ulster's case against "Dublin rule" and the dire consequences that would emerge if the proposed legislation were passed. According to the *Glasgow Herald*, Carson's "plain statement of the Ulster case against Home Rule was received with a fervour which our Scottish audiences do not display unless they are deeply moved."[130] Carson explained that "the Ulstermen do not want ascendancy or new privileges of any sort; they merely want to stay as they are – citizens of the United Kingdom."[131] Carefully avoiding referencing the religious differences in Ireland he warned that Ulster would never "submit to the despotism" of Irish nationalism.[132] Carson explained that the thousands of men who signed the 1912 Ulster Covenant[133] were not merely "Orange corner boys" but rather represented all sectors

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[129] Ibid.
[130] "Sir Edward Carson in Glasgow," *Glasgow Herald*, 2 October 1912, 8.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid.
[133] The 1912 Ulster Solemn League and Covenant was signed by over a half million Ulster, Scottish and English loyalists opposing the Home Rule Bill which was introduced in the House of Commons that year.

of loyalism.[134] The Ulster Covenant condemned Home Rule legislation as being "disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our [Ulster Protestant's] civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship and perilous to the unity of Empire."[135] Carson highlighted the fact that the Ulster Solemn League and Covenant had deep Scottish roots as it was modeled on the Scottish Solemn League and Covenant of 1643. Thomas Sinclair, a staunch Scottish Unionist, had an integral role in drafting the Ulster Solemn League and Covenant in 1912 and was deeply inspired by the original Scottish Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, which had an obvious "anti-papist, pro-Protestant theme" that could easily be applied to the contemporary situation concerning the province of Ulster.[136] The original Solemn League and Covenant was an agreement between the Scots and the embattled Puritan English Parliamentarians, or "Roundheads,"[137] that pledged Scottish political and military support against the forces of Charles I and his Royalist army (which included Irish Roman Catholics) during the First English Civil War (1642-1646). It was a military league and a religious covenant against putative Stuart absolutism. The Scots agreed to send an army into England on the condition Westminster agreed to cooperate with the Scottish Kirk in upholding the Reformed Faith and to actively aid the Scottish in their effort to eradicate all remaining traces of Roman Catholicism in Scotland. Carson urged the descendants of the original Presbyterian Covenanters to join the contemporary grassroots movement to check what they saw as a "papist" plot to destabilize the British Union. Appealing to the historical and ethnic connectedness between the Protestant population of Ulster and lowland Protestants, Carson told Scottish loyalists that "the population of North and East Ulster resembles very closely the population of

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[134] "Sir Edward Carson in Glasgow," *Glasgow Herald*, 2 October 1912, 8.
[135] Ulster Solemn League and Covenant, 28 September 1912.
[136] Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster: New Updated Edition* (Belfast: The Black Staff Press, 1992), 133.
[137] Puritan Parliamentarians during the First English Civil War were nicknamed "Roundheads" because they wore their hair cut short around the head as opposed to the courtly ringlet hairstyles of their parliamentary adversaries.

the Clyde Valley in race, religion and temperament and in the character of its industries."[138] This identification with the historical Scottish Covenanters was not merely symbolic but representative of the close links existing between many people in both countries since the Plantation of Ulster (1609). Owing to his charisma, inspiring oratory and dominating presence, Carson was hero-worshipped among loyalists in both Scotland and Ireland. He was considered a symbol of the ongoing fight to preserve the "civil and religious freedoms" of all British Protestants against the ever-present specter of Vatican tyranny.

A "largely attended" anti-Home Rule meeting at Glasgow City Hall on October 29, 1912, followed Carson's appearance at St. Andrew's Hall.[139] This was the first of a series of meetings sponsored by the Glasgow Knox Club[140] with the purpose of creating a united Protestant front against Home Rule in Glasgow and other towns in the southwestern lowlands. Most of the participants at this event were ranking Protestant clergymen from Glasgow and the Irish province of Ulster, Orangemen, and members of the city's myriad Protestant clubs and associations. The chairman of the meeting, Reverend Donald Macmillan, told the assembly that the "meeting was the first of a non-political nature which had been held in Scotland for the purpose of protesting the Home Rule Bill, and for expressing sympathy with the Protestants of Ireland in the stand they were taking to prevent such a calamity falling upon them and their country."[141] Macmillan suggested that it was the responsibility of Scottish Protestants to stand with their brothers in Ireland. He acknowledged that the Church of Scotland had been at the forefront of expressing its sympathy and solidarity with the Irish Protestants, "without the slightest hesitation."[142]

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[138] "Sir Edward Carson in Glasgow," *Glasgow Herald*, 2 October 1912, 8.
[139] "Ulster and Home Rule: Glasgow Protestants' Sympathy," *Glasgow Herald*, 30 October 1912, 10.
[140] The Glasgow Knox Club was named in honor of John Knox, the leader of the Protestant Reformation in Scotland during mid sixteenth century and founder of the Presbyterian Church.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid.

Conversely, Macmillan admonished the United Free Church for refusing to take a stronger stance on the Home Rule debate despite the fact that a number of its lay members called for an official declaration on the issue. Outside of voicing their sympathy for Ireland Protestants United Free Church clergymen excused themselves from commenting on Home Rule because they argued it was a political rather than a theological issue. Anti-Home Rule conferences such as the one sponsored by the Glasgow Knox Club were organized to convey to Scottish audiences how dire the situation in Ireland was and could become in the future. The messages were to be taken back to Protestant churches, Orange Halls and local pubs in order to rally the loyalist masses for "the cause." These events were also opportunities to "pass the hat" and raise money to support the anti-Home Rule movement.

In 1913 the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland built a new headquarters on the highly visible corner of Cathedral Street and Frederick Street in Glasgow to accommodate its growing ranks. In conjunction with the cornerstone-laying event for the new Orange facility an anti-Home Rule rally was organized by Grand Master Ness that, according to *The Glasgow Herald*, attracted over thirty-five thousand participants.[143] Following an Orange procession from Glasgow Green to the new Orange Hall a series of speakers railed against Redmond and his Home Rule supporters.[144] A prospective Unionist representative for the burgh of Partick, R.S. Horne, stated that Glaswegian loyalists "had not forgotten those of their blood and kinship across the water in the north of Ireland."[145] Horne told the loyalists that they were assembled "to express their undying detestation of Home Rule, and their determination that at whatever sacrifice they were called to bear they would do their part to see that proper resistance was

[143] "Anti-Home Rule Protest: Demonstration in Glasgow," *Glasgow Herald*, 2 June 1913, 10.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.

offered, so that tyranny should never be imposed on their fellow subjects in the north of Ireland."[146]

As the battle over Irish Home Rule escalated at Westminster the Orange Order in Scotland redirected its attention from rallying lowland public opinion against the Home Rule Bill to recruiting volunteers for the civil war they were certain would eventually break out in Ireland following the inevitable transition to a Dublin government. Loyalists were told by leaders like Ness, Sinclair, Craig and Carson that they were being betrayed by an undemocratic Liberal government in Westminster that was determined to undermine the Empire by ceding to Irish nationalist interests against the will of "the people." The ominous pledge made in the Ulster Covenant to defend the province of Ulster from "Dublin Rule" with violence if necessary was fulfilled with the founding of the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) in December 1912. The UVF was a loyalist paramilitary force organized by Sir Edward Carson to defend Ulster from any attempts by Westminster to impose Home Rule on the Protestant population. Unionist signatories to the Covenant who pledged to defend Ulster Protestants' "cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom" by "using all means which may be necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule parliament in Ireland" were called on to serve in Carson's newly formed loyalist paramilitary force.[147] The phrase from the Ulster Covenant, "For God and Ulster," was adopted by Carson as the motto of the UVF to remind members of the Protestant volunteer militia what they were preparing to fight, and maybe even die, for.

Carson's loyalist call-to-arms extended across the water to lowland Scotland. Although the UVF did not have a heavy presence in Scotland there were Orange lodges that organized UVF units committed to fighting on behalf of their Ulster Orange brethren should there be a

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[146] Ibid.
[147] Ulster Solemn League and Covenant, 28 September 1912.

move to force them out of the Union. By 1914 seven UVF companies were formed in the Glasgow area and were directly connected to the following District lodges: Kinning Park, Partick, Clydebank, Rutherglen, Bridgeton, Calton and Cowcaddens.[148] Disguised euphemistically as "athletic clubs," these paramilitary units regularly drilled with wooden replica rifles and were kept in a state of physical readiness should they be needed in Ireland. Devout members of Glasgow's seven UVF companies were actively involved in the elaborate Larne gunrunning operation organized by the UVF in Ulster in April 1914. The UVF's Larne gunrunning operation included the importation of a substantial stockpile of weapons from Germany. These weapons were to be used to resist any attempt by the British government to impose a Dublin government on the Protestants of Ulster. Munitions from Germany were stored for inward shipment to Ulster in towns across the lowlands including Leith, Clydebank and Renfrew.[149] The Scottish Orangemen who volunteered for UVF service were convinced that they would eventually be called to defend the "civil and religious liberties" of their Ulster brethren as their ancestors had centuries before at Londonderry, Enniskillen and the Boyne. However, instead of defending Protestant Ulster's constitutional position within the United Kingdom the UVF found themselves fighting for "king and country" against the Central Powers in World War I.

Blood Sacrifice and the Memory of the Somme: The Orange Order and the First World War

The Scottish anti-Home Rule movement lost its momentum by the summer of 1914 when the Third Home Rule Bill, which had passed through all the necessary stages of parliament, was postponed as the British public turned its attention to the drama of World War I unfolding on the continent. Most able Scottish Orangemen enthusiastically rallied to Kitchener's call to fight for

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[148] Wood, *Crimes of Loyalty*, 328.

[149] *With the Gun-Runners of Ulster: A Contemporary Account of the Gun-Running Exploit of 24th April 1914* (Belfast: Eason, 1915), 5.

"king and country." Orangemen involved in UVF units were absorbed into the 36th Ulster Division. When Orangemen went abroad for military service they reportedly took their defiant "Orange spirit" with them. Orange lodges were created within several British regiments stationed on the Western Front and one was even founded in a German P.O.W. camp in 1916.[150] The 36th Ulster Division played a major role in the initial phase of the joint British and French offensive at the Battle of the Somme. They were charged with assaulting a heavily fortified German trench position called the Schwaben Redoubt. Aware that the assault took place on the true anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne (July 1, 1916), many of Orangemen of the 36th Ulster Division reportedly wore their Orange sashes into battle (which almost assuredly made great targets for German infantrymen) shouting their traditional battle cries of "No Surrender," "Remember 1690," and "Not an Inch" as they charged across "no man's land."[151] Most of those who were not killed or wounded in the initial artillery bombardment were ruthlessly gunned-down by the sustained salvo of German machine gun fire that followed. Traumatized, the 36th Ulster Division withdrew from the battlefield to regroup and marched directly into the mythology of loyalist civil religion. Orangemen believed that the preservation of the Protestant Union of the United Kingdom was a sacred duty worthy of blood sacrifice. As mentioned earlier, members of a civil religion are "willing to kill and die for truth as they understand it."[152] The loyalty and blood sacrifice of Ulstermen at the Somme was seen as the fulfillment of Ulster's side of a deal in which Britain would now side with the loyalists over the question of Home Rule. The sacrifice at the Somme coupled with the 1916 Easter Rising, initiated by Irish

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[150] Official Website of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, "Orangeism and the Military" http://grandornagelodge.co.uk/history/Orangeism_Military.html, (20 February 2008).
[151] Haddick-Flynn, *Orangeism*, 327.
[152] Carolyn Marvin and David Ingle, "Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Revisiting Civil Religion," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 64 no. 4 (Winter 1996). www.asc.upenn.edu/USR/fcm/jaar.htm (14 February 2007).

Republican "traitors" during Britain's darkest hour, convinced loyalists that the idea of Irish Home Rule would be abandoned once the war ended. With the loyalist sacrifice at the Somme the Ulster "Covenant had been sealed" and "the full price of loyalty had been paid."[153]

The legend of the Somme lives on as an integral part of loyalist mythology. One of the primary reasons for the endurance of the myth of the Somme is the fact that the establishment of the current province of Northern Ireland and its ongoing position as part of the United Kingdom was in part won in the trenches of the Somme. At a Battle of the Somme memorial event on July 1, 2009, the Orange Order's director of Services, Dr. David Hume, stated, "we believe as Unionists our whole future as a people owes something very important to the charge of the 36th Ulster Division that July morning. Our future within the United Kingdom was secured by them."[154] Since the end of World War I the Orange Order in Northern Ireland and Scotland have honored the memory of the blood sacrifice made by loyalists defending the Crown and constitution at the Battle of the Somme by holding solemn commemorative parades. These parades usually involve a wreath laying ceremony at the local World War I monument, a moment of silence and sometimes, a reading of the names of fallen Orangemen. Orange parades memorializing the Somme were prominent events on the loyalist marching calendar in both Northern Ireland and Scotland and remain so to this day. Images of volunteers who served at the Somme and symbols relating to the 36th Ulster Division are still emblazoned on Orange Order bannerettes and loyalist flute band bass drum skins.

Scottish Orangemen believed that the First World War represented yet another episode in the cyclical struggle to preserve the "civil and religious liberties" secured by William III in 1690. It is estimated that around two hundred thousand Orangemen from lodges around the world

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[153] Ibid.

[154] David Hume, "The Somme Will Never be Forgotten," speech at the Orange Order Battle of Somme Commemoration, Glenarm, Northern Ireland, 1 July 2009 (personal notes).

served on behalf of Britain in World War I.[155] The Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland described the war "as Orangeism's greatest triumph and heaviest defeat. Triumph in the number of volunteers who joined the war effort but defeat in that the institution lost so many men."[156] Although their sacrifice in World War I served a devastating blow to the ranks of the Orange Order in Scotland, the organization continued to function as integral part of Protestant working-class life in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland.

Orangeism in Scotland during the Interwar Period

As soon as the guns of war fell silent on the Western Front, the Orange Order in Scotland began a long campaign against the 1918 Education Act (Scotland). The Scottish state school system established in 1872 was effectively Presbyterian. This forced Irish Catholics and other minorities to create their own separate, and largely underfunded, schools. It was these underfunded, mainly Catholic, schools that were granted state support in 1918. Proponents of this "separate but equal" legislation argued state funded Catholic schools would give Irish Catholics an opportunity to achieve upward social mobility and ultimately full assimilation in Scottish society. Orangemen and other ultra-Protestant detractors referred to the state sponsorship of Catholic schools as "Rome on the Rates." The legislation enraged Orange Protestants who saw the move as amounting to nothing less than the state funding of a wing of the enemy Roman Catholic Church. Presbyterians were particularly upset because they had handed their schools over to the state in 1872 only to lose control of them over time as they were subtly rebranded secular state schools.[157] Steve Bruce explains that many Presbyterians believed Catholic educators held out and eventually received state funding for their religious-based

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[155] Official Website of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, "Orangeism and the Military" http://grandornagelodge.co.uk/history/Orangeism_Military.html, (20 February 2008).
[156] Ibid.
[157] Steve Bruce, "Catholic Schools in Scotland: A Rejoinder to Conroy," *Oxford Review of Education*, vol. 2 no. 2 (June, 2003), 273.

schools in 1918 while their "public" schools were slowly secularized.[158] While sitting on the Edinburgh Education Authority the militant Protestant leader of the Scottish Protestant League, Alexander Ratcliffe, called for a revision of the 1918 Education Act in 1924. Since the passage of the Act many rank-and-file Orangemen maintained that the legislation was never properly debated because of the government's preoccupation with World War I. Orangemen were convinced that the same "shady" Liberals responsible for resurrecting the Home Rule issue in 1912 approved the 1918 Education Act. Walker argues that the Education Act was significant, particularly for Presbyterians, because it "rubbed salt in the wound of their loss of educational influence" in Scotland.[159] The Orange Order in Scotland blames contemporary religious apathy within their ranks, at least in part, on the lack of religious instruction in non-Catholic schools. As recently as 2007, speakers at pre-Twelfth of July parades in both Glasgow and Port Glasgow railed against "Rome on the Rates."[160] After the issue of Home Rule was settled in 1921 education became the primary focal point of what was left of political Orangeism in Scotland.

Orange political influence in Scotland was dramatically weakened as the issue of Irish Home Rule faded from the headlines. Additionally, the Scottish Order officially broke its ties with the Tory Party in 1922 over the Anglo-Irish Settlement. Tory complicity in the settlement was considered by Unionists to be a betrayal of southern Irish Protestants. On the other hand, Scottish Tories increasingly viewed political solidarity with the Orange Order as a liability in a society that was becoming more secular. Determined to retain at least some political influence in lowland Scotland the Orange Order created the Orange and Protestant Political Party (OPPP) in 1922. The OPPP's political platform was entirely Unionist and stressed loyalty to the Crown,

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[158] Ibid.
[159] Graham Walker, "Varieties of Protestant Identity," in *Scotland in the Twentieth Century*, ed. T.M.Devine and R.J. Finlay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 254.
[160] Personal observation, June 2007, July 2007.

support for the Protestants in Ulster, the merits of "Britishness" and support for the implementation of Protestant Bible instruction in state funded schools. In the 1923 general election the OPPP only managed to seat two MPs.[161] After losing these two seats in the following election the independent Orange political experiment was quietly shelved. The OPPP proved to be a miserable failure. Under Grand Master McInnes Shaw and his Grand Secretary Joseph Cloughley, the Scottish Order abandoned the OPPP and realigned with the Tories.

Although ranking members of the Orange Order continued to support the Tory Party, convincing members of their predominantly working-class flock to do the same proved to be more difficult from the 1920s forward. Orange leaders were confronted with the harsh reality that individuals tended to vote with their pocketbooks or for those candidates from which they would receive the most personal gain. They realized that many of their working-class members were supporting the Labour party because there was simply no material benefit in voting Tory. From the mid-1920s forward, Unionist rhetoric continued to rally Orangemen to vote Tory, but only during times of perceived crisis.

Life during the interwar period was difficult for working-class Clydeside Protestants. During the 1920s Scotland did not experience the economic boom experienced in the United States. The brief revival of Glasgow's traditional heavy industries during World War I fizzled by 1920. Industries including textiles, iron, steel, shipbuilding and mining all fell into sharp decline, and unemployment in Scotland was endemic throughout the nation's industrial belt. The worst years in the industrial lowlands occurred between 1931 and 1935 "when the unemployment figure never actually fell below 2 million."[162] According to William Marshall,

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[161] The OPPP won two seats total in the 1923 general election including one from Wishaw and one from Motherwell.

[162] William S. Marshall, "The Historical Development of the Orange Order in Scotland" (Ph.D. diss., University of Glasgow, 1989), 19:1.

"during the peak years of 1931-33, 35% of miners, 43% of cotton operatives, 48% of steel workers & 62% of shipbuilders were out of work."[163] Skilled laborers were particularly affected by the economic downturn. Orangemen were hit especially hard because of their significant presence in the semi-skilled and skilled labor market in the Clyde Valley. Marshall argues that for many Orangemen the economic hardships that followed World War I were "probably as much of a shock to their mental perspectives, given the resultant loss of prestige and status within the community, as it was to the sudden lack of financial security it caused them."[164] In this environment of economic hardship and unemployment populist politics found willing followers. Marshall explains, "within certain elements of working-class life, this populism embraced a sectarian character that can be likened to an incubating virus lying dormant underneath the skin of society waiting for the right conditions to come along and hatch the infection open."[165] The interwar period provided the perfect conditions for radical sectarian populism to infect many key levels of working-class political and cultural life.

During the 1920s a large number of Protestant Scots increasingly began to explain and understand their personal hardships in sectarian terms. The most obvious target for their hostility was the substantial Irish Catholic community concentrated in the urban districts of the Clyde Valley. Adding to this simmering sectarian anxiety the influential Church and Nation Committee of the Church of Scotland approved a report in 1923 entitled "The Menace of the Irish Race to Our Scottish Nationality" published by the Presbytery of Glasgow. This report speculated as to whether Scotland had committed "race suicide" by allowing such a large

[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid.

population of Irish Catholics to settle in their communities.[166] It suggested that the "Irish race" was undermining the purity of Presbyterian Scottish society through certain social deficiencies including drunkenness, their association with crime and violence and their supposed financial imprudence that did not correspond with the "Protestant ethic."[167] The report provided a number of suggestions on how to "preserve Scotland and the Scottish race."[168] One of the important distinctions made in the report relevant to most Scottish Orangemen was the clear distinction between Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant migrants in Scotland. The report explained, "nor is there any complaint about the presence of the Orange population in Scotland. They are of the same race as ourselves and of the same faith and are readily assimilated to the Scottish population," whereas the Irish Catholic population "cannot be assimilated and absorbed into the Scottish race. They remain a people by themselves, segregated by reason of their race, their customs, their traditions and above all their loyalty to their church."[169] The report suggested that the Church of Scotland was "embracing a strategy of anti-Catholicism in response to an increasingly militant laity" that believed that Rome was trying to increase their foothold in Scotland.[170] There is no evidence to suggest that Orange clergymen like Reverend John Weipers, Reverend Andrew Duncanson, Reverend David Ness or Revered Victor Logan, colluded in the writing or publication of the report (though it is likely that they probably did collude). Marshall believes that there was actually some Orange collusion in the printing of the report because of the favorable mention of the Order.[171] The publication of the Glasgow

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[166] The Glasgow Presbytery, "The Menace of the Irish Race to Our Scottish Nationality," 1923, Mitchell Library (Glasgow), Glasgow Room Collection.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Marshall, "The Historical Development of the Orange Order in Scotland," 19:1.

Presbytery's report undoubtedly contributed to the sectarian tension that gripped parts of the Glasgow area during the interwar period.

Glasgow and its environs experienced a significant rise in sectarian hostilities between 1925 and 1935.[172] This tension was especially visible during the July marching season. Marshall states that the "level and scale of the violence was of a much more serious character and was a reflection of the way in which sectional religious loyalties could be exploited."[173] In 1925 Irish Catholics attacked an Orange Order parade in Shettleston consisting of around forty thousand participants, throwing missiles and starting fights with loyalists.[174] These disturbances lasted well into the evening and one man was even shot in the Garngad area of the city.[175] The violence and lawlessness typical of Orange marches during the early 1930s was not condoned by Orange officials. Much of the violence that accompanied Glasgow Orange parades during the interwar period was caused by sectarian zealots like Billy Fullerton and his Billy Boys gang who were bent on causing mayhem during what was supposed to be a sacred civil religious holiday. Grand Master McInnes Shaw stated that loyal Orange brethren should be committed to "maintaining the dignity of the Order" and the only way they could do that was "by showing an example to other people."[176] Shaw explained that bad behavior at Orange parades gave "the opposition" a chance to blame the Orange Order for sectarian inspired public disorder. Shaw's appeal fell on deaf ears. Coverage by the *Glasgow Herald* of the 1935 Orange walk was less than favorable. It reported, "Conflicts between sectarian parties assumed a serious character in the south of the city, where the police had to use their batons to restore order and to resist attacks

[172] Ibid., 19:2.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.

upon themselves."[177] Violence was particularly pronounced in the Gallowgate, Bridgeton, Gorbals and Shettleston areas of Glasgow, especially when the Orange Order was on parade or when Glasgow Rangers FC was playing football.

The Orange Order in Scotland after World War II

Following the Second World War, the Scottish Orange Order was plagued with numerous problems that threatened the organization's survival and the overall cohesion of the expanding loyalist civil religious community in Scotland. As during the First World War, Orangeman rallied to the defense of "king and country" against Nazi aggression during World War II. Many Orange veterans did not come home. The Orange Order in Scotland once again suffered a significant decline in membership following the Second World War. Although membership would rise during "the Troubles," the Order never regained the membership numbers they had during the Home Rule "crisis." Internal disruption, a fractured relationship with the Kirk, socio-economic instability in working-class sectors of the urban lowlands and postwar urban redevelopment were some of the postwar challenges Scottish Orangeism was forced to confront.

The most notable Grand Master to lead the Orange Order in Scotland immediately after World War II was Allen G. Hasson. Hasson was the last clergyman to hold such a high-ranking position in the Scottish Order. He began his career as a Free Presbyterian Church minister in Bonhill, a small town in the Vale of Leven located just outside of Glasgow between the Clyde River and Loch Lomond. During the second half of the nineteenth century, this area absorbed large numbers of Irish Catholic immigrants fleeing the economic hardships in their homeland. Irish Catholic immigrants filled unskilled labor positions while Protestants dominated the skilled

[177] *Glasgow Herald*, 8 July 1935.

trades and powerful working-class organizations like the Trades Council.[178] Bruce argues that in the Vale of Leven "'Protestant' and 'Catholic' played a large part in identifying people and channeling them into different social, cultural and political divisions" after the two world wars.[179] It was in this environment that Hasson's militant-Protestantism found a substantial audience. Bruce points out that Hasson's Free Church congregation in Bonhill initially had fewer than two hundred members, but grew in a short time to around one thousand members.[180] There was clearly a market in the Vale of Leven for Hasson's aggressive version of Orangeism.

The Orange Order quickly took note of Hasson's success in Bonhill. During the early 1950s he was courted by the Order to participate in Orange functions at both the local and national level. The hierarchy of the Scottish Order particularly wanted to harness Hasson's gift of oration to promote Orange causes. By the mid 1950s Hasson had a substantial following within the Order. Hasson further improved his standing in the fraternal society by creating the Orange periodical called *The Vigilant*. As editor of *The Vigilant*, Hasson made clear his stance on Roman Catholicism. In one of his early editorials he stated that he was "absolutely convinced that the Roman Catholics would resort to every lie, every trick and every crime in the annals of society to defeat the Protestant freedom we enjoy. They hate us!"[181] He used his position in the Church to counter what he and other Orangemen deemed a "Romeward trend" in both Scottish politics and the Kirk. Two of his most notable crusades against this perceived incursion of Rome during the 1950s included a renewed attack on the 1918 Education Act and a campaign against the "bishop in Presbytery scheme." In his attacks against the 1918 Education Act, Hasson

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[178] Roddy Gallacher, "The Vale of Leven, 1914-75: Changes in Working Class Organization and Action," in *Capital and Class in Scotland*, ed.Tony Dickson (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982), 187.
[179] Steve Bruce, *No Pope of Rome: Anti-Catholicism in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1985), 153.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Allen Hasson, *Vigilant*, vol. I no.9 (1955), 1.

redirected the blame for the implementation of the Act from the government to the Kirk. Hasson and other Orangemen believed the Kirk had not done enough to encourage politicians to overhaul the improperly debated legislation. The "bishop in the Presbytery scheme" was an attempt by progressive Presbyterian officials to establish sectarian unity in Scotland by allowing a representative from the Roman Catholic Church to attend the annual General Assembly meeting in Edinburgh. Hasson and other Orange leaders argued that the introduction of ecumenicalism into Kirk life, regardless of the intent, represented a slippery slope down the path of Romanism.

After being elected Grand Master in December 1958 Hasson committed himself to reenergizing the Order. He worked tirelessly to reinvigorate Orange political activism, particularly at the local level. Hasson was also dedicated to reinvigorating the religious dimension of the Orange Order. During the second half of the twentieth century the vast majority of Orange Order members in Scotland joined the brotherhood because of the secular socio-cultural aspects of the organization. Bruce points out that Hasson represented a small faction of middle class evangelical Orangemen who stressed temperance, conservative morality and the religious dimension of the Order.[182] Many working-class Orangemen were insulted by the constant barrage of criticisms leveled at their lodges for their supposed lack of Christian morality, temperance and evangelicalism practiced in lodge life. Hasson's strict approach to Orangeism eventually earned him a host of detractors within the Scottish Order. To compound his problems, Hasson further insulted Ulster Orangemen when he made remarks suggesting that the rampant discrimination and sheer depravity of Catholics in Northern Ireland was un-Christian. For Hasson, fighting against the underhanded incursion of Rome into British society and culture was one thing, but among the evangelical faction of Scottish Orangemen a belief

[182] Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*, 157.

prevailed that all men, regardless of race or religion, should be treated with "Christian dignity." Hasson's criticism earned him the wrath of many secular Orangemen whose primary reason for membership in the organization was to proclaim their solidarity Ulster Protestants against the Catholic "other."

Although his legacy is still felt in the Scottish Orange Order today, Hasson is most remembered for his involvement in an embezzlement scandal that severely damaged the internal cohesion of the institution. Hasson was accused of absconding with thousands of pounds of Orange Order money during his time as Grand Master. The scandal caused a hemorrhage in Scottish Orange membership and resulted in the Kirk distancing itself from the Orange Order. From the end of the Hasson era forward, the Kirk viewed public association with the Orange Order as a liability because of its sectarian tendencies and the propensity of its members to routinely engage in antisocial or illegal behavior. The frosty relationship between the Kirk and the Orange Order in Scotland persists to this day.

A problem that concerned most rank-and-file working-class Scottish Orangemen during the second half of the twentieth century was the scarcity of work. The traditional heavy industries that provided gainful employment for so many of Glasgow's working-class population in earlier years were disappearing at an alarming rate as the city began its gradual transition to a service oriented economy after World War II. With the loss of steady employment in Glasgow's industrial sector, many Orangemen were forced to forego lodge dues for personal necessities. Another consequence of the socio-economic restructuring of Scottish industrial society during the second half of the twentieth century was the steady flow of Protestant Irish workers slowed to a trickle because of the scarcity of jobs in the Clyde Valley. This was significant because Protestant Irish migrants historically supplied lowland Orange lodges with their most

enthusiastic recruits. A further issue the Scottish Order was forced to confront was the implementation of significant urban redevelopment schemes after World War II. Industrial cities like Glasgow suffered major damage from *Luftwaffe* attacks during the Battle of Britain. In addition to the city's war damage, Glasgow's notorious tenements had been subject to progressive neglect since the end of the nineteenth century. The postwar redevelopment of the city provided the perfect opportunity for city planners to recreate Glasgow's landscape by clearing the unhealthy tenement slums and replacing them with modern sanitary housing.

City planners were concerned first and foremost with space. In congested British cities like Glasgow space was at a premium. To alleviate this problem city planners built high density tower blocks and constructed new towns like Easterhouse, Castlemilk, Erskine, Livingston and Cumbernauld on the outskirts of Glasgow to accommodate the city's teeming working-class masses. Richard Rodger explains that "between 1955 and 1975 almost 1.5 million people (3 percent of the total population) were re-housed from "slum" accommodation in British cities into high-rise flats."[183] Impenetrable motorways and ring roads carelessly split many of Glasgow's traditional urban communities, if they were not destroyed altogether. This period of urban redevelopment had a dramatic effect on local Orange lodges. Orange strongholds like Calton, Bridgeton, Whiteinch, Springburn, Dalmarnock, Partick, Kinning Park and Govan[184] all experienced severe social disruption and geographical dislocation as a result of the postwar urban redevelopment projects. Despite the difficulties posed by postwar urban redevelopment in the Clyde Valley, the Orange Order was able to both survive and flourish. During the extensive tenement clearance programs in Glasgow and other urban conurbations during the 1950s and 1960s, the Orange Order simply moved with the Orangemen, creating new lodges in, for

[183] Richard Rodger, "Slums and Suburbs: The Persistence of Residential Apartheid," in *The English Urban Landscape*, ed. Philip Waller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 261.
[184] Govan is an industrial district of Glasgow located on the southwest bank of the Clyde River.

example, Drumchapel in Glasgow, Larkfield in Greenock and Foxbar in Paisley.[185] In addition, Orangemen established lodges in new and overspill towns like Glenrothes, Livingston and East Kilbride.[186] This ability to adapt to changing environmental realities demonstrated both the Orange Order's resiliency and their determination to perpetuate their social relationships and traditions even when they were displaced from the communities that originally fostered and produced them.

In the often-depressing urban confines of the working-class residential areas of postwar Glasgow the Orange Order continued to provide a social focus and reason for gathering together in common cause. Public Orange rituals characterized by the vibrant colors of the flags, bannerettes, collarettes and band uniforms combined with traditional loyalist flute band music created a kind of joviality which, at regular intervals, still provided a sense of reassuring familiarity, communal bonding and sense of purpose.

During the late 1960s the attention of the Scottish Orange Order was diverted away from local issues and redirected once again across the North Channel as the ethno- tribal tensions in Northern Ireland escalated in the wake of a renewed paramilitary campaign initiated by the Irish Republican Army (IRA). During the early years of "the Troubles" (1968-1973) a significant amount of popular support existed among Protestant Scots for the loyalist defensive struggle in Northern Ireland. Lowland Scotland was "one of the very few places where the loyalist cause commanded sympathy."[187] Orangemen in particular were willing to contribute to the defense of their Orange brethren and fellow British Protestants. Many Scottish Orangemen and other devout loyalists were prepared to travel to Northern Ireland and fight alongside their "kith and kin" if called to do so. The Grand Secretary of the Orange Order in Scotland, John Adam,

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[185] *Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland, Bicentenary Program*, 1998, 26.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Bruce, *No Pope of Rome,* 171.

embarked on a recruiting tour in 1968 where he visited a number of Orange Halls with the objective of enrolling Orange volunteers with military experience to potentially travel to Ulster and defend Protestant lives against the IRA insurgency.[188] As early as 1969, Orangemen from Lanarkshire area lodges traveled to Northern Ireland and were "teaming up with local vigilante defense groups."[189] Grand Secretary Adam denied any knowledge of Scottish Orangemen taking part in paramilitary activity in Ulster and made it clear that the Grand Lodge condemned any such activity.[190] He did, however, admit to compiling a register of people willing to travel to Northern Ireland and potentially take up arms against the IRA if the situation escalated into a full-scale civil war or on the occasion that British troops were withdrawn from the province. Although the exact number of Orange volunteers from Scotland during the earliest years of "the Troubles" is difficult to ascertain, it is believed that most individual lodges in the southwestern lowlands produced between fifteen to twenty-five volunteers each, making the total number somewhere around three thousand.[191] At an Orange lodge meeting in Glasgow in 1971 Grand Secretary Adam stated, "Our Ulster loyalists are certainly not without friends. We have volunteers ready to fill the gap if British troops are withdrawn."[192] Orangemen most keen on engaging in paramilitary activity were usually members who had family or friends in Northern Ireland who were being directly affected by "the Troubles."

Many Scottish Orangemen felt it was their duty as "true blue" loyalists to participate in the ritual bloodletting in Ulster. In order to sustain the civil religion of loyalism the heartland of their culture had to be defended against Catholic aggression as it was during the Williamite Wars

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[188] Steve Bruce, "The Ulster Connection," in *Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland*, ed. Graham Walker and Tom Gallagher (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 240.
[189] "Dismay at Lodge "Gunmen" Report,"" *Glasgow Herald*, 23 August 1969, 1.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid. 240-1.
[192] "Scots Ready to Fight in Ulster – Orangeman," *Glasgow Herald*, 11 October 1971, 1.

and the Home Rule campaign. In 1970, Scottish Grand Master Thomas Orr led a large contingent of Orangemen to Belfast for the Twelfth of July celebrations. Before boarding the ferry in Stranraer, Orr told a crowd assembled at the port that Scottish Orangemen would "march on Wednesday no matter what happens. If it does erupt into civil war, I am sure many Scots will want to remain."[193] On the Twelfth Orr told the crowd of about twenty-five thousand loyalists assembled at Finaghy Field in Belfast that Orangemen in Scotland were prepared to support the loyalists of Ulster "in every way possible" and he assured them that their "offer of help is no empty promise."[194] During the tumultuous year of 1972 several thousand loyalist Scottish volunteers, including many Orangemen, traveled to Belfast during the Twelfth of July holiday to help man Ulster Defense Association (UDA) barricades in Belfast so that the paramilitary volunteers could participate in the parades.[195] These same loyalists also provided armed security for a series of Orange Order speeches.[196] According to the *Scottish Daily Express*, around ten thousand Scottish Orangemen made the pilgrimage to Belfast for the Twelfth of July in 1972.[197] Scottish participation in Orange festivities in Belfast during the "Glorious Twelfth" escalated significantly during "the Troubles." Participating in Twelfth of July parades and other loyalist holidays in Northern Ireland was a way for Scottish Orangemen to publicly demonstrate their sympathy and solidarity with their "besieged" Protestant brethren.

Scottish Orange Order support for the Protestant community in Ulster during "the Troubles" took many forms. Although there were many Scottish Orangemen who traveled to Ulster to participate directly in paramilitary activity during the first five years of the conflict,

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[193] Ibid.
[194] John McKinlay, "Scots Help to Man Belfast Barricades," *Glasgow Herald*, 13 July 1972, 1.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid.
[197] "Scots in Belfast Frontline: 10,000 Scots Orangemen Flood into Belfast Yesterday to Join the Flag Celebrations," *Scottish Daily Express*, 11 July 1972, 6.

most Orange Order support for the loyalist cause came in the form of fundraising and charitable aid for loyalist relief organizations. During the early 1970s some Scottish Orange lodges contributed to the loyalist cause in Ulster by organizing small-scale evacuations of Protestant families from conflict zones in Northern Ireland to safe havens in lowland Scotland.[198] Acting on the rumor of a mass evacuation from South Armagh to Scotland one Scottish lodge actually went bankrupt purchasing beds and other supplies necessary to comfortably house the potential Orange refugees.[199] In addition to raising money for displaced Ulster loyalists, the Glasgow County Grand Lodge created the Ulster Relief Fund. The Ulster Relief Fund enabled Orange families living in conflict zones to travel to Scotland for vacation. During the Ulster Worker's Council Strike in 1974 the Grand Lodge of Scotland enthusiastically responded to a request from the County Grand Lodge of Belfast for food aid for children and elderly adults.[200] Some Scottish Orangemen even traveled to Northern Ireland to support the protestors. The Orange Order's aggressive reaction to the deteriorating situation in Northern Ireland attracted a host of new recruits who viewed membership in the organization as a pathway to direct participation in the Ulster conflict.

Following the imposition of direct rule from London by Edward Heath's government in 1972, the patchwork of individual Unionist organizations in Northern Ireland struggled to unify and effectively counter the Republican rebellion. Most loyalist groups believed unity was necessary to thwart any attempt by London to broker a deal with Dublin that would lead to the incorporation of the six counties of Northern Ireland into the Republic of Ireland. Loyalist confidence in the British government began to erode in earnest with the disbanding of the B-

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198 Bruce, "The Ulster Connection," 245.
199 Ibid.
200 "Scottish Orangemen Send Food," *Glasgow Herald*, 29 May 1974, 1.

Specials[201] in 1969. Attempts by Westminster to demonstrate impartiality in the sectarian conflict by including Dublin in diplomatic negotiations regarding the future of the province was perceived by loyalists as the ultimate betrayal. Orange Protestants believed they had already made the ultimate concession by relinquishing the South to the Roman Catholics.[202] Loyalists were increasingly being driven by the prospect that "if Britain betrayed Ulster, then it was time to resist authority and abandon loyalty."[203]

Loyalists' perceptions of London's betrayal of Northern Irish Protestants led to the popularity of organizations like William Craig's Ulster Vanguard Movement in both Scotland and Northern Ireland. The Ulster Vanguard Movement promoted the idea of a semi-independent Northern Ireland with dominion status. According to Eric Kaufmann, support for Vanguard's platform was one thing many of the disparate loyalist groups in Northern Ireland could agree on. Craig's organization believed "a powerful Ulster Protestant nationalism could emerge vis à vis Westminster."[204] The considerable support for the Ulster Vanguard Movement's vision within the loyalist community was not enough to create a unified Unionist/Protestant front.

As the IRA campaign steadily grew more violent, Unionist organizations in Northern Ireland proposed calling a conference with the goal of creating a unified loyalist front dedicated to the preservation of the Protestant province. A debate that created immediate discord within the Protestant ranks centered in the question of who should be included in such a conference. Some wanted to include leaders from all loyalist organizations including paramilitaries while

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[201] The B-Specials was the nickname given to the all-Protestant and staunchly Unionist Ulster Special Constabulary. The group was a reserve police force that was organized shortly after the founding of Northern Ireland and was called into service during times of emergency like war or insurgency.
[202] Kaufmann, *The Orange Order*, 82.
[203] Ibid., 81.
[204] Ibid., 82.

others, like the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, sought to include only representatives from mainstream loyalist institutions.

Under the direction of John Adam, the Grand Lodge of Scotland believed they could play the role of mediator by bringing together the disparate loyalist bodies in Northern Ireland. Adam envisioned holding a loyalist summit in Glasgow that would include all loyalist groups in Northern Ireland, including representatives from the paramilitary organizations. Adam stated that there were "points of unity which must be common to all [loyalists]…otherwise Ulster is fighting a losing battle."[205] Kaufmann explains that the Grand Lodge in Ireland was "impressed by the vitality of Orangeism among young Scots and appreciated the donations from Scotland for Orange social causes in Northern Ireland."[206] Accordingly, the Grand Lodge of Ireland responded to Adam and promised to consider the matter. Although Adam and other Orange Order leaders in Scotland had the best intentions regarding the idea of a unity conference, they did not understand the complexities of the power struggle that had emerged within Ulster Unionism between the Orange Order, Ian Paisley and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and the major loyalist paramilitary factions. The Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland's belated response to Adam's request reiterated its stance that an all-inclusive unity conference "would not be the answer to our many problems."[207] Kaufmann stated that the letter ended with an acknowledgement of Ulster-Scottish solidarity and the hope that Scottish loyalists would physically rally to their defense if the crisis descended into civil war. He stated, "we know, that in certain ways, you will continue to prepare yourselves to support the loyalists of Ulster should the present dangers increase."[208]

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[205] Ibid., 87.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid.

By the middle of the 1970s, the Orange Order claimed a membership of around eighty thousand in Scotland with most lodges still located in the greater Glasgow metropolitan area, Lanarkshire and Ayrshire.[209] However, despite this substantial concentration of devoted loyalists, many Orangemen believed that the energy of the loyalist community in Scotland was not being properly harnessed.[210] At a meeting organized by the Scottish Branch of Vanguard and the Orange Study Group in Glasgow, the deputy leader of the Ulster Vanguard Movement, Ernest Baird, stated, "we have a lot of support in Scotland, but there is only a small group of activists with real interest in the situation."[211] He stressed to Orange Order leaders that he was only soliciting political and financial support from Scottish loyalists. However, he urged loyalists in Ulster to energize their bases to prepare for a physical response should a full-scale civil war break out in Northern Ireland.

After the bloody year of 1972 in Northern Ireland, many Scottish Orangemen were emotionally driven to become actively involved in loyalist paramilitary activity (see also chapter III below). Although the Orange Order itself did not function as an organ of paramilitarism, financial contributions from Orangemen served as reliable source of funding for both the UVF and the UDA during the early years of "the Troubles." The UVF and the UDA each had a number of active cells operating in Scotland by the mid-1970s. These cells were responsible for raising money and securing small arms, mining explosives and detonators for use in Northern Ireland. Scottish Orangemen were moved to involvement in paramilitary activity through contacts established on visits to Northern Ireland for commemorative parades, through loyalist band connections, associations made through the Ulster Vanguard Movement and friendships made at Rangers football matches in Glasgow. The supreme commander of the Ulster UDA,

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[209] "Lodge May Expel UDA Men," *Glasgow Herald*, 20 December 1976, 1.
[210] "Scots Support for Loyalists "Lukewarm," *Glasgow Herald*, 7 February 1974, 18.
[211] Ibid.

Andy Ryrie, once said that most of the Scottish UDA men he was acquainted with were also members of the Orange Order.[212]

In January 1976, five Scots were found guilty of the illegal possession of weapons and bomb-making material. Each of the individuals was working independently of one another but Strathclyde Police maintained they were all working toward the same goal: the procurement of firearms, ammunition and gelignite for both the UDA and the UVF in Northern Ireland.[213] At least two of the conspirators were Orange Order members. The attorney for one of the defendants, Thomas Youdale, told the court that his client had become "involved in the activities of the loyalist cause through meeting men at [Rangers] football matches, attending Orange lodge meetings and playing in an Orange flute band."[214] The councilor explained to the court that his client was "infected by their [loyalist] attitude" and following a pilgrimage to Belfast for the Twelfth of July "he became intoxicated with the fervour and excitement" of loyalism.[215] It was argued that Youdale was an impressionable youth who was easily persuaded into doing things he would not ordinarily do. The testimony in this case illustrated that loyalist paramilitary groups were organized along the lines of street gangs. Once one was a member and privy to the secrets and privileges of the group, it was difficult to leave the organization, no matter the reason. Youdale claimed he traveled to Belfast to confront UVF leaders about his intention to disassociate himself from the organization. He was told by a group of men wearing balaclavas "that once one was a member of the UVF they remained a member for life."[216] Orangemen Andrew Wotherspoon and Thomas Youdale, both from Springburn, Glasgow, were found guilty of illegally possessing several drums of sodium chlorate, twenty-three sticks of gelignite and a

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[212] Hugh Hunston, "Orange Chiefs Quit Over UDA Verdict," *Glasgow Herald*, 6 December 1976, 1.
[213] "No Way Out of UVF Net," *Glasgow Herald*, 29 January 1976, 7.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid.

number of detonators determined to be destined for Northern Ireland.[217] Following the conviction of two of their members of charges related to paramilitarism, the Orange Order in Scotland was forced to address mounting innuendos from various Scottish media outlets and civic leaders that suggested the brotherhood was actively involved in loyalist paramilitary activity. Scottish Grand Master Thomas Orr and Grand Secretary David Bryce issued a joint statement in February 1976 that misleadingly stated, "The accused persons who have been convicted of offences involving the UDA and the UVF were not members of the Orange Order."[218] The evidence suggests otherwise. The Orange Order's official stance following the trial was that while they sympathized with the plight of Ulster Protestants, Scottish Orangeism was in no way affiliated with loyalist extremism.

By 1976 the Grand Lodge of Scotland began actively to disassociate the Orange Order from involvement in any manner of criminal activity, including loyalist paramilitarism. The Scottish Order stressed that the Crown's police and military forces were more than capable of dealing with Republican terrorism. Despite the noble intention of the Grand Lodge's stance on individual Orangemen's participating in loyalist paramilitarism the devolved structure of the network of Orange lodges made it difficult for them to police the activities of members of each individual lodge. Many Orangemen retained their paramilitary affiliations despite the official edict from the Grand Lodge because they believed it was their duty to provide both physical and financial support to Ulster Protestants who were still "under siege."

During the 1970s many Scottish Orangemen continued to defy the Grand Lodge by supporting the UVF through membership in the Loyalist Prisoners Welfare Association (LPWA). This "charitable" organization sponsored a variety of events aimed at raising money for UVF

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[217] Ibid.
[218] "Orangemen Deny Link with Terrorists," *Glasgow Herald*, 18 February 1976, 3.

prisoners and their families. The LPWA operated openly in Scotland well into the 1990s. More militant-minded Orangemen believed that, despite their good intentions, simply sending money fell short of relieving the suffering of the "flesh of their flesh." One such Orangeman was Roddy MacDonald.

On October 22, 1976, Roddy MacDonald appeared on the *BBC Scotland* program *Current Account* where he publicly defied the Scottish Grand Lodge's anti-paramilitary edict by admitting to being a high-ranking commander in the Scottish UDA. According to the *Glasgow Herald*, *Current Account* had breached an unwritten rule of Scottish journalism that stressed journalists were "not to highlight the problem (of paramilitarism in Scotland) for fear that exaggeration of the strength of rival factions could bring the violence to this country."[219] During the course of the interview, MacDonald admitted to being heavily involved in smuggling arms between lowland Scotland and Belfast. He suggested that it would be pointless to supply the Protestants of Ulster "with snowballs or something harmless. Snowballs never killed anybody!"[220] MacDonald claimed munitions including flamethrowers, shotguns and high caliber machineguns were manufactured in pieces by loyalists in Scotland and assembled in Northern Ireland.[221] His commitment to purchasing arms for the UDA was made clear when he said, "We'll buy arms from anybody, so if there's a good priest who's got explosives in his chapel we will definitely buy them."[222] According to MacDonald, arms procured by Scottish UDA operatives were delivered to Northern Ireland and used to confront the "communist, anarchist and other extreme left-wing factions" within the IRA "who would wish to destroy not only the position of Ulster [within the United Kingdom]" but also "the constitution of the country at the

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[219] James McKillop, "How Sinister is the Ulster Connection?" *Glasgow Herald*, 23 October 1976, 5.
[220] Bruce, *No Pope of Rome,* 174.
[221] McKillop, "How Sinister is the Ulster Connection?" *Glasgow Herald*, 23 October 1976, 5.
[222] Bruce, *No Pope of Rome,* 174.

present time."[223] When asked by *Current Account* about UDA membership figures in Scotland, Macdonald responded:

> Well, let's face it. How many people do you get in Ibrox on a Saturday afternoon? In a good game on Saturday afternoon, how many Rangers supporters do you get? Well, half of them are members of the UDA. I'm just saying six thousand; that could be generous or there could be more.[224]

Although many of MacDonald's claims were specious to say the least, the Grand Lodge in Scotland immediately suspended his membership pending a review by a private Orange tribunal. There was a faction within the Orange Order led by Grand Secretary David Bryce that believed MacDonald's involvement with the UDA ran counter to the Orange constitution which dictated that members should obey the law. Following the confirmation from the Supreme Commander of the UDA in Belfast that MacDonald was indeed the Coordinating Chairman of the UDA in Scotland, Bryce and his followers pressed for MacDonald to be expelled from the Orange Order for life. Disgusted by the way he was being treated by the Scottish Order, MacDonald appealed to the Grand Lodge of Ireland for support and subsequently received it. Influenced by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, a Scottish Orange tribunal held in Govan on December 4, 1976, determined that MacDonald had not breached the Orange Order's constitution. MacDonald denied saying some of the comments on the *Current Affair* program arguing, "other voices had been dubbed in by Republican conspirators working at the *BBC*."[225] He also denied supplying arms to Ulster even though he brazenly boasted about engaging in such activity in the *Current Account* interview. The delegates who sat on the tribunal accepted MacDonald's version of the truth and lifted his suspension claiming that he had not brought the

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[223] BBC Scotland, *Current Account*, Interview with Roddy MacDonald, September 21, 1976, transcript, 3.
[224] Ibid., 9.
[225] Hugh Hunston, "Orange Chiefs Quit Over UDA Verdict," *Glasgow Herald*, 6 December 1976, 1.

Orange Order into disrepute. Bruce argues that this decision was probably made because of the considerable amount of grassroots support for the UDA and UVF among rank-and-file Scottish Orangemen.[226] The Orange Order decided that since the UDA was technically still a legal organization MacDonald's affiliation could not be deemed criminal.[227] They held that members of the Scottish Order could only be dismissed if they were convicted of illegal activity and MacDonald was not; at least yet.

A clear split had emerged in the Scottish Order over the MacDonald affair. One faction, mostly representative of working-class members, believed that MacDonald's efforts to actively aid the Protestant paramilitaries in Ulster epitomized what it meant to be a good loyalist. The smaller contingent of middle-class Orange elders like Orr and Bryce believed that the Orange Order should take a sympathetic and Christian attitude towards the Ulster situation, however, tacit support for paramilitary action was at significant variance from what they understood the mission of Orangeism to be.[228] Most middle-class Orangemen saw the Order in traditional terms. That is, the Orange Order was an organization of temperance-minded, law abiding, Protestant church members who believed in Unionism. Most working-class Orangemen did not regularly attend church and were drawn into the Order because of its central position as a loyalist civil religious institution. The MacDonald case and "the Troubles" in general highlighted the rift along class lines in Scottish Orangeism.

Once MacDonald's suspension was lifted the top five highest ranking members of the Orange executive, including Orr and Bryce, threatened to resign unless the Scottish Order publicly condemned all paramilitary activity. At its annual general meeting in 1976 Orange delegates finally adopted a forceful anti-terrorism resolution where they "utterly rejected all

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[226] Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*, 175.
[227] The UDA was technically a legal organization in Britain until 1992 when it was declared illegal.
[228] Hugh Hunston, "Orange Chiefs Quit Over UDA Verdict." *Glasgow Herald*, 6 December 1976, 1.

support, be it active of tacit, of terrorist organizations whose activities contravene the law of the land."[229] According to Bryce, this proclamation was a watershed event in the history of Scottish Orangeism because the Orange Order "could have gone backward or continue to go forward. The decision of the membership, an overwhelming decision, was to go forward."[230] He articulated the official stance of the Scottish Order by stating:

> We require our members not only to be Christians but church members. We bar anyone with a criminal record. Hooligans are the last kind of people we want… We are devoted to the Reformed Church and Protestant succession. We are pledged to uphold the constitution but not without change. Believing as we do in the principles of liberty and freedom, we have thrown our weight behind the Scottish Assembly. We have made representations on the abortion laws and demanded better medical treatment for women in the west of Scotland. We have made representations to Spain and Russia on the questions of individual freedom. On upholding the law of good society, it is foolish to believe that we are simply an anti-Catholic organization. We do want to sustain the Protestant religion in its purest form. We do want to end segregated schools. But remember too that we oppose all destructive organizations… We are against all terrorist groups and armed men who seek to usurp the rule of law, regardless of the motivation."[231]

MacDonald and his supporters accused the Order of being inconsistent in their condemnation of paramilitary organizations arguing that several times in the recent past they had "announced that Orangemen were on 'stand-by alert' if serious trouble broke out in Ulster."[232]

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[229] Allen Laing, "UDA Leader set to Quit Orange Order," *Glasgow Herald*, 13 December 1976, 4.
[230] Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*, 175.
[231] Bruce, "The Ulster Connection," 245.
[232] Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*,175.

Bryce answered this charge by stating that what the Orange Order meant was that it was prepared to offer "charitable and humanitarian aid" to Northern Ireland in the event that civil war broke out in the province.[233] MacDonald was not expelled from the Orange Order. Bruce argues that the Scottish Orange executive "could, with some justification, claim that those involved in the UDA were almost peripheral members of the Orange Order."[234]

In 1977 MacDonald brought further shame on the Scottish Orange Order by leading a contingent of around one hundred hardcore Scottish loyalists to Belfast to take part in the second Ulster Workers Council strike. Unlike the first Ulster Workers Council strike in 1974, the Ulster Unionist Party and the Democratic Unionist Party did not support the strike in 1977.[235] While in Belfast, MacDonald and his rowdy cadre of loyalist Scottish followers engaged "in activities which, if they were not actually illegal, were aimed at forcing the British government to change its policies and were thus hardly designed to support the forces of law and order."[236] MacDonald was once and for all expelled from the Orange Order in late 1977 following a check forgery conviction in London and for his connection with a murder and gunrunning case in Edinburgh.

Despite the Grand Lodge of Scotland's determination to distance the Orange Order from Ulster paramilitary activity, Scottish Orangemen continued to actively participate in clandestine loyalist paramilitary activity. For example, in 1977 a Hamilton Orangeman, Neil Speirs, was accused of possessing illegal firearms and being a member of the UDA. Although the firearms charges stuck, attorneys were unable to present the Hamilton Sheriff's Court with sufficient evidence that connected him to the UDA.[237] Speirs was not expelled from his Orange lodge in Hamilton because he was not convicted of taking part in paramilitary activity. In June 1979,

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[233] Ibid.
[234] Ibid., 177.
[235] Ibid., 176.
[236] Ibid.
[237] "Scots Guns for Ulster, Court Told," *Glasgow Herald,* 26 March 1977, 2.

Orangemen George Alexander and George Martin were forced to reveal their affiliations with the UVF while providing testimony in a trial involving the loyalist bombing of the Old Barns Pub and Clelland Bar in Glasgow (See Chapter 3).[238] During the same trial, John McCaffery claimed he took the UVF oath from Colin Campbell at the Orange Hall on Landressy Street in Bridgeton.[239] That same month at the Paisley UDA gunrunning trial, UDA member James Lambie revealed he was also a member of the Orange Order and the Apprentice Boys of Derry.[240] Lambie suggested there were many other Orangemen involved in the operations of the UDA in Paisley and Kilmarnock but he refused to name the individuals. John Fullerton, a top official in a Falkirk Orange lodge, was convicted on August 16, 1979, of receiving explosives with the intent to use them to commit acts of loyalist terrorism in Northern Ireland.[241] At a press conference immediately following the ruling, the secretary of the East of Scotland area of the Orange Order, James McLean, stated "anyone suspected of associating with paramilitary organizations is immediately suspended" and those convicted of "any charges relating to paramilitary activity is expelled."[242] As the decade drew to a close the Grand Lodge of Scotland stressed to its members that it was not in the best interest of the institution for them engage in illegal activity related to the conflict in Northern Ireland. Orange Grand Secretary David Bryce stated:

> The sentence [of John Fullerton] will be a warning to other people who think there is something romantic about obtaining arms. We in the Orange Order certainly do not condone violence nor do we condone the gathering of arms. There is no

[238] "Death only way out for Glasgow UVF Branch," *Glasgow Herald*, 1 June 1979, 3.
[239] "UVF like Red Cross – witness," *Glasgow Herald*, 13 June 1979, 5.
[240] "UDA Man Tells of Electric Drill Ordeal," *Glasgow Herald*, 13 June1979, 2.
[241] Bruce McKain, "Two Jailed for 12 Years on Terrorist Charges." *Glasgow Herald*, 17 August 1979, 1.
[242] Ibid.

place in our organization for anyone involved in paramilitary organizations.[243]

Despite their public stance against Orange involvement in loyalist paramilitarism, there were still hundreds Scottish Orangemen active in paramilitary cells at the end of the 1970s. The moral and religious dimensions of the Orange Order were secondary to most working-class members during "the Troubles" as involvement in the conflict took center stage. For these zealous Orangemen membership in loyalist paramilitary organizations was justified because of the Scottish Orange Order's reluctance to become directly, visibly and aggressively involved in the civil unrest in Northern Ireland.

Most Scots did not want a version of "the Troubles" on Scottish soil. Despite the Grand Lodge of Scotland's introduction of a new code of parading behavior in 1970, many Scottish citizens wanted "provocative" Orange parades banned because they believed they could act as a catalyst for igniting sectarian hostilities. The *Glasgow Herald* ran a series of "letters of the editor" responding to the new code of conduct for Orangemen and loyalist bandsmen on parade. The general consensus of these editorials was that Orange parades did not contribute positively to Scottish society and should thus be banned because they deepened the sectarian divide that existed in parts of the urban lowlands. James B. Park, a self-proclaimed atheist from Stonehouse, Lanarkshire, expressed his belief that Orange parades were "annual expressions of intolerance" and "a sad reminder that the religious bias of former times still lives."[244] More ominously, Park suggested how easily he believed the ethnic violence in Ulster could spread to Scotland. He stated that in their own sporting venues Scotland has witnessed "how easily religious differences can flame like dry timber into hatred and violence under the slightest provocation. Yet, Northern Ireland is near enough to bring the full force of religious intolerance

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[243] Steve Bruce, *The Red Hand: Protestant Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 162.

[244] James B. Park, ""Balanced View" of Orange Walks," *Glasgow Herald*, 29 June 1970, 10.

to the proximity of our own doorsteps."[245] Park believed the single-minded agendas of Ian Paisley and Bernadette Devlin created an atmosphere in which democracy could not survive.[246] A combined group of Protestants and Catholics sent a joint letter the *Glasgow Herald* agreeing with Park's position. They expressed that they wished to see Orange parades banned because they believed them to be triumphalist, divisive, provocative and inherently violent. For this group of editorialists, Orange Order parades represented "contempt for a conquered people…emphasized by a ritual of offensive songs."[247] J.C. Thompson of Hamilton, Lanarkshire, responded to the interdenominational editorial by stating that this group of "concerned citizens" should devote their efforts to matters of substance like ending "the apartheid system of educating children in Scotland, caused by the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church."[248] Robert Howie of Glasgow also articulated his support for the Orange Order and their ritual parades. He voiced his concerns about the violence and disorderly conduct that often accompanied Orange processions but argued most of the aggressive anti-social behavior during the parades originated from those not wearing the sash like bandsmen or "sidewalk loyalists" who were not directly affiliated with the Orange Order. He argued that the Orange Order should not be punished for the sins of unaffiliated loyalist sympathizers and unjustified fears of sectarian warfare in the streets of Glasgow.[249]

Even though the Orange Order itself experienced a rise in membership during "the Troubles" it had lost the social and political support it enjoyed in wider lowland society prior to the Second World War. The loss of public sympathy was a new reality for the Orange Order in Scotland. Many cities and towns across the Scottish lowlands wanted nothing to do with Orange

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[245] Ibid.
[246] Ibid.
[247] "Orange Parades Should be Curtailed?" *Glasgow Herald*, 8 July 1970, 8.
[248] J.C. Thompson, "Protesting Over Parades," *Glasgow Herald*, 10 July 1970, 10.
[249] Robert, Howie, "In Defense of the Orangemen," *Glasgow Herald*, 9 July 1970, 8.

Order or their grandiloquent parades. Several lowland municipalities even refused the Orange Order permission to march altogether. In 1972, a report issued by the Scottish Council for Civil Liberties indicated that the Orange Order had been a victim of discrimination because of their political and religious beliefs when they were refused access to a public park in Dundee for a religious service. The service was to be held in conjunction with a parade that was expected to draw around fourteen thousand Orangemen. The Lord Provost of Dundee, W.K. Fitzgerald, stated that the rejection of the Orange Order's parading application was based on matters of public order.[250]

One of the uniquely Scottish issues addressed by the Orange Order outside of the situation in Northern Ireland during the 1970s was the Church of Scotland's invitation to Roman Catholic observers to attend its General Assembly[251] in Edinburgh. In the spirit of the original Scottish League and Covenant (1643) Grand Master Archibald Orr delivered a petition to the Church of Scotland in 1972 requesting it rescind the invitations. The Scottish Orange Order was vehemently against the Kirk engaging in ecumenical talks with Roman Catholic clergy. For Orangemen, the presence of Catholic "observers" in the General Assembly represented yet another attempt by the Vatican to incrementally Romanize fundamentally Protestant institutions. Grand Master Orr delivered the petition to the General Assembly in traditional Orange fashion. Two thousand five hundred Orangemen and women and several loyalist flute bands escorted Orr to the General Assembly meeting. The procession symbolically stopped for a wreath laying ceremony at the Martyr's Cross Memorial in Grassmarket, which marked the spot where hundreds of Presbyterian Covenanters were hanged by representatives of the Stuart monarchy between 1661 and 1688. Once before the Assembly, Orr explained the substance of the petition,

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[250] "Support for Orange Order's Protest," *Glasgow Herald*, 5 April 1972, 7.

[251] The Church of Scotland's General Assembly meets once a year to make decisions regarding the operation of the church.

stating "the national church, by continuing to invite Roman Catholic observers to the General Assembly, appear to give credence to the Roman Catholic Church and their present-day teachings."[252] Scottish Orangemen believed that the Kirk had strayed from the "true scriptural path."[253] The petition suggested the Church of Scotland should focus on cultivating relationships with evangelical sects in Scotland rather than with Rome.[254] Although the General Assembly was willing to hear the Orange Order's concerns, the petition did not sway them. The days of Orange Order influence in the Kirk were undoubtedly over. In May 1975 the Orange Order protested the Kirk's decision to allow the Roman Catholic Archbishop Thomas Winning to address the General Assembly. Orangemen believed that "ecumenicalism was destroying the Kirk" and only "returning to scriptural Christianity" could save it.[255] The protest in Edinburgh attracted around three thousand Orangemen but the demonstration had no impact on Kirk elders.

In 1980 the rift in Scottish Orangeism was once again highlighted when a group of younger Orangemen withdrew their memberships from the Orange Order and formed a militant and secular alternative to the Orange Order called the Scottish Loyalists. Committed loyalists like Roddy MacDonald and his followers believed that Scottish Orangemen were standing idly by while Republican terrorists in Northern Ireland were systematically slaughtering "their people." In addition, the Scottish Loyalists were upset because the Orange Order had not organized counter-demonstrations to the numerous "Brits out" and Hunger Strike/Bobby Sands memorial marches held in Glasgow during the 1980s and 1990s. The Orange Order's stance on Republican marches was that, while they condemned the marches, they recognized that Roman Catholic/Republican organizations had the same right to legally march on the streets of Scotland

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252 "Orangeman to Appear at Bar of Assembly," *Glasgow Herald*, 22 May 1972, 9.
253 "Orange Protest at Unity Moves," *Glasgow Herald*, 20 May 1974, 3.
254 Ibid.
255 "Orange Protest to Kirk," *Glasgow Herald*, 19 May 1975, 3.

as the Orange Order and other loyalist institutions did. The Scottish Loyalists organized a number of counter demonstrations against Republican parades in Glasgow during the 1980s and 1990s that attracted many Orange Order members. Street battles between the Scottish Loyalists and Republican marchers in Glasgow were most pronounced in 1981 following the death of Republican activist Bobby Sands and nine other IRA prisoners as a result of their hunger strike during their imprisonment at the infamous Long Kesh (a.k.a. "Maze") prison in Northern Ireland.

The most considerable mobilization of the Orange Order in the 1980s was against the papal visit to Scotland in 1982. Almost a year prior to Pope John Paul II's visit to Scotland the Orange Order filed applications for permits to hold anti-papal demonstrations.[256] According to the *Glasgow Herald*, on April 5, 1982, around ten thousand Orangemen gathered in Glasgow to protest the Pope's visit set for May. The rally consisted of an Orange walk to Bellahouston Park and speeches against the Pope's visit and the socio-political "evils" of Catholicism in general. Orangemen carried placards that read "No Pope on the Rates," referring to Scotland's state sponsorship of Catholic schools.[257] In a speech delivered at the anti-papal demonstration the Grand Master of the Glasgow County Lodge, John Thompson, decried the Glasgow city council's decision to support John Paul II's visit to their "Protestant city."[258] He told the loyalists gathered, "the [city council] authorities had misjudged public feeling about the visit and that opposition was not confined to religious groups."[259] Glasgow Orangemen were particularly upset with the prospect of Queen Elizabeth II actually meeting with the Pope. For loyalist Orangemen a meeting between the "defender of the Reformed Faith" and the head of the enemy Roman Catholic Church would be anathema. One Glasgow Orangeman stated in apocalyptic

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[256] "Protest at Visit of Pope," *Glasgow Herald*, 7 October 1981, 3.
[257] "10,000 Orangemen Stage Protest Over Pope's Visit," *Glasgow Herald*, 5 April 1982, 5.
[258] Ibid.
[259] Ibid.

terms that if Elizabeth II did meet with the Pope it would "create a constitutional crisis" that could result in the Orange Order turning against her.[260] For Scottish Orangemen, support for the Crown was contingent on its commitment to upholding the Williamite legacy and the ascendancy of Protestantism.

For many Orangemen, especially younger members, tame protests against the papal visit were not enough. Organized "well-behaved" protest rallies did not reflect the intense anger many Orangemen felt towards papal visit. The Orange Order lost many members to the Scottish Loyalists because they refused to directly disrupt the Pope's visit. On the other hand, the Scottish Loyalists affirmed that their organization planned to "smash the Mass and wreck the papal visit to Scotland."[261] One Scottish Loyalist defiantly stated, "If the police try to stop us, we will fight them."[262] Orangemen who defected from the Order to join the more militant, sectarian and aggressive Scottish Loyalists were looking for this type of "No Surrender," "Not an Inch" rhetoric and commitment from the Orange Order. Despite the anger in the loyalist community over Pope John Paul's visit to Scotland, loyalist protesters did not disrupt the papal visit. In the end, Elizabeth II did meet with the Pope on his visit to the United Kingdom. The Orange Order reacted as if the meeting never happened and continued to feature portraits of the queen on bannerettes and lodge hall walls.

As evidenced by their attempt to influence the 1982 papal visit, the postwar reality for the Orange Order in Scotland was its political impotence. It no longer had any significant influence on Tory Party or Kirk politics. In addition, the Orange leadership also had to come to terms with the fact that many Orangemen were voting for Labour Party candidates in spite of the traditional loyalist view that Labour represented an unholy alliance of "papists," communists and atheists.

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[260] Ibid.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Bruce, "The Ulster Connection," 246.

Voting for a party committed to full employment, affordable public housing and a free public health system simply made more sense to many working-class Orangemen than warnings from the Grand Lodge that a vote for Labour was somehow a betrayal of their loyalist principles.

Since 1981 membership in the Orange Order in Scotland has experienced a steady decline. One of the primary reasons for this attrition, especially among younger members, was the popularity of other loyalist outlets like local football clubs, loyalist bands, street gangs and Rangers supporters' clubs that provided similar public affirmation of one's loyalism. Declining numbers were particularly notable in ladies and junior Orange lodges. New evidence presented by Kaufmann suggests that Scottish ladies' and junior lodges suffered a marked decrease in membership from the 1970s forward because there were simply more options for how women and adolescents could spend their leisure time.[263] Many women and young people chose to forego their commitment to Orange lodge life for more banal pursuits.

Regardless of the number of members the Orange Order was able to muster at any given time, it filled a real void in people's lives. The Orange Order in Scotland provided a sense of ultimacy and intimacy to its members by providing a common set of rituals, values and affinities that bonded the identity group together. Their shared identity and commitment to the loyalist cause was regularly reinforced through the custom of parading. The Orange Order not only offered loyalists a distinct set of beliefs and values but also a number of social benefits as well. In times of anxiety or economic hardship the communitarian values of mutual aid and brotherhood fostered within the confines of the lodge offered a degree of comfort to its members. For example, following World War II the Scottish Order adapted to the needs of its working-class base by reducing membership dues or, if unemployed, waiving dues altogether for members in good standing with the organization. For many working-class people, the victims of

[263] Kaufmann, *The Orange Order*, 276.

limited life chances and opportunities, membership in an Orange lodge offered the chance to be "someone," to be noticed and even respected within their communities. At the turn of the century the Orange Order in Scotland still managed to attract around fifty thousand members despite the realization of the fact that the organization had become representative of a "Lost Cause."

CHAPTER II
We Are the People: Glasgow Rangers Football Club and Loyalist Civil Religion in Scotland during the Twentieth Century

During the course of the twentieth century Glasgow Rangers Football Club became the crossroads of popular loyalist civil religion in lowland Scotland. Because there were no membership requirements, loyalists from all loyalist institutions in Scotland and Northern Ireland regularly gathered together at Rangers' home ground, Ibrox Park, to ritually celebrate a unique variety of Ulster-Scots Protestant loyalism. Like other institutional frameworks of loyalist civil religion in the southwestern lowlands, Rangers developed an Orange-informed mythology that shared common characteristics with supernatural religions including: a group of faithful followers, quasi-sacred spaces and artifacts, rituals, historic traditions and, most importantly, unyielding and unquestioned faith in an idea or cause. In her comparison of sports and religion, Catherine Albanese argues that sports are deliberate religious rituals that, "through their performances, create an other world of meaning, complete with its own rules and boundaries, dangers and successes."[1] Like traditional religious frameworks, civil religious institutions like Rangers Football Club had the ability to establish a sense of belonging through the ritual celebration of loyalism at Ibrox Park, a built environment that was eventually consecrated as a sacred loyalist space by the faithful.

In a society where attendances at traditional Protestant churches were in dramatic decline, many working-class Protestant Scots in the industrial lowlands turned to the mass spectator sport of football to fill a spiritual void left in their lives. During the twentieth century, Rangers' Ibrox Stadium was transformed into a secular temple that functioned as a center of loyalist civil

[1] Catherine Albanese, "From Sabbath Proscriptions to Sunday Celebrations," in *From Season to Season: Sports as American Religion*, ed. Joseph Price (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2001), 35-6.

religious devotion and instruction. Loyalist devotees considered Ibrox Park to be a sacred space where annual ritual celebrations were held, legendary heroes were made, traditions were created and reaffirmed, and, like religious relics, trophies and other historical memorabilia were reverently housed in special rooms. Michael Novak argues that sports undoubtedly have a religious-like dimension, "in the sense that they are organized institutions, disciplines, and liturgies; and also in the sense that they teach religious qualities of the heart and soul."[2] Rangers FC engendered a host of rituals and devotions that consequently strengthened lowland loyalist culture and bestowed a transcendent quality upon it. The club helped to consolidate the identity and symbols of the imagined loyalist community and their meanings.

Glasgow Rangers FC was not created as an extension of any specific religious or political ideology. Peter and Moses McNeil, William McBeath and Peter Campbell founded Rangers Football Club in early 1872 because they wanted to organize a complete team that could compete with other amateur squads in weekly matches at Glasgow Green. Although the McNeil brothers were both first generation Ulster-Scots and all four of the teenage founders were Protestants, there is no conclusive evidence that suggests these factors had any bearing on the construction of Rangers. Accordingly, the name "Rangers" itself had no foundation in Orangeism, Unionism, Ulster history or popular Protestant culture. Rangers were actually named after an English rugby club that each of the teenage boys supported. During the first three decades of its history, Rangers was a Protestant club, but only in the sense that all of its players were Protestants and had strong links to Clydeside shipping.[3] The ethnic and religious makeup of early Rangers squads was not by design. Football in Scotland was popularly associated with Protestantism

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[2] Michael Novak, *The Joy of Sports: End Zones, Bases, Baskets, Balls and the Consecration of the American Spirit* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 21.

[3] Bill Murray, *Bhoys, Bears and Bigotry: The Old Firm in the New Age* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1998), 33.

during the early stages of its development. As in England, early football squads in Scotland were usually the by-products of already existing institutions. Protestant organizations like the Boy's Brigade and Protestant Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) were at the forefront of the football revolution in Glasgow. These organizations viewed athleticism as a positive distraction that could act as a deterrent to temptation and vice. Irish-Catholic Scots were usually excluded from participating in organized football and were eventually forced to create their own clubs.

The physical location of Rangers FC in the city of Glasgow played a major role in shaping the loyalist identity of the club. Early Rangers squads practiced regularly at the Fleshers' Haugh near Greenhead Street on the eastern side of Glasgow Green.[4] The ultimate objective of Rangers founders during the first decade of the club was to secure fixtures against larger and more established teams like Queens Park, Third Lanark, Partick Thistle and Vale of Leven. For Rangers, the absence of a permanent home ground proved to be a major obstacle to attracting quality opposition because they could not properly host home matches. In 1895 Rangers moved their practices and scrimmages from Glasgow Green to a pitch in Burnbank off Great Western Road in Glasgow's West End. They stayed at this location for one season before moving across the Clyde River in 1876 to Kinning Park. Despite being well received by the residents of the predominantly Ulster Protestant enclave of Kinning Park, Rangers soon outgrew this facility and in 1887 moved to Ibrox to play on a pitch situated at the site of the present day Edmiston House. Rangers' remarkable growth continued throughout the period and in 1899 they moved to the purpose-built Ibrox Park next door.

Rangers' move to the southwest bank of the Clyde in 1887 was significant in the development of the distinctive Orange identity that was associated with Rangers during the

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[4] John Burrowes, *Irish: The Remarkable Saga of a City and a Nation* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 2004), 135.

twentieth century.[5] A large skilled and semi-skilled Protestant working-class population, the majority of whom worked in the nearby shipyards and heavy engineering firms, called Govan home. In many ways, Govan and Kinning Park symbolized the economic prosperity of Clydeside during the peak of Empire. As in most spheres of Scottish industrial production, Protestants monopolized the most desirable and well-paying jobs in the shipyards while Irish Catholics were relegated by both discrimination and training to low-wage menial jobs. These factors ensured that religious conflict was never far away in shipbuilding. In Protestant Irish enclaves like Govan and Kinning Park, sectarian discrimination was rife. This was especially true in the workplace. Martin Bellamy states that in the Govan shipyards, "sectarian slogans were found everywhere, chalked all over bulkheads and on workshop walls, and discrimination on religious grounds was simply a way of life."[6] The two-way traffic between Ulster and Govan began in earnest with the arrival of hundreds of boilermakers from Belfast during the 1860s.[7] The Belfast boilermakers were followed by a steady flow of skilled and semi-skilled Protestant Ulstermen looking for work in the Clyde shipyards. Between 1869 and 1876 the influx of Protestant Ulstermen into Govan created the need for the establishment of eight new Orange lodges in the area.[8] According to Gallagher, "Belfast shipyard workers were the most intensely Orange section of that city's proletariat and, by the 1870s, the same thing was being said about shipyard workers living in the Partick and Springburn districts of Glasgow."[9] The migration of shipyard workers from Belfast into the communities surrounding the Clyde River remained steady through the first decade of the twentieth century, climaxing in 1912 with the

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[5] John White, *The Rangers Football Miscellany* (London: Carlton Books Limited, 2006), 13.
[6] Martin Bellamy, *The Shipbuilders: An Anthology of Scottish Shipyard Life* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd., 2001), 154.
[7] Graham Walker, "The Protestant Irish in Scotland," in *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. T.M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishing Ltd., 1991), 58.
[8] William S. Marshall, "The Historical Development of the Orange Order in Scotland" (Ph.D. diss., University of Glasgow, 1989), 8:1.
[9] Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 27.

establishment of a branch of the Belfast shipbuilding giant, Harland and Wolfe, in Govan. The flow of migrants into Govan dramatically declined as a result of the economic slump that hit the shipbuilding industry on Clydeside after World War I. Ulster settlers in Govan strengthened already established ultra-Protestant and Orange traditions in the area.

Although evidence is scarce, it seems likely that the proximity of Rangers' Ibrox Park to the Protestant/Orange-dominated shipyards of the Clyde Valley attracted a host of support from Orange Irish and Scottish employees at every level of the shipbuilding trade from at least the 1880s forward. Not only was Ibrox Park situated close to the Govan shipyards and Kinning Park, it was also extremely close to the Protestant working-class tenement communities located along Govan Road, Skipness Drive, Elder Street and Howat Street. Given the fact that by the 1880s one in four Scottish males were members of an amateur football club, it is safe to assume that working-class male residents living in and around Govan attended Rangers matches.[10] In 1901, three authors writing under the pseudonym "James Hamilton Muir" portrayed a typical Glaswegian skilled craftsman as "a member of a Rangers brake club who discharges the frustrations of the working week on a Saturday at the match."[11] A football correspondent for *The People's Journal* likewise noted that a large number of skilled workers from communities connected to shipbuilding like Springburn, Partick, Govan, Kinning Park and Whiteinch, were "Rangers adherents."[12] The fact that two-thirds of the twenty-five fatalities related to the Ibrox Park Disaster of 1902 were skilled workers employed by Clydeside shipbuilding firms offers further evidence about the social composition of Rangers supporters.[13]

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[10] William Knox, *Industrial Nation: Work, Culture and Society in Scotland, 1800-Present* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 138.
[11] Graham Walker, "There's Not a Team Like the Glasgow Rangers': Football and Religious Identity in Scotland," in *Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland*, ed. Graham Walker and Tom Gallagher (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 140.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Knox, 138.

Although the majority of Rangers supporters were drawn from the ranks of the Protestant working-class, many members of the middle and upper classes linked to Govan shipbuilding were also fans. Bosses at shipbuilding and heavy engineering companies in Govan entered into special relationships with Rangers to attract premier players to the club with the promise of non-sport employment, an arrangement known in American sporting parlance as "semi-professional." In 1886, the *Scottish Athletic Journal* reported that Rangers had an ongoing deal with the John Elder Works whereby the company bosses (who were Rangers supporters themselves) agreed to offer relatively well-paying jobs as an incentive to attract prospective footballers to the club.[14] The location of Ibrox Park coupled with the demographic composition of many of its supporters during the last decades of the nineteenth century undoubtedly gave the club a decidedly Orange hue. However, it was not until the creation of Celtic Football Club in 1888 and their almost instantaneous athletic success that Rangers began to emerge as the *de facto* sporting wing of Protestant loyalism.

As football became more popular in Scotland during the late nineteenth century, Irish Catholic Scots were largely excluded from football "on the basis of their ethnicity, religion and social class."[15] In response to this inequity, organizations like the Catholic Young Men's Society sponsored the formation of football clubs like Hibernian of Edinburgh and Harp of Dundee, which catered to and represented members of the Irish Catholic Diaspora community in Scotland. Like their Protestant counterparts, Irish Catholic clubs also sought to use football as a vehicle for promoting temperance, athleticism, teamwork and loyalty. Furthermore, they were designed to promote Catholic ideals and ethnic pride as a bulwark against the temptations of Protestantism.

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[14] *Scottish Athletic Journal*, 24 August 1886.

[15] Gerry P.T. Finn, "Sporting Symbols, Sporting Identities: Soccer and Intergroup Conflict in Scotland and Northern Ireland," in *Scotland and Ulster*, ed. Ian S. Wood (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1994), 46.

In 1888 a Marist monk named Brother Walfrid, along with a collection of other prominent Catholic leaders, created the Celtic Football Club in the East End of Glasgow to raise money for local Catholic charities and to keep Irish Catholics connected to the Church. Murray argues that Celtic FC served "the dual purpose of easing the pain in starving stomachs at the same time as it kept young Catholics together in their leisure time, free from the temptations of Protestants and Protestantism."[16] Celtic was "founded for and by the Catholic community of Glasgow" and drew the vast majority of its support from the city's ethnically Irish Catholic population.[17] Popular Protestant resentment at the almost immediate success of Celtic prompted "Orange" Scots to call for a Protestant club that could challenge the dominance of the Irish Catholic club over Scotland's most popular pastime.

Queen's Park Football Club, the oldest and most popular club in Glasgow, seemed destined to become Scottish football's Protestant answer to the Catholic upstarts from Parkhead. Not only was Queens Park one of Scotland's best-supported clubs, it was directly affiliated with the Protestant Young Men's Christian Association.[18] Queens Park's commitment to amateurism in the wake of the creation of the Scottish Football League (SFL) left them lagging behind other regional clubs. Rangers colluded with Celtic to force the Scottish SFL to move towards professionalization against the wishes of Queens Park and, as a result, gradually emerged as the "Protestant" answer to Celtic's success. Professionalism allowed Rangers to assemble squads that could regularly compete on even terms with their Catholic cross-town rivals. Although Celtic dominated Rangers for the first three years of its existence, their fortunes changed in February 1893 when Rangers defeated them for the first time ever in the Glasgow Cup Final.

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[16] Bill Murray, *The Old Firm: Sectarianism Sport and Society in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1984), 47.
[17] Ibid., 7.
[18] Murray, *Bhoys, Bears and Bigotry*, 33.

After beating Celtic four times and drawing with them once out of six matches during the 1893-94 season, Rangers erased any doubt as to who would be the Protestant team of choice in Glasgow.

By the 1890s support for both Rangers and Celtic was heavily based on dogmatic tribal interpretations of British and Irish history and ethno-religious antagonism. The first match between Rangers and Celtic in 1888 attracted a mere two thousand spectators.[19] Ten years later over fifty thousand supporters attended the Ne'er Day match between the two clubs. This unique and often volatile cocktail of sports, ethno-tribalism, Ulster politics, culture and religion is what made Rangers and Celtic so attractive to so many Scots. The sectarian animosities associated with an Old Firm derby – a climactic contest between the arch-rivals - made the rivalry one of the most compelling and thrilling sensory experiences in professional sports.

[19] Burrowes, 398.



Figure 9. Kinning Park resembles a Belfast housing estate during the summer marching season.

From Primrose to Souness: Loyalist Civil Religious Culture at Rangers from the Top Down.

In Glasgow and the Scottish lowlands Unionism emerged in the last two decades of the nineteenth century as a political reaction to Irish Home Rule. Political Unionism was extremely popular in the urban districts of the Scottish lowlands where the majority of the population believed their financial wellbeing and cultural identity was intimately connected to the success and endurance of Empire. Until quite recently most Scots identified themselves as Scottish Britons and took pride in Scotland's role in the development of the world's most powerful empire. Scots largely viewed Home Rule agitation in Ireland and Westminster as a threat to the material progress of Empire. Fears over Home Rule and the possible dismantling of the Empire had the residual effect of intensifying the anti-Irish and anti-Catholic sentiment that already existed in the urban lowlands. Rangers represented this "social imperialist" worldview in microcosm.[20] Ronnie Esplin argues that Rangers were seen by their fans as "a mirror of their city Glasgow: industrious, gritty, redoubtable, globally ambitious and Empire-minded."[21] The 1954 *Rangers Supporters' Annual* featured a photograph of the Glasgow skyline taken from the vantage point of the Ibrox Park press box. The caption that accompanied the photograph read:

> Dominating the foreground are the cranes … the shipyards, the dear Clyde, the docks, the works of all descriptions … We are reminded here that without industry and Empire all would fade, spires and stadium, all would become as a dream.[22]

In the waning era of British imperial cultural hegemony, Rangers came to represent "a much stronger, more exclusive and more aggressive variant of Unionist identity."[23] Social, ethnic and

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[20] Walker, "There's Not a Team Like the Glasgow Rangers': Football and Religious Identity in Scotland," 141.
[21] Ronnie Esplin and Graham Walker ed., *It's Rangers For Me: New Perspectives on a Scottish Institution* (Ayr: Fort Publishing Ltd., 2007), 5.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Finn, 45.

political divisions over the Irish Home Rule issue coupled with Celtic's open association with the Irish Home Rule movement contributed heavily to "Rangers becoming a rallying point for Ulster Unionist sentiments" in Scotland.[24]

From the Third Home Rule period (1912-1914) until the arrival of Graeme Souness (1986) the Rangers boardroom was dominated by an assortment of high profile Conservatives/Unionists, Orangemen and Freemasons who consciously nurtured a corporate identity heavily informed by Tory politics, loyalism, Protestantism and Orangeism.[25] Under the leadership of Rangers chairman John Ure Primrose (1912-1923), the club imposed a rigid "unofficial" sectarian hiring policy in an effort to create and maintain a "Protestant club for a Protestant people" and to safeguard it from what they deemed "the Irish Catholic menace." A Protestant and Unionist inspired boardroom supported by an ultra-loyalist terrace culture served to stoke the sectarian fires that powered the lucrative Old Firm relationship. Gerry Finn suggests, "The political context of Scottish society and soccer ensured that there were sporting parallels with Northern Ireland."[26] Motivated by their personal politics, the culture and politics of the fans and the monetary benefits of branding Rangers as the sporting antithesis of Celtic, club leaders cultivated an image of political Unionism.

As in wider Glaswegian society during the early decades of the twentieth century, anti-Catholicism ran deep within the halls of Ibrox. Most of Rangers' major patrons and boardroom representatives were anti-Home Rule Unionists linked to fraternal organizations like the Orange Order.[27] Early Rangers administrators considered Irish Catholics to be generally untrustworthy, subversive and predisposed to alcoholism. It was not uncommon for Rangers leaders to order

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[24] Walker, "There's Not a Team Like the Glasgow Rangers': Football and Religious Identity in Scotland," 141.
[25] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 63.
[26] Finn, 45.
[27] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 63.

religious background checks on defenders and goalkeepers accused of throwing Old Firm matches.[28] By the second decade of the 1900s, Roman Catholic players who had not been upfront about their religious affiliations were regularly dismissed from the club once their denominational allegiances were revealed.[29] Rangers' sectarian hiring policy intensified during the Third Home Rule period (1910-1914) and remained in place until Maurice Johnson was signed in the summer of 1989.

Rangers openly associated itself with the Orange Order during the first half of the twentieth century. The club hosted a fundraising benefit match against Partick Thistle for the Grand Orange Lodge in Glasgow in 1914.[30] In the 1950s, club officials were regularly sent to speak at Orange Order engagements in both Scotland and Northern Ireland. Likewise, players were often volunteered by the administration to perform service projects at local Orange Halls.[31] Additionally, a friendly match was played at Windsor Park in Belfast against their loyalist sister club, Linfield FC of Belfast, in May 1955 to raise money for the Sandy Row Orange Hall.[32] Until 1987 Rangers officials allowed the Orange Order to use Ibrox for its annual Divine Service, a loyalist ceremony that fused Scotland's two most visible loyalist civil religious institutions. Walker argues Rangers' relationship with fraternal organizations like the Orange Order "was proof of the club's complicity in a 'hidden agenda' in Scottish life which was fundamentally Protestant and anti-Catholic."[33]

Beginning with the leadership of the club's second chairman, Sir John Ure Primrose, the Rangers hierarchy acted as a sort of civil religious "clergy" charged with managing and

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[28] Finn, 50.
[29] Ibid.
[30] William Marshall, *The Billy Boys: A Concise History of Orangeism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1996), 155.
[31] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 63.
[32] Murray *Bhoys Bears and Bigotry*, 174.
[33] Walker, "There's Not a Team Like the Glasgow Rangers': Football and Religious Identity in Scotland," 145.

maintaining the club's Unionist values. The composition of the leadership structure at Rangers was mainly comprised of members of Glasgow's Unionist political and business elite. Primrose was a well-respected community activist, Tory politician and member of Masonic Lodge Plantation 581.[34] He was also a staunch Unionist politician who campaigned tirelessly against Irish Home Rule. When he became chairman of Rangers in 1912, he quickly began to reshape its public face. Prior to assuming the chairmanship Primrose publicly referred to Rangers as "the sporting arm of Scottish Orangeism."[35] Once in office he actively marketed the club as a branch of the loyalist family. He used the club as a vehicle for fundraising for the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland and opened the doors of Ibrox to the brotherhood for Orange Order events like the annual Divine Service.[36] During the anti-Home Rule crusade, Primrose regularly joined Sir Edward Carson, the father of the UVF, on the speaking platform at anti-Home Rule rallies in Glasgow and Belfast, thus symbolizing Rangers' commitment and support for Ulster's Protestant loyalist population. Although Rangers was already generally associated with Protestantism, it was Primrose who was the architect of the club's enduring loyalist policy.

His fostering of Rangers' ongoing connections with Govan's Protestant-dominated shipyards in Govan was reinforced in 1912 by the arrival of Belfast-based shipbuilding firm, Harland and Wolff, which was notoriously Orange and sectarian. The opening of their shipyard dramatically increased the flow of Protestant workers from Belfast to Govan. Thousands of these Orange Irish workers settled in the Govan area permanently. For Protestant Irish shipyard workers with an appetite for competitive football, Rangers was the obvious choice. Most scholars agree that the arrival of Harland and Wolff shipbuilding works influenced both the boardroom and terrace culture at Rangers, though they differ on its extent. For Murray, the

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[34] Finn, 50.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 68.

arrival of Harland and Wolff and their predominantly Orange workforce did not necessarily introduce a new sectarian element at Rangers, but probably reinforced a trend that was already well underway.[37] Walker disagrees arguing, "The Harland and Wolff factor may well be seen as decisive if considered in conjunction with the issue of Irish Home Rule."[38] Since 1886 the Irish Home Rule issue had sharpened ethnic divisions in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland. During the Third Home Rule "crisis," "Glasgow Irish [Catholic] politics were galvanised and, on the other side Orange lodges recruited for the Ulster Volunteer Force and pledged their support for Edward Carson's campaign of resistance."[39] Anti-Home Rule Rangers administrators like Primrose were undoubtedly influenced by this aggressive variety of loyalism and were successfully able to make Rangers into a symbol that would henceforth be associated with the loyalism.

The Unionist club values established by Primrose were personified in the legendary Rangers manager, William (Bill) Struth, who led the club to unprecedented levels of football glory from 1920 to 1954.[40] Struth was a dominating presence who embodied the Calvinist virtues of self-reliance, discipline and hard work. These Calvinist virtues reflected the loyalist ideals of the club. As manager, he was a rigid disciplinarian with a cold exterior who ruled his players with an iron fist. Players were forced to accept all of his rules and idiosyncrasies or risk dismissal from the squad. Struth was both respected and feared by all who surrounded him. The players feared their manager "not so much that one might lose one's job, but that one would not be accepted into the holiest tabernacle in Scottish football [Ibrox Park]."[41] Struth lived for

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[37] Ibid., 67.
[38] Walker, "There's Not a Team Like the Glasgow Rangers: Football and Religious Identity in Scotland," 140.
[39] Ibid., 140-41.
[40] Ibid., 145.
[41] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 168.

Rangers and was driven by a "win at all cost" mentality. Commenting on what he felt it meant to be associated with Rangers Struth once said:

> To be a Ranger is to sense the sacred trust of upholding all that such a name means in this shrine of football. They must be true in their conception of what the Ibrox tradition seeks from them. No true Ranger has ever failed in the tradition set him. Our very success, gained you will agree by skill, will draw more people than ever to see it. And that will benefit many more clubs than Rangers. Let the others come after us. We welcome the chase. It is healthy for all of us. We will never hide from it. Never fear, inevitably we shall have our years of failure, and when they arrive, we must reveal tolerance and sanity. No matter the days of anxiety that come our way, we shall emerge stronger because of the trials to be overcome. That has been the philosophy of the Rangers since the days of the gallant pioneers.[42]

The success of Bill Struth's interwar squads gained him the overwhelming support and adoration of both the club leadership and supporters alike. Viewed by many in the Rangers community as the avatar of the club, Struth often acted as if he was in total control of club policy. Murray argues that Struth's control was wielded "more by force of character than majority share-holding."[43] Like the successful American college football coach, Paul "Bear" Bryant, who has been grossly deified by obsessed supporters of the University of Alabama since his death in 1983, Struth was regarded by "traditional Rangers followers" as a "god-like figure, a spiritual presence hovering over Ibrox" for all eternity.[44] His Rangers' domination of top-flight Scottish football and Struth's confident public demeanor created an environment of arrogance and cockiness at Ibrox that long outlived him. During the interwar period, Struth was often

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[42] Red Hand and Thistle RFC Website, www.freewebs.com/carrickfergus/ (2/27/2009).
[43] Ibid., 231.
[44] Murray, *Bhoys, Bears and Bigotry*, 76.

asked by the press to respond to critics who questioned whether Rangers' monopoly of Scottish football was good for the game. As a staunch advocate of capitalism and the free enterprise system, Struth usually replied with a snide comment that suggested that in a free country such as Scotland, competitors were just as free to recruit, train and field championship teams as Rangers.[45]

Struth's intense commitment to the club and its loyalist traditions appealed to the club's legions of devoted supporters. The civil religion of loyalism that defined the ethos of the club informed Struth's decisions when it came to recruiting. He is said to have chosen players based on his mystical "psychological appraisal" (which included their religious persuasion) rather than their football prowess.[46] Under Struth Rangers instituted a rigid "Protestants-only" hiring policy that eventually touched all levels of employment at Ibrox.[47] For Struth, Catholics did not fit the "traditions" of the club. He believed that in a Protestant country there were plenty of talented young men of the Reformed Faith who would be happy to call Ibrox home.

By the end of his career, Struth essentially became what Murray refers to as a "football dictator" who bullied board members and took advice from no one.[48] Increasing concern by board members over his heavy-handed approach to managing Rangers combined with the declining fortunes of the team on the pitch eventually led to Struth's retirement in 1954. Upon his retirement he was able to use his influence to handpick his successor, Scot Symon. Struth trusted Symon to carry on his policies and his protégé did not disappoint him. He brought six league championships, five Scottish Cups and four League Cups to Ibrox between 1954 and 1967, continuing Struth's winning ways and commitment to the club's loyalist traditions.

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[45] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 210-11.
[46] Ibid., 168.
[47] Bruce, et al., *Sectarianism in Scotland*, 129.
[48] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 169.

Throughout Struth's reign as "club dictator," individuals committed to cultivating the club's loyalist image filled Rangers' boardroom. Sir James Cargill, a prominent Unionist politician, was president of the club during much of Struth's tenure. Cargill was both an ardent anti-socialist campaigner and a committed loyalist. He believed that the evils of socialism and Roman Catholicism (thought by many loyalists to be linked) threatened the traditional fabric of society in the urban lowlands. In 1935 Cargill was dubbed "the patron saint of Tory Capitalism in the west of Scotland" because of his generous patronage of antisocialist groups like the West of Scotland Economic League.[49] Likewise, Rangers board chairmen Joseph Buchanan and Duncan Graham were both ex-baillies[50] and, like Primrose and Cargill, committed Unionists. Graham's successor, James Bowie, publicly praised the traditions and principles of the Orange Order and regularly represented Rangers at Orange events.[51] Following a dispute with Struth over the direction of the club, Bowie was eventually forced out of office. The publicly anti-Catholic, Unionist politician, John F. Wilson, was named club chairman in 1949 following the death of Bowie's successor, W.R. Simpson. Wilson was an Orangeman who served as the Grand Master of a lodge in Glasgow during the 1930s. During his political career Wilson forged strong alliances with militant Protestants in both Scotland and Northern Ireland. His loyalist credentials earned him the position of national treasurer of the anti-Catholic Scottish Protestant Vigilance Society (SPVS). The SPVS was dedicated to campaigning against the Irish Catholic "enemy within" by focusing on issues like Catholic schools ("Rome on the Rates") and Irish Catholic immigration. Wilson also served in the Glasgow City Council for several years and led the council's anti-socialist bloc. Under Wilson's direction, Rangers hosted a massive Conservative

[49] Ibid., 130.
[50] A baillie was a local civic official in Scottish burghs.
[51] Finn, 50.

and Unionist Party rally at Ibrox Park in Govan at which Winston Churchill delivered a rousing speech that derided Irish Republicanism.[52]

Despite his commitment to maintaining the loyalist tradition at Rangers, Wilson is ironically best remembered for his defense of Celtic during the "Great Flag Flutter" in 1952. In that year, although there was no such provision in the SFA constitution, the Referee Committee of the Scottish Football Association (SFA) instructed Celtic and Rangers to remove any flags or emblems from their grounds not associated with Scotland or football. The SFA's edict was clearly aimed at Celtic because the club flew the Irish Tricolor above "the Jungle"[53] at Celtic Park and Celtic saw it as a direct attack on the symbolic association with Glasgow's Irish Catholic community.[54] The SFA argued that its decision was part of a concerted effort to reduce football hooliganism, fast becoming a problem in Glasgow. The SFA believed sectarian-inspired hooliganism could be curbed by banning symbols "which might incite feeling among the spectators."[55] Finn suggests that Wilson's staunch support for Celtic's right to fly the Irish flag was in part motivated by his longstanding personal rivalry with Scottish Protestant League (SPL) leader, Alexander Ratcliffe.[56] A radical militant Protestant, Ratcliffe was one the most vocal proponents of banning the Irish Tricolor at Parkhead. The animosity between Wilson and Ratcliffe began during a bitterly contested local election in 1933. Wilson lost his seat to the SPL candidate. Thereafter he held a longstanding grudge against Ratcliffe for running a malicious political campaign. Although Wilson's personal feelings towards Ratcliffe influenced his support for Celtic during the controversy, the financial benefits derived from the ethic and

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[52] Ibid., 51.
[53] "The Jungle" is the nickname of the North Stand at Celtic Park. It can hold up to 27,000 fans and is known for being one of the more vocal and rowdy sections of the stadium.
[54] Celtic football ground, Celtic Park, is also referred to as Parkhead.
[55] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 150.
[56] Finn, 52.

religious hostilities that fueled the Old Firm rivalry was the primary reason the loyalist Rangers chairman supported efforts to keep the Irish Tricolor flying at Parkhead.

The 1960s brought a relatively liberal climate of public opinion to Glasgow that was no longer prepared to tolerate overt sectarianism like the variety practiced by Rangers supporters at Ibrox. Increased interaction and intermarriage between Protestants and Roman Catholics after World War II contributed to the softening of sectarian attitudes in wider Glaswegian society. Toward the end of the decade a much more progressive press and public began to repeatedly question certain aspects of Rangers' loyalist civil religious ethos, particularly their inherently bigoted "unofficial" hiring policy.[57] Since the beginning of the Struth era, Rangers had signed only one Catholic player by accident. In 1976 Larry Blyth said he had "slipped through the [Protestant loyalist] net because of a blunder made by the Ibrox management."[58] Soon after he arrived in Govan he admitted he "learned the score quick enough" in regards to Rangers stance on Catholics.[59] When his religious affiliation was revealed, Blyth was relegated to the reserve team bench. Eighteen months later he received a telegram from the club stating that he had been cut from the squad "because staff reductions were being made."[60] He later learned that he was the only person laid off that year. In the midst of a rash of hooligan disturbances involving Rangers fans toward the end of the decade culminating with the highly-publicized riots at Arsenal's Highbury Stadium in London in 1967 and at Newcastle FC in 1969, media and local government scrutiny over the loyalist character of the club intensified.

In December 1970 the secretary of the Bearsden Labour Party in the East Dunbartonshire constituency, Jack Travers, recommended that the Labour Party debate the issue of sectarian

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[57] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 183.
[58] Jim Hewitson, "The Catholic Who Played for Rangers," *Glasgow Herald*, 16 October 1976, 1.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.

hiring practices in the workplace. He believed that discriminatory hiring practices like Rangers' had no place in modern Scottish society and argued that the government should make a concerted effort to make them illegal. Travers and other Glasgow magistrates were concerned that the Rangers management and Rangers fans "seem to make a virtue out of not employing Catholics" and were convinced that the sectarian bigotry at the highest levels of the club was the root cause of antisocial behavior. [61] A group of magistrates met with Rangers and Celtic officials in 1972 to discuss methods of curbing Old Firm sectarianism. The magistrates demanded that Celtic remove the Irish Tricolor at Celtic Park and forcefully encouraged Rangers general manager, Willie Waddell, to make a pubic statement declaring that Rangers was not a sectarian institution. Neither club complied. Waddell responded by denying the insinuation that Rangers was a bigoted club and "refuted an outsider's right to dictate club policy."[62] In several local newspaper articles published in 1971 and 1972, popular Labour Party journalist Brian Wilson promoted the idea that Rangers should be banned for their blatant sectarian hiring practices.[63] Rangers director George Brown responded to the sustained barrage of criticism over the club's hiring practices by acknowledging "the religious exclusiveness of Rangers" and defending the club's right to govern itself in accordance with its traditional Protestant values.[64] He fervently argued that the Govan club "had always been *the* (my emphasis) Protestant team, and such it always would be. It was a tradition going back over a hundred years."[65] Brown articulated the sentiments of most devoted Rangers supporters who viewed the club as the symbolic center of popular loyalism in Glasgow. This was a fact of Glaswegian life that could not be changed regardless of external pressure.

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[61] "Call for a Debate on Rangers Discrimination" *Glasgow Herald*, 14 December 1970, 5.
[62] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 185.
[63] Walker, "There's Not a Team Like the Glasgow Rangers': Football and Religious Identity in Scotland," 148.
[64] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 185.
[65] Ibid.

Pressure grew in 1974 when a coalition of ranking members of the Glasgow Presbytery challenged Rangers administration officials to publicly deny a sectarian hiring policy. In an attempt to publicly disassociate the Glasgow Presbytery from the extreme variety of Protestant culture celebrated at Ibrox, Reverend Donald MacDonald explained that sectarian bigotry was "senseless" and "indefensible" and should "be kept free from sport."[66] The Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Dr. David Steel, argued that in light of "the Troubles" in Northern Ireland, Rangers should be doing more to bring the Protestants and Catholics together for the sake of the city's stability and reputation.[67] New realities had to be faced. Times had changed, and Rangers was now pressured on myriad fronts to change with the times.

Rangers officials began to seriously consider abandoning certain aspects of the club's loyalist culture following "the Battle of Birmingham" in October 1976, when a friendly match against Aston Villa in England had to be suspended after only fifty-three minutes of play because of rampaging Rangers hooligans. Glasgow's *Daily Record* declared that rejecting Catholics "was an emblem for hooligans" and that "being custodians of such a heritage is not an honour and never has been."[68] They called on vice-chairman and general manager Willie Waddell to "lead the way in ending this iniquity."[69] One of the most prolific British sportswriters of the time, Ian Archer, wrote that Rangers were "a permanent embarrassment because they are the only club in the world which insists that every member of the team is of one religion. They are an occasional disgrace because some of their fans, fueled by bigotry, behave like animals."[70] In a scathing indictment of the club's loyalist traditions, Archer charged that Rangers supporters

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[66] John Easton, "Glasgow Presbytery Tackle Rangers," *Glasgow Herald*, 9 October 1974, 1.
[67] "Moderator Tells Rangers: 'Ball in Your Court,'" *Glasgow Herald*, 15 October 1974, 1.
[68] Candid Cameron, "Ibrox Ritual Must End," *Daily Record* (Glasgow), 12 October 1976, 30.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ian Archer, "Ian Archer Says…" *Glasgow Herald*, 11 October 1976, 3.

rallied around songs that celebrated "a useless battle in 1690" and concluded that every Scot who loved football should demand that Rangers treat their "sickness" by renouncing sectarian expression at all levels of club life.[71] Sportswriters at the *Evening Times* similarly called on Rangers bosses "to change their diehard 'blue-nosed' Protestant policy," arguing that such policies contributed to many fans believing the idea that "they were the chosen race."[72] Mounting pressure from the Glasgow media coupled with an impending Home Office inquiry into the disturbances in Birmingham unsettled the Ibrox hierarchy and forced them to consider revising the tenets of the institution.

The intense external pressure on Rangers forced general manager Waddell to address the club's unpopular hiring policy. A week after the chaotic scenes at Villa Park in Birmingham, he told members of the Scottish press, in what would come to be known as the "Birmingham Declaration," that Rangers was determined to dismantle their image as a sectarian club. Waddell forcefully asserted that Rangers would divorce "themselves completely from religious and sectarian bias in every aspect of the field of play and on the terracing."[73] More importantly he stated, "No religious barriers will be put up by this club regarding the signing of players."[74] Waddell's announcement was immediately greeted favorably by many sectors of lowland society. The Moderator of the Church of Scotland, the Vicar of Communications in the Roman Catholic archdiocese of Glasgow, the Scottish press and Celtic chairman, Desmond White, all supported the move by the Rangers board to dismantle "the blue barrier." David Bryce, Grand

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[71] Ibid.
[72] "Passport to Peace," *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 11 October 1976, 3.
[73] Alan Macdermid, "Applause as Ibrox Opens the Doors," *Glasgow Herald*, 16 October 1976, 1.
[74] Ibid.

Secretary of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland, commented, "Rangers had made a courageous move which will eventually help to remove religious divisions."[75]

Despite the whirlwind of favorable publicity generated by Waddell's historic proclamation, grassroots Rangers supporters were generally against any effort to eliminate, what they deemed to be a central tenet of the loyalist civil religious tradition that made Rangers FC unique. Immediately after the "Birmingham Declaration" the Rangers Supporters Association secretary, David Miller, unconvincingly told the *Glasgow Herald*, that he "was sure it would be backed by members."[76] Miller could not have been more wrong. The extremely vocal and well-supported Larkhall Rangers Supporters Club called a general meeting of all Rangers supporters to discuss their concerns over the announcement. Attracting the support of many thousands of Rangers fans, the meeting produced a fourteen-point list of grievances that was to be submitted to club officials. The list's primary points addressed poor catering, plans to combat hooliganism, poor toilet facilities and, of course, the club's new policies on hiring and recruiting.[77] Supporters were also concerned with Waddell's pledge to "remove spectators from Ibrox who do not accept his policy."[78] A spokesman from the Larkhall Rangers Supporters Club stated that most fans were "against Rangers signing a Catholic" and that this opinion was "the expression of concern from people who have been supporters for 30 or 40 years," not the young radical hooligan element.[79] He said, "They simply do not want to see a Rangers tradition abandoned." After two years time it was also clear that the Rangers board had no intention of supporting Waddell's commitment to abandon its sectarian employment policy.

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[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Dixon Blackstock, "No Catholics at Ibrox!: Rangers Fan's Shock Demand," *Sunday Mail* (Glasgow), 5 December 1976, 47.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid., 48.

In September 1978 two Presbyterian ministers, David Graham and Ian Fisher, published the results of a two-year study of alleged discrimination involving players, ground and secretarial staff at Ibrox in the official magazine of the Glasgow Presbytery, *The Bush*. In a joint front-page article titled "The Blue Barrier," the Glasgow ministers accused Rangers of "blind prejudice" and of being "more anti-Catholic than it ever was."[80] Graham stated, "The fact that the commitment given by the club two years ago has not been implemented destroys its credibility."[81] He believed that Waddell's commitment to abandon discriminatory hiring practices was nothing more than a publicity stunt to deflect the barrage of negative attention focused on the club. *The Bush's* confrontational critique on Rangers FC prompted thousands of Rangers supporters to cancel their subscriptions to the magazine. Eight months after the publication of the article, so many subscriptions were cancelled that the magazine was almost forced to go out of business. Reaction against *The Bush* article was proof that a broad section of Presbyterian Rangers supporters opposed the abandonment of the club's "traditional" discriminatory hiring policy. At a time of slumping ticket sales throughout all levels of British football, club officials were still reluctant to alienate a considerable section of their support. This may be because the attrition among supporters at Ibrox between Waddell's "Birmingham Declaration" of 1976 and the beginning of the Souness Revolution in 1986 was significantly more pronounced than at other clubs. Rangers administrators were desperately concerned that thousands of fans might choose not to return to Ibrox if the club committed itself to dismantling one of its cultural foundations.

"The blue barrier" at Ibrox was half-heartedly cracked in 1984 when Rangers general manager Jock Wallace signed fourteen-year-old Catholic footballer, John Spencer, from St.

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[80] David Graham and Ian Fisher, "The Blue Barrier," *The Bush: News and Views from the Glasgow Presbytery* (September 1978) no. 51, 1.
[81] "Rangers Still Bigoted," *Glasgow Herald*, 10 June 1978, 3.

Ninian's High School. Club chairman John Paton declared, "Rangers have always said that if a Catholic was good enough and wanted to play for Rangers, then we would sign him and Jock Wallace has done just that."[82] In response, several supporters' clubs cancelled charter bus excursions to the next game against Greenock Morton. A spokesman for the Larkhall Rangers Supporters Club criticized Wallace's decision adding, "We don't want a Catholic."[83] The general secretary of the Rangers Supporters Association, David Miller, told the *Glasgow Herald*, "The majority of the association don't want to see a Catholic signed. It is a tradition Rangers have always had and most of us want to see Rangers stand by that tradition."[84]

In November 1985, the initial steps towards the modernization of Rangers were taken in the most unlikely of places – Nevada. The American-based Scottish businessman, Lawrence Marlborough, and the Rangers director, Jack Gillespie, made a deal that would change the Govan club forever. In return for a position on the Rangers board of directors for life, Gillespie agreed to a deal that made Marlborough the majority shareholder in the club. Marlborough was neither a student of "the beautiful game" nor a total outsider. He was informally connected to the club through his late grandfather, former Rangers chairman John Lawrence.[85] Murray suggests that while living in the United States, Marlborough became captivated by the business model that governed most American professional sports franchises. He was particularly attracted to the idea of a club being run as a commercial enterprise by a single owner whose sole objective was to generate profit.[86] To achieve this, the club had to be willing spend the money necessary to attract the best players in the world. Marlborough believed that if this business model could be

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[82] Douglas Lowe and Iain Wilson, "Rangers Sign Roman Catholic," *Glasgow Herald*, 24 November 1984, 1.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] John Lawrence was Rangers chairman from 1963 to 1973. His commitment (both emotionally and monetarily) to the club until his death in 1983 earned him the nickname "Mr. Rangers."
[86] Murray, *Bhoys, Bears and Bigotry*, 37.

implemented at Ibrox, Rangers could maximize its untapped commercial potential, which would inevitably lead to success on the field. Once he had assumed a controlling interest in the club, Marlborough quickly used his new power to revolutionize the Rangers from the top. In February 1986 Marlborough dismissed three board members and veteran chairman John Paton. Paton was replaced by one of Marlborough's most trusted employees, David Holmes. The new Ibrox boss believed that the club could not thrive if it continued to operate like a fraternal Orange lodge rather than a business.[87]

Culturally Holmes was a total Ibrox outsider. In his private life he was a Falkirk supporter and was not affiliated with the Orange Order or freemasonry.[88] Politically, Holmes was a Labour Party sympathizer.[89] Like his boss, Holmes's made policy decisions based on sound business principles, rather than a blind commitment to Protestant loyalism or fealty to a fraternal brotherhood. At the same time Holmes believed that Rangers belonged to the supporters and was reluctant to totally ignore the loyalist civil religious culture that formed the bedrock of club culture. Just after taking power at Rangers Holmes promised attendees at the annual shareholders meeting in 1986 that the culture and traditions of "the club would always remain Protestant."[90] Holmes secured his legacy at Ibrox early in his career when he dismissed the struggling Jock Wallace and hired Graeme Souness as player-manager in April 1986. Souness quickly set into motion a chain of events that dramatically reshaped the traditional character of the club and propelled Rangers to the upper echelons of European football.

Graeme Souness was the first Rangers manager to have no prior formal or informal connection to the organization since the unsuccessful tenure of David White (1967-1969). He

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[87] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 225.
[88] Murray, *Bhoys, Bears and Bigotry*, 37.
[89] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 226.
[90] Andrew McCallum, "Clash Over 'Protestant' Rangers Document," *Glasgow Herald*, 30 October 1986, 5.

was raised in Edinburgh and was a casual supporter of Heart of Midlothian FC as a child. As a professional, Souness was a self-professed football mercenary who was willing to play for the club that offered him the most lucrative contract. Prior to arriving at Ibrox, Souness was a high-profile player for both Liverpool and the Italian Series A club, Sampdoria. His only professional exposure to the Scottish game came when he played on the Scottish National team. The fact that Souness was a committed Tory and devout loyalist was well received in Govan; however, he made it abundantly clear to the club leadership and supporters that his personal feelings would not govern coaching and recruiting decisions at Rangers. Souness was ambitious and determined to win at all costs and, if that meant signing a Roman Catholic, he was prepared to do so. Playing in England and Italy exposed Souness to the reality of modern European football. He understood that football had grown into a global business and that Rangers needed to expand its recruiting base beyond Scotland to England and the continent. Souness knew that in order to be a competitive top-flight football club in European competition Rangers would have to establish an international recruiting base, which would inevitably include Roman Catholics.

With the substantial financial backing of Marlborough's Lawrence Company Souness immediately began to reconstruct the Rangers squad. His reputation as a recognized international manager coupled with the connections he established during his time at Liverpool FC enabled the enthusiastic Rangers manager to lure a number of high profile-English football players (then a novelty in Scotland) north of the border with lucrative contracts and the prospect of playing in Europe.[91] England was a fertile recruiting ground for clubs with spending power in the second half of the 1980s because all English clubs were banned from participating in

[91] Murray, *Bhoys, Bears and Bigotry*, 38-9.

European competition following the Heysel Disaster in 1985.[92] The first major signing of the Souness era was the extremely talented England international and Ipswich FC central defender, Terry Butcher. Butcher was a perfect fit at Ibrox. In Murray's words, "Butcher was a Conservative, implacably opposed to the IRA and anything to do with 'Southern Ireland'" and even reportedly refused to listen to the Irish rock band, U2.[93] He won the unyielding support of members of the Larkhall Rangers Supporters Club when he began his inaugural speech to the organization with the loyalist battle cry, "No Surrender!"[94] The trend of embracing the loyalist traditions of the club became common among Souness's English and continental imports. For example, Graham Roberts, who came to Rangers from Tottenham Hotspur, immediately gained the affection of the Ibrox faithful when he led an impromptu rendition of "the Sash" following his first Old Firm match.[95] The flamboyant Paul Gascoigne (Gazza) later became a folk hero among Rangers supporters for his spontaneous outbursts of loyalist-inspired pitch theatre epitomized in his trademark miming of the playing of an Orange flute (Fig. 12). Souness arguably encouraged the acculturation of foreign players by hanging a portrait of Queen Elizabeth II in a prominent position above the team's lockers in the Ibrox dressing room (Fig. 13). He claimed the purpose of the portrait was to inspire the players before taking the field. Terry Butcher later contributed another portrait of the queen that was hung over the locker room door. It has been a team tradition ever since for players (even non-British nationals) to ritually touch the queen's portrait for good fortune during the match.

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[92] At the 1985 European Cup Final in Brussels, Belgium, between Liverpool FC and Juventus FC, missile throwing and verbal altercations between the two sets of fans eventually evolved into a full-scale hooligan riot after a contingent of Liverpool supporters breeched a temporary barrier fence that separated the English and Italian fans. Juventus fans running away from the rampaging hooligans were forced against a concrete retaining wall that eventually collapsed. Thirty-nine people died (most of them crushed to death) and over six hundred were injured. Match officials resumed the game to prevent further violence. Juventus won the match. All English clubs were banned by UEFA from all European competitions until the 1990-1991 season.

[93] Murray, *Bhoys, Bears and Bigotry*, 38-9.

[94] Ibid., 39.

[95] Ibid., 40.

The Lawrence Company's twenty-five year ownership dynasty came to an abrupt end in November 1988. With the help and encouragement of Graeme Souness, his close friend and neighbor, David Murray, became the majority shareholder at Ibrox. Murray was one of Scotland's most successful businessmen and chose to approach the commercial aspect of club life much like his predecessor. He shared Souness's vision of developing Rangers into a modern world-class sporting franchise and was willing to make the necessary investments to achieve this end. In addition to approving exorbitant player fees, Murray spent huge sums of money on stadium improvement, much of which was aimed at attracting a wealthier middle and upper class clientele. Murray was member of the Conservative Party and known as a "convinced Unionist," but was careful not to let his personal politics inform his business decisions. He was committed to making Scotland's largest sporting franchise as modern as possible. To achieve this end, he pledged his full support to Souness to sign any player he wanted, regardless of race, ethnicity or denominational affiliation.

During his first season at Rangers (1986), Souness desperately tried to breech the "blue barrier" by reaching out to potential Catholic recruits. All of his initial efforts failed because most Catholic footballers did not want to deal with the sectarian hostility they knew existed at Ibrox. Reports of Souness's courtship of Catholic players were greeted with hostility by the Rangers faithful. By the summer of 1986 it was clear that Souness was becoming increasingly frustrated with the relentless sectarian bigotry that pervaded Rangers culture. He felt it was becoming an overwhelming impediment to achieving the level of success he envisioned. While playing for Scotland at the World Cup in Mexico, Souness posed a question directed to all Rangers supporters: Do you "want a sectarian team or a successful one?"[96] Souness was missing out on a huge selection of players because of the enduring element of Protestant exclusivity that

[96] Ibid., 39.

dominated decision-making at Ibrox. He was determined to sign a quality Catholic player with international credentials and was prepared to weather the loyalist backlash that would undoubtedly follow. With Murray's blessing, Souness made a move in the summer of 1989 that would forever alter the cultural currents that governed the inner sanctum of Ibrox.

Rangers was the only professional football club in Britain where talent was second to denomination in terms of selecting potential players until Nantes center forward, Maurice (Mo) Johnston, became the first major Roman Catholic signed at Rangers on July 10, 1989. Souness had pulled off an almost unimaginable feat because in May it already seemed to be a forgone conclusion that Johnston would sign for his former team, Celtic. Now not only had Souness signed a high profile Catholic player, he had humiliated Celtic in the process by using Rangers' spending power to lure the striker to Rangers. Celtic was unable to reach an agreement with Johnston over his contract. When negotiations between Johnston and Celtic finally broke down at Parkhead in late June, Souness quickly moved in and offered Johnston an extremely lucrative contract to play at Ibrox. He contacted Johnston's agent (life-long Rangers supporter Bill McMurdo) and began the secret negotiations that ultimately led to his becoming the first prominent Catholic to represent Rangers since World War II. In a single action Souness managed to totally dismantle the "blue barrier" at Ibrox, and damage the public credibility of the Celtic leadership.

Of all the notable Catholic players in the world, Johnston was perhaps the least likely candidate to don the blue jersey because of his well-documented public expressions of loyalty to Celtic and explicit distaste for Rangers and their hiring policy. Johnston's hatred towards "the Light Blues" was vividly demonstrated during the 1986 League Cup final; after he was red-carded he intentionally crossed himself in front of the Rangers end while leaving the field.

Johnston later chose less than favorable language to describe his opinion of Rangers in his autobiography published in 1988, just before he committed the ultimate act of betrayal against Celtic. These factors made Souness's acquisition of Johnston all the more remarkable. Like Souness, Johnson was an admitted football mercenary. He was a professional who hired his skills to the highest bidder. His contract with Rangers was worth £1.5 million, £300,000 more than Celtic's offer.[97] Johnston's move to Rangers instead of back to Celtic proved that the modern Old Firm was no longer strictly about loyalties; it was also about money.

The initial reaction of most Rangers supporters to the club's decision to sign Mo Johnston was one of anger, frustration, sadness and confusion. Most had accepted the fact that the day would come when the "blue barrier" would be removed, but they were shocked at the fact that Souness chose to sign this particular Roman Catholic. The general secretary of the Rangers Supporters Association, David Miller, was indignant in his condemnation of the club's signing not just a Catholic, but the reviled former Celt, Johnston, in particular. He told the *Glasgow Herald*, that July 10, 1989 was "a sad day for Rangers."[98] Miller added:

> Why sign him above all others? There will be a lot of people handing in their season tickets. I don't want to see a Roman Catholic at Ibrox. They have always stood for one thing and the biggest majority of supporters have been brought up with the idea of a true-blue [all Protestant] Rangers team. I thought they would sign a Catholic eventually, perhaps in three or four years time, but someone from the continent.[99]

Hundreds of loyalist Rangers supporters assembled at Ibrox Park, while Johnston's signing ceremony in the Blue Room was taking place to protest the destruction of the civil religious

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[97] Allan Laing, "Ibrox Lands Double Coup with Johnston," *Glasgow Herald*, 11 July 1989, 1.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.

tradition that attracted them to the club. On Edmiston Drive, just below Ibrox's famed red-bricked façade, loyalist fans ritually burned Rangers scarves, season ticket books and other Rangers paraphernalia while others chanted and sang loyalist songs of defiance and waved Union Jacks, some bearing the slogan "No Mo Here."[100] One group of supporters hung a sign that read "Traitor's Gate" over the main entrance of the Ibrox office facility.[101] One of the more solemn ritual displays that occurred at the impromptu protest was when an anonymous car pulled up and two men got out and reverently placed a wreath outside the stadium with a note attached that read "Farewell to 116 years of tradition."[102] When Souness finally emerged from Ibrox under heavy security, the crowd cursed and jeered him. Ibrox officials and Strathclyde police were spared from what could have been a much more violent emotional reaction because at the time of the signing, the most hardcore Rangers' loyalist supporters were in Northern Ireland to participate in the Twelfth of July celebrations. The timing of the signing ceremony was probably not accidental.

News of Johnston's signing dominated discussions in Northern Ireland during the Twelfth of July festivities in 1989. Rangers had historically found a solid block of support among Ulster's loyalist community because of its status as a major loyalist civil religious institution. Immediately following the loyalist holiday, two delegates from each of the ninety-seven Rangers supporters' clubs in Ulster were invited to meet at the Whitehead Rangers Supporters Club in Belfast to discuss how to respond to the Johnston affair.[103] They decided to boycott Ibrox (initially proposed to last as long as Johnston was at the club) and suggested that Rangers supporters also boycott all Rangers commercial products and club sponsored betting

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[100] Murray, *Bhoys Bears and Bigotry*, 44.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Stephen Walsh, *Voices of the Old Firm* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 1995), 173.
[103] Murray, *Bhoys Bears and Bigotry*, 45.

pools.[104] The representatives were quick to disassociate their decisions from sectarianism. They reasonably claimed that in the past "Johnston had treated Rangers with contempt," but went on to contradict their reasoning, saying their "opposition was not to Johnston being a Catholic, but the breaking of one of Rangers' main traditions," which was fundamentally anti-Catholic.[105]

The extremely popular Rangers fanzine *Follow, Follow* dedicated the entire August 1989 issue to fan reaction to Rangers' historic signing. Its cover depicted a cartoon of Mo Johnston saying, "Forgive me Father for I have signed." [106] The publication reported that their readership's reaction was essentially split. Those in favor of Souness's move generally took solace in the fact that the Celtic faithful had been humiliated by the amateurish handling of the impending Johnston transfer by their board of directors. More importantly, the signing of a Catholic at Ibrox eliminated the primary ammunition Celtic supporters relied on to demonize and smear the Govan club. Those opposed to the winds of change at Ibrox expressed their displeasure through a combination of emotional rants riddled with inflammatory sectarian bile. Working-class loyalists who invested much of their disposable time and income supporting Rangers were undoubtedly hurt by the decision to dismantle their "tradition" from within. Writing under the pseudonym, "Grandmaster Suck," *Follow, Follow's* editor believed that having Johnston on the team would "make about as much difference as Roman Catholic cleaners and office workers at Ibrox have made."[107] He also misleadingly added:

> Rangers, as a club have never done anything publicly to encourage Protestantism or Unionism. The club has remained a Protestant one because the

[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] "Mo Shock," *Follow, Follow*, no. 8 (August 1989), (cover).
[107] Ibid., 1.

supporters wanted it. No-one else."[108]

A less eloquent contributor said, "it sickens me to see that cunt in a Rangers jersey," while another was adamant that "the communal pride in Rangers Protestantism will continue" and that "now the Tim[109] racists will have no Emperor's clothes to bury their racism with."[110] The cross-section of opinions expressed by Rangers supporters during the early days of the Johnston affair revealed that some Rangers fans were willing to tolerate a Catholic player at Ibrox but the Ibrox faithful still passionately refused to eliminate the element of Protestant triumphalism from their ritual space.

The anticipated schism between those fans in favor of modernizing the club and those who wished to cling to dated "traditions" never materialized. Nor did mass boycotts, frenzied bouts of anti-Catholicism or violence occur. Supporters who vowed they would never to go back to Ibrox found it difficult to part with such a meaningful part of their lives. They begrudgingly accepted the new realities of Rangers life. Murray's exhaustive research on the Old Firm has revealed that only thirty Rangers season ticket booklets were returned for the 1989-90 season and gate receipts at Ibrox Park remained strong during the Johnston era.[111] During his first match as a Ranger at Airdrie, the traveling supporters greeted him with sustained chants of "Mo, Mo, Super Mo" and "Mo Surrender!"[112] A Rangers fan in attendance at Broomfield that afternoon recalled that he "hadn't expected such a warm welcome, but the overwhelming majority of the punters cheered or at least clapped for him."[113]

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[108] Ibid.
[109] "Tim" is one of many slang words for an Irish Catholic in Scotland. It is derived from an Irish Catholic gang called the Tim Malloy's.
[110] "Maurice Goes to Airdrie," *Follow, Follow*, no. 8 (August 1989), 5.
[111] Murray, *Bhoys Bears and Bigotry*, 44.
[112] "Maurice Goes to Airdrie," *Follow, Follow*, no. 8 (August 1989), 5.
[113] Ibid.

The ironic facet of the Johnston affair was that it seemed to annoy Celtic followers much more than it did those of Rangers. Celtic supporters felt justifiably betrayed by the star striker because he had initially pledged his services to Celtic before signing at Ibrox. For his disloyalty to both Celtic and his Roman Catholic faith, Celtic supporters chastised Mo Johnston as a "Judas." Celtic fanzines repeatedly referred to him as *le petite merde* (the little shit).[114] One of the more extreme acts of protest against the signing occurred when thirty-five members of the New Stevenson Celtic Supporters Club (CSC) petitioned to have the name of their organization changed to the "We Hate Mo Johnston CSC."[115] Rather than celebrating the fact that the last major vestige of official sectarianism in Scottish life had been removed, Celtic supporters placed a large, highly visible banner in Govan along the M8 motorway that read "FUCK YOUR MO SURRENDER!"[116] Esplin argues that "underpinning this vitriol was the realization that Celtic fans could no longer pontificate about the sectarian character" of the Govan club.[117] It seemed Rangers supporters were generally more prepared to tolerate a Catholic at Ibrox than Celtic supporters.

Johnston ended most of the skepticism over his commitment to the club when he scored the winning goal against Celtic on November 4, 1989. The striker went on to play an integral role in winning the first three Scottish League titles that culminated in Rangers' historic "nine in a row" domination of the competition. After losing his position on the first team squad, Johnston unceremoniously transferred to the Merseyside club, Everton, in November 1991. Despite his successes on the field, most devoted Rangers fans never fully accepted Johnston as a "True Blue

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[114] Ronnie Esplin, *Down the Copeland Road* (Glendaruel: Argyll Publishing, 2000), 34.
[115] Murray, *Bhoys, Bears and Bigotry*, 45.
[116] Ibid., 44.
[117] Esplin, 34.

Ranger." An anonymous young Rangers supporter perhaps best articulated the entire Johnston saga when he said:

> My great-grandfather wouldn't have been able to imagine such a thing; My granddad would have been furious; My dad was uneasy about it; Myself? I don't mind who we sign as long as they play great football. And for my son it won't even be an issue.[118]

This analysis proved to be prophetic. Rangers did not sign another Catholic until Neil McCann in 1998. All of the Catholic players who followed Johnston were welcomed by the Ibrox faithful as long as they were discreet about their faith and, more importantly, scored goals for "the Light Blues."[119] After all, there had been Catholics in "King Billy's" multicultural army in 1690 at the Battle of the Boyne. Why not have them represent "the loyalist cause" at Rangers in the modern era?

Much to the surprise and disappointment of his friend and colleague, David Murray, Sourness left Rangers to manage the English club, Liverpool, in April 1991. During his brief tenure at the Govan club Souness radically transformed Rangers from an institution that regarded itself as a custodian of loyalist customs into one driven by commercialization, profit and the desire to compete with the best clubs in Europe. In addition to the watershed signing of Mo Johnston, Souness also signed the club's first black and Jewish players, further demonstrating his commitment to building a cosmopolitan squad. Despite his personal Conservative and loyalist sympathies, he was determined to distance Rangers from its sectarian past. Souness restored the pride and prestige of the club in the process of lifting it out of one of its worst-ever slumps. Most importantly, he moved Rangers "irrevocably beyond the parochial sectarianism that

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[118] Murray, *Bhoys, Bears and Bigotry*, 46.

[119] Catholic were encouraged by Rangers officials and veteran teammates not to make the sign of the cross or other "offensive" gestures while representing the club.

blighted the club before he arrived."[120] Rangers' loyalist traditions did not entirely disappear from the Ibrox boardroom in the wake of the Souness Revolution, but they were much less pronounced and ceased to be a final voice in corporate policy decisions.

Souness's and Murray's abandonment of the club's civil religious traditions completely severed the traditional loyalist bond between Rangers administrators and the fans. Working-class supporters' Protestant triumphalism and sectarianism (especially in the rowdy East Enclosure) always made Murray and Souness uncomfortable. In addition they wanted to take measures to eliminate the culture of hooliganism associated with the club's loyalist working-class support. They insulated the corporate-wing of the club from the working-class supporter base and tried to dilute the club's loyalist dimension whenever possible. In parallel to other British football clubs, Murray eventually replaced the rowdy open terraces of the East Enclosure with seating, increased ticket prices and aggressively courted middle and upper class supporters into the 1990s, measures considered by "true" Rangers fans as further attacks. Determined to maintain Ibrox's status as a loyalist shrine in the aftermath of the Souness era, working-class fans defiantly defended their version of popular Protestantism collectively claiming the space as their own through song, visual display, and sometimes violence.

[120] Murray, *Bhoys, Bears and Bigotry*, 71.



Figure 10. “Ready.” Glasgow Rangers Football Club mural in Belfast.



Figure 11. Loyalist Rangers supporters from South Belfast at Falkirk vs. Rangers -21 July 2007.



Figure 12. Paul Gascoigne (Gazza) pantomiming the playing of an Orange flute after scoring a goal for Rangers.



Figure 13. Portrait of Queen Elizabeth II placed by Graeme Souness in the Rangers locker room at Ibrox Stadium.

No Surrender!: Grass Roots Loyalism and Rangers Football Hooliganism during the Twentieth Century

One of the most distinct commonalities between the various institutional frameworks of loyalist civil religion in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland was the willingness of the "community of believers" to sacrifice themselves for the loyalist cause. Aggressive ritual confrontation with the "Green other" in the context of football was a means by which working-class lowland Protestants could claim and defend space and assert their superiority in a world where their assumed socio-cultural ascendancy was constantly "under siege." The Rangers boardroom's commitment to maintaining a "Protestant club for a Protestant people" reflected the opinion of most Rangers devotees that the club should celebrate and preserve its loyalist traditions. Unlike most groups of football supporters in Britain who were drawn to a particular club on the basis of locality, most fans supported Rangers because of the political, religious and cultural values that were encapsulated in the club's traditional loyalist ethos. Board members realized this and over time consciously developed Ibrox into a citadel of loyalism; faithful Rangers supporters responded by making Ibrox their temple. When the sanctity of "the people's" temple was threatened the faithful often reacted violently.

Unruly crowd behavior and supporter violence has been a fixture at Rangers Football Club since the late nineteenth century. Old Firm football matches in Glasgow provided a perfect setting for outbreaks of collective sectarian violence. For devout lowland football enthusiasts the local football club represented a distinct ethnic and socio-cultural world that had to regularly be defended against encroachment by enemy "others." Football hooliganism emerged as a means by which fans could actively participate in defending the honor and symbolic meaning of their particular club's name against the unbearable harassment of rival fans. Violent affrays between competing groups of supporters on the terraces were an extension of physical confrontation on

the pitch. Football hooliganism became a common feature of Rangers matches during the twentieth century because young, primarily white, working-class male supporters felt it was their duty to defend the pride, honor and traditions of the local value systems that gave their lives meaning. John Sugden and Alan Bairner both agree that sports like football "do not exist in isolation from the rest of society and where there exist powerful cultural forces and stereotypes which identify contestants and fans as enemies outside the game, evidence suggests that participation in confrontational sports can lead to the augmentation of feelings of militancy among participants and spectators alike."[121] Football matches involving Rangers provided a battleground on which rival factions could wage regional, ideological or even sectarian warfare in an effort to protect the honor and dignity of their "imagined community." The very essence of football is a ninety-minute struggle between two distinct groups of eleven men for ultimate supremacy. Football hooliganism represented the continuation of this struggle outside the organized structure of the game.

Football-related antisocial behavior has been associated with Rangers supporters since the heyday of the rowdy brake clubs during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Brake clubs were forerunners of contemporary football supporters' clubs and hooligan firms. The term "brake club" was derived from the horse-drawn carriages and charabancs[122] used by groups of football supporters to go to and from matches. Like Orange Order parades, brake club processions were hyper-sensory public displays of loyalism. Fueled by copious amounts of alcohol, uninhibited brake club members carried an arsenal of noisemakers including rattles, drums, flutes and bugles to announce their presence as they paraded through the streets of

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[121] John Sugden and Alan Bairner, *Sport, Sectarianism and Society in Northern Ireland* (Leicester: Leicester University Press 1993), 8.

[122] Charabancs were elongated horse or motor-drawn carriages with multiple rows of benches.

Glasgow and beyond.[123] Resembling a makeshift contemporary Mardi Gras float, Rangers brake club charabancs were lavishly decorated with symbolic orange, red, white and blue bunting, "party" flags and banners bearing loyalist or sectarian slogans. The charabancs usually moved very slowly through the streets to emotionally stimulate loyalist onlookers and to provoke ritual battles with the Irish Catholic "other." These symbolic displays of power before and after Rangers matches were ritual exercises of territorial domination. If a brake club's slow procession to or away from the football stadium was challenged, members were prepared to sacrifice their freedom, money, health and sometimes lives to defend their fundamental right to travel down "the king's road" in any manner they saw fit. Brake club members were considered to be the most dedicated and vocal segment of Rangers fandom, the most "loyal of the loyal." Rangers brake clubs from all over the Scottish lowlands regularly collected dues from members to fund excursions to Ibrox Park and beyond. Walker argues that the aggressive posturing and sectarian fanaticism associated with the Old Firm prior to World War II was primarily a result of the vibrant brake club subculture popular among supporters of both Rangers and Celtic.[124]

Prior to World War I pitch invasions and other football fracases in Britain were mostly spontaneous episodes of sport-stimulated emotional overreaction.[125] Glasgow's brake club hooliganism differed from the rest of Britain's in being more intentional, organized and politicized. One contemporary described Rangers supporters during the early twentieth century as "passionately partisan" and "decidedly anti-Irish."[126] For example, following a match at Airdrie in December 1922, thirty-two members of a Rangers brake club were arrested and

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[123] "Brake Clubs: Police Regulations for Saturday," *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 29 September 1922, 1.
[124] Walker, 141.
[125] Steve Frosdick and Peter Marsh, *Football Hooliganism* (Uffculme Cullompton, Devon: Willan Publishing, 2005), 17.
[126] "Football Fiasco: Sensational Incidents at Parkhead – Rangers Beat Celts in Exciting Game," *Glasgow Observer*, 1 April 1905, 5.

charged with breach of the peace and "throwing missiles" while traveling (one would assume very slowly, loudly and deliberately) through the predominantly Catholic community of Boghall Rows. According to the *Evening Times,* the brake members loudly sang Orange songs and yelled sectarian slogans like "Kick the Pope" with "the intent to provoke the Roman Catholic population."[127] After being found guilty, each of the thirty-two accused Rangers supporters was described as being "unashamed" of their actions.[128] This scenario was replayed on a weekly basis on football Saturdays during the first three decades of the twentieth century.

Another unique outburst of sectarian rage involving Rangers supporters occurred after Celtic's victory over Dundee in the 1925 Scottish Cup final at Hampden Park. Even though Rangers were not involved in the Scottish Cup final, members of a collection of Rangers brake clubs were intent on avenging the shortcomings of their own club in domestic play by proving that a section of the club was still dominant. The charabanc carrying the Celtic brake club was easily identifiable with its decorative green and white ribbons, decorative shamrocks and Irish flags.[129] As the bus made its way down the road, the Celtic supporters on board were waving green handkerchiefs and chanting in unison, "Good Old Celts!"[130] As the victors' conveyance turned onto Cornwall Street it was ambushed by members of a coalition of Rangers brake clubs with an assortment of missiles including bricks and bottles.[131] Before the police could intervene several Celtic fans were injured and the rampaging Rangers fans vandalized several local shops.[132] The antisocial behavior associated with certain sections of the Old Firm's support was increasingly seen by bourgeois Glasgow as a threat to civil society. Following the disturbances

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[127] "Brake Club Charge: Members in Court in Airdrie," *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 8 December 1922, 1.
[128] Ibid.
[129] "Brake Club Row: 'More Sinned Against than Sinning,'" *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 16 June 1925, 5.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid.

at the Scottish Cup Final in June 1925, Glasgow police and local magistrates officially committed themselves to civilizing football by eradicating the "brake club menace."

Glasgow police and local magistrates were put to the test when violence erupted between rival Old Firm brake clubs following the Glasgow FA Cup replay on October 3, 1925, between Rangers and Celtic at Ibrox Park. Aggressive police action resulted in one hundred and twenty-one young Rangers and Celtic supporters charged with breach of the peace.[133] Some of the individuals arrested were as young as fourteen.[134] The most aggressive and rowdy of the Rangers brake clubs were said to have originated from areas outside of Glasgow like Lanarkshire and Ayrshire.[135] As the brake clubs approached the city center, the alcohol-fueled behavior of club members became more rowdy as the fans "shouted, swore, waved flags and sang party songs."[136] One of the Rangers brakes searched by Glasgow police contained twenty-three "party flags," a bugle, countless beer bottles, four truncheons "and a number of raw potatoes, which were evidently there for the purpose of throwing at people."[137] It was clear that the Rangers brakes were not merely attending the match to support their team. They expected and were prepared to wage war with the "Green other." During the court proceedings, the presiding magistrate remarked that "it was a deplorable state of matters that at the present day when people were supposed to have reached a certain level of civilization, that conduct such as had been indulged in by brake clubs should be thought of, let alone permitted."[138] Even as the Glasgow establishment was calling their civility into question the members of the two tribes in the

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[133] "Brake Club Rowdies: Fiscal and their Dangerous Conduct 'Not to be Tolerated,'" *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 7 October 1925, 1.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.
[136] "Football Rowdies: 121 Brake Club Supporters fined in Glasgow, *Daily Record and Mail* (Glasgow), 8 October 1925, 5.
[137] "Brake Club Rowdies: Fiscal and Their Dangerous Conduct 'Not to be Tolerated,'" *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 7 October 1925, 1.
[138] Ibid.

courtroom joined in singing "party songs" that emanated from the throngs of well wishers who had gathered outside the Southern Police Court.[139] The junior magistrate presiding over the court proceedings emphasized that even though brake club members, in their own estimation, were the most loyal and devoted followers of their respected football teams, they were viewed as pariahs by other Rangers supporters, players and managers.[140] However, this glib assertion could not be further from the truth. In the *Rangers' Supporters Annual* published in 1952, one ex-Rangers player affectionately reminisced about the Rangers brake clubs stating:

> I cannot without a word of appreciation for all the kindness and encouragement I received in my playing days from the Rangers supporters, and particularly from the members of the old brake clubs. I can still see in my mind's eye that wonderful procession of horse brakes filling the length of Buchanan Street in the evening of 1897 when we celebrated our third cup victory that season. Every brake was packed with jubilant Rangers supporters, and I still look with pleasure on a silver salver and tea service given to me one happy evening in Govan Town Hall through the combined generosity of those same brake clubs.[141]

One of the more sinister displays of brake club behavior was their role in instigating sectarian and abusive chants directed at Celtic goalkeeper John Thompson after he took an unintentional fatal blow to the head from Rangers striker Sam English in 1931. A *Glasgow Observer* sportswriter writing under the pseudonym, "Man in the Know," wrote that the fall of Thomson and his subsequent removal from the pitch was accompanied by "wild cheers and

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[139] "Football Rowdies: 121 Brake Club Supporters Fined in Glasgow, *Daily Record and Mail* (Glasgow), 8 October 1925, 5.
[140] Ibid.
[141] *Ranger Supporters Annual*, 1952, quoted in Graham Walker, "'There's Not a Team Like the Glasgow Rangers': Football and Religious Identity," *Sermons and Battle Hymns* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 141-42.

raucous yells of triumph" by certain sections of the Rangers support including brake club members and members of the Billy Boys gang.[142] Another reporter stated that the "inhuman happening" came as no surprise to "those who know just exactly the degree of venomous bigotry and insensate hatred which inspires some sections of the Rangers supporters when their favourites are playing Celtic."[143]

Despite considerable efforts by the police to control brake club rowdiness and associated hooliganism, the brakes continued to engage in matchday battles and sectarian provocation until the outbreak of World War II. The last Old Firm derby before Britain's wartime suspension of football was mired in violence both on the pitch and in the terraces. Rangers and Celtic players intentionally kicked and fought each other on the field of play while spectators fought with each other throughout the contest. It was as if those with an emotional attachment to the Old Firm knew that this was to be the last such ritual exercise for quite some time and it was clear they were primed to make the most of it. One Glasgow sportswriter remarked:

> You don't require a visit to France to see some fighting! Just go to a Rangers Celtic match. And, if you feel belligerent, become a supporter of one of the clubs, or, better still, join one of the teams![144]

Another sportswriter, Alan Breck, sarcastically stated that he "expected at any moment the picture would be completed by a dozen tanks rolling down the terraces and a swarm of paratroops dropping down on the centre of the field."[145] After referring to the fact that the May 22, 1940, Old Firm match "might be the last for a long time," he explained that he hoped "it will

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[142] "Man in the Know," "In Celtic Circles, Doom and Gloom at 'Big Two' Meeting – Tragic Blow to Celtic: John Thompson No More," *Glasgow Observer*, 12 September 1931, 10.
[143] "Johnny Thompson Leaves the Celtic: World's Greatest Goalkeeper Fatally Injured in 'Old Firm' Battle of Ibrox," *Glasgow Observer*, 12 September 1931, 10.
[144] Alan Breck, "Rangers and Celtic in Fighting Form: Venters and Divers Ordered Off," *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 23 May 1940, 5.
[145] Ibid.

also be the last of its kind. After all we are fighting [in Europe] to bring about a new civilization."[146] Little did Breck know that post-war hooliganism and the sectarian bitterness between Rangers and Celtic would be even more pronounced than it was during the interwar period.

Brake clubs and loyalist street gangs like the Bridgeton Billy Boys instigated the vast majority of the violence associated with Rangers fans during the 1920s and early 1930s. Although it is unclear whether the Billy Boys and Rangers brake clubs overlapped in membership or coordinated their attacks on their Catholic rivals, evidence suggests that they were often involved in the same mass hooligan disturbances, especially in the Bridgeton Cross area. Many of the rowdiest, loudest and most violent Rangers brake clubs hailed from the Billy Boys' stronghold of Bridgeton and they undoubtedly had at least informal contacts with Billy Boys and Bridgeton's Purple and Crown Flute Band members. Like the Billy Boys gang, brake clubs represented an alternative, youthful and more aggressive working-class vision of Orange culture informed by popular street culture rather than rigid traditional Protestant theology. Most of the traditional sectarian gangs and vibrant brake clubs that thrived in Glasgow during the early twentieth century gradually disappeared as a result of the social disruption caused by World War II. After the war, the loyalist street gangs and brake clubs were gradually replaced by modern hooligan/Casual firms and a worldwide network of Rangers supporters' clubs.

Although some of the more rabid sections of loyalist Rangers support disappeared in the wake of World War II, the civil religion of loyalism that informed vast sections of the club's support did not vanish. If the hooliganism on display at the Old Firm Victory Cup in 1946 was any indication, the aggressive variety of loyalism and sectarian conflict that was a mainstay of interwar Rangers fandom persisted despite the cooperative spirit of the post-war period. After

[146] Ibid.

1945 Rangers emerged as "part of a celebration of Scottishness which was underpinned by a strong Unionism or loyalism."[147] This variety of loyalism "was viewed as essentially an expression of Protestantism, following the traditional Orangeist rhetoric of loyalty to the Crown and constitution and the defence of civil and religious liberties."[148]

In the 1950s hooligan violence accompanied by bottle throwing became endemic among Old Firm supporters. Local magistrates and Glasgow police begged both Rangers and Celtic to address their fans' behavior, particularly at matches between one another. Officials met at regular intervals during the 1950s hoping to develop a solution to the Old Firm-related hooliganism. One of the more radical ideas floated at the meetings was the creation of a "boys gate" for youths age eighteen and under. John Blackwood said they were "concerned about boys becoming mixed up in fights" and wanted to minimize their exposure to the "undesirable influences" and foul language of adult fans.[149] They also recommended that the clubs implement security measures to prevent bottles and cans from being smuggled into the stadiums because they were being filled with urine and used as missiles.[150] Furthermore, magistrates believed that partisan/party flags, colors and banners should be banned from Old Firm matches. The Glasgow Corporation's attempts to deal with the sectarian disturbances that accompanied Old Firm clashes, including their requests to the Scottish Secretary of State in 1953 and 1959 for special powers to fight the problem, were unsuccessful. As a result, sectarian inspired hooliganism persisted at Old Firm matches and beyond for the remainder of the decade. A journalist for the *Glasgow Herald* reported that the atmosphere at Old Firm matches in the 1950s was "charged with lawlessness and violence based on pseudo-religious beliefs" and that both clubs should

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[147] Walker, "Football and Religious Identity," 146.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Cyril Horne, "Suggestions by Magistrates to Rangers and Celtic: Action to Prevent Fights," *Glasgow Herald*, 23 October 1957, 9.
[150] Ibid.

"destroy the belief that each in their turn represent something outwith football."[151] The reporter argued that the celebration of the Irish-based cultural traditions associated with the Old Firm that were not of a sporting nature had to be dismantled to stop the rash of antisocial behavior that plagued Scottish football. Regardless of the mounting external pressure on the clubs to address hooligan and sectarian behavior among their fans, both Rangers and Celtic were reluctant to voluntarily dilute their identities or attack the ethno-tribal traditions that sustained the vitality of the derby.

During the 1960s football culture in the terraces in Scotland changed dramatically. Young urban working-class males "who ganged up together, loosely, in huge traveling armies" became a common feature at Scottish football grounds like Ibrox, Celtic Park, Pittodrie, Den's Park, Tynecastle and Easter Road.[152] Improvements in Britain's transportation infrastructure and the affordability of match tickets coupled with a period of relative economic prosperity after World War II allowed informal collections of young working-class male football supporters to easily access both home and away matches in Scotland and south of the border in England.[153] Supporters who swelled the ranks of these massive blue-clad "traveling armies" evolved into informal football gangs who, at Rangers, united each weekend under the banner of loyalism.

The first Old Firm match of the 1960-61 football season was marred by sectarian violence at Celtic Park before, during and after the League Cup match. The most serious incidents occurred following the match when a mob of young Rangers supporters attacked Celtic fans with stones and bottles on London Road. According to the *Glasgow Herald*, many Celtic fans sought refuge on side streets and tenement closes where bottle-throwing accompanied some

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[151] Cyril Horne, "Scottish Football Disgraced at Celtic Park: Strong Action Necessary," *Glasgow Herald*, 8 September 1958, 4.
[152] Phil Thornton, *Casuals: Football, Fighting and Fashion, the Story of a Terrace Cult* (Lythem: Milo Books Ltd., 2003), 14.
[153] Ibid., 15.

of the fights and stones were thrown at buses."[154] One of the more extreme casualties was a fourteen-year-old Celtic supporter whose face was slashed by a Rangers fan with a broken tumbler.[155] Magistrates in the Glasgow Corporation were convinced that the hooliganism that accompanied Old Firm derbies had to be eliminated for the common good of the city. Several government officials were in favor of suspending all Old Firm matches until a viable solution to the hooliganism and sectarianism that surrounded these matches was agreed upon.[156] They also recommended limiting the terrace capacity to thirty thousand, increasing mounted patrols both inside and outside of Old Firm venues and segregating the rival spectators after the matches.[157] The courts were in line with the Glasgow Corporation's stance and promised to levy heavy penalties on individuals found guilty of football "rowdyism" and associated offences.[158] Despite the commitment of local government officials, judges and police to tackle the hooligan problem, Rangers and Celtic officials remained reluctant to pressure their fans to behave. Club leaders felt the antisocial behavior of their fans was beyond their control and a matter of Glasgow police rather than club business. As a result of the Old Firm's failure to implement any notable measures to control their fans hooligan behavior not only persisted, but became more pronounced.

During the first half of the 1960s hooligan behavior among Rangers supporters became more commonplace and more overtly sectarian. In 1963 incessant chanting by Rangers supporters directed at the dying Pope John XXIII overshadowed the Scottish Cup final against Dundee.[159] Later that year, rowdy Rangers fans brought shame on the club when abusive

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[154] "Celtic-Rangers Game Disturbances: Lord Provost Awaits Reports," *Glasgow Herald*, 5 September 1960, 9.
[155] Ibid.
[156] "Move to Ban Rangers-Celtic Games," *Glasgow Herald*, 6 September 1960, 1.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Nick Lowles and Andy Nicholls, *Hooligans: The A-L of Britain's Football Hooligans Gangs* (Bath: Milo Books Ltd., 2005), 236.

sectarian chanting from the Rangers terracing disrespectfully disrupted a minute of silence in memory of assassinated United States president John F. Kennedy.[160] The sectarian insults hurled by Rangers fans during the moment of silence for President Kennedy were directed at his Irish Catholic heritage. In October 1965 hundreds of Rangers supporters invaded the pitch at Hampden Park and attacked the Celtic squad as they took their victory lap after winning the Scottish League Cup.[161] The tenor of the match had been set just before it started when Celtic supporters began to disruptively jeer and sing "rebel songs" as "God Save the Queen" was played over the public address system.[162] Offended loyalist Rangers supporters responded by singing the national anthem at the top of their lungs in an effort to drown out the blatant Republican insult.[163] What followed was an emotionally charged exchange of sectarian chants and songs that lasted for the duration of the match. Collective singing and chanting was a powerful weapon in the hooligan's arsenal. Chanting was used to announce the identity group's presence, what they stood for and what they were willing to fight against. Aggressive chanting and singing instilled in working-class Rangers hooligans a collective sense of power that they did not have in wider society. According to one veteran football hooligan, "when 12,000 people instinctively know how to chant together at the same time without anybody waving a conductor's stick, that's real power."[164]

During the middle of the 1965-66 football season, representatives of the Scottish government met with members of the Scottish Football Association, Scottish Football League and SFL football club representatives to discuss possible solutions to the sectarian antisocial

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[160] Ibid., 237.
[161] "Rangers v. Celtic Now Tickets Only," *Glasgow Herald*, 25 October 1965, 1.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Colin Ward, *Armed for the Match: The Troubles and Trial of the Chelsea Headhunters* (London: Headline Books Publishing, 2000), 21.

behavior that had become embedded in the terrace culture of several Scottish clubs including Rangers, Celtic, Hearts of Midlothian and Hibernian. In addition to rearranging historically volatile fixtures like the traditional New Years Day clash between Rangers and Celtic, the committee suggested that the Old Firm should strategically position cheerleaders, like those found in American football, in the stands whose job would be to encourage fans to "sing songs that have no relationship with party songs."[165] American-style cheerleaders were never appointed and the sectarian singing, chanting and hooligan violence continued to escalate. When sentencing fifteen Old Firm supporters for breaching the peace by singing sectarian songs, swearing and throwing beer cans after the Glasgow Cup match at Ibrox Stadium in August 1966, Sheriff Lionel Daiches Q.C. told those assembled in the courtroom:

> I have just come back from the Continent, and it is distressing to me to see the way citizens of the great capitals of Europe regard the city of Glasgow, whose great and fair name is brought into disrepute by this kind of hooligan behaviour.[166]

In the mid-1960s middle and upper class Glaswegians were becoming increasingly concerned that the antisocial behavior associated with the Old Firm and other Scottish football clubs was having a detrimental impact on their city's international image.

The deteriorating situation in Northern Ireland toward the end of the 1960s solidified Rangers' position as the symbolic crossroads of Ulster Protestant loyalism. Supporting Rangers during "the Troubles" became a political badge and a crucial part of loyalist identity in Scotland and Northern Ireland. For loyalists, Rangers represented Protestantism, "Britishness" and anti-Catholicism. Loyalists viewed football as a public forum where they could both vocally and physically articulate their discontent over the British government's handling of the Provisional

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[165] "No More Party Songs?" *Glasgow Herald*, 17 November 1965, 1.
[166] "Glasgow's Name "Stinks" in Western Europe," *Glasgow Herald*, 25 August 1966, 1.

IRA terrorist campaign against the Protestant community in Ulster. The controversy over the club's discriminatory hiring practices additionally made Rangers a rallying point for thousands of loyalists in Scotland and Northern Ireland who believed history began and ended in 1690 with the Battle of the Boyne. Following the sectarian hooligan rampage instigated by Rangers supporters at a match against Newcastle in May 1969, Glasgow newspapers like the *Glasgow Herald* mounted a sustained attack on the loyalist and sectarian culture that dominated Rangers' boardroom and terrace culture. The half-hearted measures implemented by John Lawrence in the aftermath of the Newcastle troubles did little to curb sectarian chanting and physical violence now synonymous with Rangers. The aggressive sectarian atmosphere at the Govan club moved Reverend Robert Bone, minister of the Ibrox Presbyterian Church and life-long Rangers supporter, to disassociate himself with the club because of "the hatred and bigotry that had taken over the terracing at Ibrox."[167] Bone, who received complimentary season tickets to home games, added that his main concern was the hate-filled "vilification of the Pope and Roman Catholics."[168] Based on his personal observations, he rejected chairman Lawrence's argument that the sectarian chanting was confined to less than one percent of supporters.

In an effort to drown out sectarian singing Rangers took the unusual step of installing a klaxon[169] at Ibrox Park that was blown when fans sang obscene or sectarian songs.[170] This failed gesture only encouraged supporters to sing their sectarian and loyalist songs even louder. Walker suggests that the spectacular displays of hooliganism and sectarianism among Rangers supporters during the 1970s were "defensive reactions" against increased public scrutiny of their

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[167] "Foul Language Stops Minister Going to Ibrox," *Glasgow Herald*, 17 June 1969, 3.
[168] Ibid.
[169] A loud electric horn or warning device.
[170] "Foul Language Stops Minister Going to Ibrox," *Glasgow Herald*, 17 June 1969, 3.

exclusive "Protestants only" hiring policy and other public expressions of their loyalist culture.[171]

Repeated threats of banishment by club officials had little impact on solving the hooligan problem as violent sectarian confrontations involving Rangers yobs spiralled out of control through the 1970s. One of the worst episodes of hooligan disruption in the club's history occurred in 1972 during what should have been a celebration of one of the club's greatest accomplishments. To celebrate their heroes' victory over Moscow Dynamo to win the European Cup Winners' Cup, over ten thousand Rangers fans stormed the pitch at Barcelona's Camp Nou Stadium. The massive pitch invasion segued into running battles with Franco's baton-wielding riot police.[172] Over one hundred Rangers supporters were arrested, and vandalism caused by the fans topped £50,000.[173] Despite the frenzied mayhem in Barcelona, Rangers manager Willie Waddell continued to argue that club officials had no moral obligation to control their fans outside of their immediate jurisdiction in Govan. He accused Franco's police of using ruthless, heavy-handed tactics to deal with the social disorder: "When the Rangers fans ran onto the pitch, they were not in a fighting mood."[174] When asked if he knew of any solution to Rangers' hooliganism problem, Waddell replied, "There has been no solution to this anywhere in the world."[175] Like most club officials at Rangers, Waddell accepted the idea that hooliganism was a natural fact of working-class football culture and would continue to be part of the spectacle of the game regardless of any measures taken by club officials or the government. More importantly for Waddell and others, further attempts to dilute or control loyalist cultural expression could result in distancing supporters from the club.

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[171] Walker, *Sermons and Battle Hymns*, 149.
[172] Charles Gillies, "Spanish Police in Baton Charges after Fans Invade Pitch," *Glasgow Herald*, 25 May 1972, 1.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Murray Ritchie, "Rangers Disclaim Blame for Riot," *Glasgow Herald*, 27 May 1972, 1.
[175] Ibid.

Under pressure from local government officials, police, the Glasgow press and the SFA, Rangers delegates held a series of meetings with concerned parties to discuss what steps the club should take to help address Scotland's hooligan problem. Meetings with local law enforcement, the SFA, civic authorities and supporters' clubs during the summer of 1972 resulted in a ten-point plan aimed at eradicating the hooligan element at Rangers and rehabilitating the club's public image. Waddell circulated the plan to three hundred and fifty Rangers supporters' club organizations in Scotland and Northern Ireland and asked them to enact codes of conduct based on the plan. The plan asked RSC members to:

1. Ban alcohol on buses
2. Ban alcohol in stadiums
3. Ban provocative songs on buses and on the terraces
4. Ban profanity
5. Respect people who live near the stadium
6. Stop members from urinating at the roadside while travelling
7. Set a good example to the growing number of young supporters
8. Impress in the younger generation the importance of good behaviour
9. Respect women who attend matches
10. Notify Ibrox Park officials of any sign of hooliganism both home and away, giving a detailed report[176]

Waddell told supporters' clubs that it was up to "faithful True Blue" Rangers fans to "police themselves" and "protect the good name of Rangers."[177] At a civic dinner held in September 1972 in honor of Rangers Cup Winners' Cup victory, the Lord Provost of Glasgow, William

[176] "Waddell Issues 10-Point Plan to Rid Club of Hooligan Element," *Glasgow Herald*, 19 August 1972, 3.
[177] Ibid.

Gray, commended Rangers' efforts in addressing its hooligan element in the aftermath of the Barcelona disaster. However, he was of the opinion that individual clubs had to be more heavily involved in combating hooliganism "for the good name of Glasgow and Scotland."[178] He added, "Glasgow people are becoming more sophisticated. They want to bring their womenfolk with them [to football matches] without trouble."[179] Grey warned that if hooliganism persisted unfettered at Ibrox, Glaswegians would "vote with their feet" and "stay away."[180] Gray's predictions proved to be incorrect as armies of fans continued to "follow, follow" Rangers both home and away in considerable numbers for the remainder of the decade.

Noticeably absent from the ten-point plan was any mention of sectarianism or any attempt to dilute the loyalist civil religious culture that was at the heart of the ritual combat with the enemy Irish Catholic "other." Waddell instead vaguely suggested that the fans should refrain from singing "provocative songs." What was considered a "provocative song" was never clearly defined. It is assumed that Waddell was referring to "party" or sectarian songs unrelated to football. But for the Rangers faithful, traditional Orange songs imported from Ulster like "The Sash My Father Wore" and local Glaswegian loyalist favorites like the "Billy Boys" were an essential part of the Rangers experience. While Rangers officials desperately wanted to control the violent behavior of its hooligan element, it did not want to attack the loyalist cultural traditions that formed the basis of many Scottish and Northern Irish football fans' support for Rangers in the first place.

Old Firm matches took on an increasingly violent and sectarian dimension during the 1970s. This escalation in hooligan violence and sectarian expression among supporters of the Old Firm clubs was a direct response to the escalation of sectarian ethno-tribal hostilities in

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[178] Claude Thompson, "Hooligans a Problem for Clubs - Gray," *Glasgow Herald*, 19 September 1972, 9.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid.

Northern Ireland. Sectarian chanting, offensive and grotesque, and the violence between the two sets of supporters became motivated as much by politics as sporting rivalry during "the Troubles." Many Glaswegians were concerned that the mob violence they witnessed on the nightly news after almost every Old Firm derby was so intense and dramatic that it could possibly escalate and result in Glasgow evolving into a mini version of Londonderry or Belfast.

Responding to continued appeals by the SFA to tackle the hooligan problem, Waddell reiterated his view that Rangers was only responsible for controlling their fans within the confines of Ibrox Stadium. Beyond that, he believed that it was not Rangers' but society's responsibility to handle the problem of antisocial behavior and sectarianism. Sectarianism in lowland society and the violence that resulted from it was a socio-cultural problem according to Waddell. He believed it was foolish to think that a football club could solve such deeply rooted social ills. After violent hooligan clashes at a riotous Old Firm fixture in 1974, Waddell told the press that Rangers did "not have a bunch of professional fighters or neds[181] organized to throw bottles, or fight, or steal, or throw insults."[182] However, the seemingly natural drive among substantial numbers of Rangers supporters to fight the "inferior other" as a collective force seemed to suggest otherwise. Irvine Hunter described a visit to Ibrox Park for an Old Firm match in September 1975 as "a frightening place to be."[183] His fears were not baseless as three people were stabbed, eighty injured and almost one hundred arrested for involvement in sectarian rioting during the match.[184] Publicly disowning the hooligans and relying on Rangers supporters to police themselves were the only measures Rangers officials were willing to take to tackle the

[181] Glasgow slang meaning "non-educated delinquent."
[182] "Old Firm Hit at Mob Rule on Terracing," *Glasgow Herald*, 21 March 1974, 30.
[183] Irvine Hunter, "Frightening…When the Crowd Erupts and Bottles Begin to Fly," *Glasgow Herald*, 1 September, 1975, 7.
[184] Ibid.

violence and social disorder that was endemic at matches involving the loyalist sporting institution.

This attitude began to change after one of the most catastrophic hooligan episodes in British history. In October 1976, the *Daily Record* published a photograph of Rangers supporters brutally beating an Aston Villa fan during a friendly match against the English team, Aston Villa, at Villa Park in Birmingham, England.[185] The supporting headline read, "HATE!" and the front-page article that followed began with the sentence: "This is the hate-filled face of soccer in Britain 1976." One Rangers supporter said Barcelona in 1972 "was a tea party" compared to the violence he witnessed at Villa Park.[186] Only fifty-three minutes into the match, it had to be abandoned because hooligan battles in the terracing began to spill onto the playing surface. The rioting in the stands during the match was reportedly caused by a group of Celtic supporters waving Republic of Ireland flags with the deliberate intent of provoking the visiting supporters.[187] Rangers fans responded first by throwing missiles and then by attacking Aston Villa supporters both in the stands and later on the playing surface as the chaotic brawling spilled onto the pitch. The "Battle of Birmingham," as it came to be known, shocked and horrified the British public. Following the disturbances in Birmingham Willie Waddell unwittingly continued to blame youthful spirit and arrogance, rather than drunkenness or sectarianism, as the root cause of hooligan behavior.[188] Glasgow newspapers like the *Daily Record*, *Evening Times*, *Glasgow Herald*, and *Sunday Post* all questioned the sincerity of Rangers' commitment to controlling their fans. Counter to Waddell's argument that hooliganism was a social rather than club problem, the Glasgow press argued that Rangers' hooligan problem was related to their "unofficial" but well-

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[185] "HATE!," *Daily Record* (Glasgow), 11 October 1976, 1.
[186] Gordon Johnston, "Compared with this, Barcelona was a Tea-Party," *Daily Record* (Glasgow), 11 October 1976, 14.
[187] Brian Cullinan, "Doomed to Disaster," *Daily Record* (Glasgow), 11 October 1976, 2.
[188] Ibid.

entrenched "Protestants only" hiring policy. Critics of the Govan club's discriminatory hiring practices argued that the club's official bigotry translated into an aggressive form of Protestant/loyalist triumphalism and ethic bigotry in the terracing.

In an effort to deflect some of the negative attention away from the club Waddell issued his infamous "Birmingham Declaration" in which he proclaimed that Rangers was not a sectarian club and was committed to signing a Catholic player. He also pledged to tackle the sectarianism that existed among the Ibrox faithful by taking direct measures to "stop the singing of sectarian songs in the terracing."[189] The Rangers manager added that it would be up to police to decide whether or not individuals would be arrested for singing traditional Protestant Irish standards like "The Sash My Father Wore" that were not deemed sectarian by the management.[190] The "Birmingham Declaration" was little more than a token gesture aimed at getting critics off the club's back. In the end, very little was done to address the hooligan problem and even less attention was given to curbing sectarian singing. As football attendances dwindled in the late 1970s and into the 1980s Rangers bosses found themselves relying on their hardcore loyalist followers who consequently were the least likely to accept the abandonment of the club's traditional identity as a "Protestant team for a Protestant people."

Casual Culture, the Inter City Firm and the "Blues Brothers" Loyalist Alliance

During the early 1980s, young working-class football hooligans associated with Rangers officially began to organize into named gang units called firms. By 1984 the Rangers Inter City Firm (ICF) was created. The firm was a by-product of the "Casual" subculture that dominated football terraces in England after the demise of the skinhead and bovver boy fashion movements popular among young football hooligans during the 1970s. Casual culture involved three

[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.

primary elements: designer fashion, football and hooligan firms. Football hooligans banded together and created firms associated with a given football club. The uniform of choice among the Casual hooligans consisted of an ensemble of smart designer fashions designed to give the illusion of class superiority to their rivals. Unlike the spontaneous hooligan affrays in the 1960s and 1970s, Casual hooligan clashes from the 1980s forward often involved pre-arranged battles between rival firms which usually occurred before or after the match at predesignated locations like vacant lots or alleyways near the football ground. To prove they were superior to their rivals Casual firms had to win both physical hooligan battles and the terrace fashion show.

British Casual culture originated in Liverpool in 1977, the year Liverpool FC won their first European Cup in Rome. Young male Liverpool supporters who made the long trip to Italy were exposed to rare continental designer sportswear labels like Tacchini, Fila, Ellessee, Robe di Kappa, LaCoste, Lois, Addidas and Puma not yet available in Britain. Liverpool Casuals first showcased this new "Casual style" at the Charity Shield match between Liverpool FC and Manchester United on August 13, 1977. Casual fashion was devoid of club emblems or colors. Skinheads, bovver boys and the everyday "scarfers"[191] of the 1970s made easy targets for police because they were easily identifiable. The Casual look provided hooligans with a sort of young conservative camouflage that helped them escape the guise of law enforcement officials.

Working-class Casuals of little means were influenced by high street fashions, mostly because of peer pressure. As former Casuals Dougie and Eddie Brimson explain, "arriving for the match on Saturday in the wrong gear made you a laughing stock."[192] Phil Thornton argued that "the appropriation of bourgeois styles" by members of Britain's urban working classes was

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[191] "Scarfer" is a slang term for a common football fan whose displays his team affiliation by wearing a team scarf or replica jersey.

[192] Dougie Brimson and Eddie Brimson, *Capital Punishment: London's Violent Football Following* (London: Headline, 1997), 14.

not a new phenomenon, but rather dated back to the Victorian period.[193] Incorporating the fashion trends of their social superiors gave working-class football Casuals confidence, a sense of self worth and, depending on what label they were wearing, a distinct identity. The fashion a given hooligan firm adopted instilled in the individual member "a clear identity," and when firms began to name themselves it gave them an even "greater sense of identity."[194] The Casual phenomenon coincided with the rise of Margaret Thatcher and was the ultimate working-class expression of the Tory prime minister's social philosophy. Ted Polhemus argues that by "pulling themselves up by their bootstraps by dint of cunning enterprise, always flying the flag, giving short shrift to liberals and moaning minnies, the Casuals gave Thatcherism its most liberal interpretation."[195] The football-oriented lifestyle that defined the Casual scene spread quickly and was eventually adopted by urban firms across Britain.

Young Rangers hooligans were relatively slow to accept the Casual movement. Until around 1982, most Rangers hooligans clung to the quasi-militant skinhead fashions that included a cleanly shaved head, a green or navy flight jacket with orange lining and sixteen-holed, oxblood Dr. Martens boots.[196] Former Rangers Inter City Firm (ICF) member Davie Carrick recalled that it was around the 1982-83 season that regular contact between Rangers "top boys"[197] like Barry Johnstone and right-wing West Ham casuals inspired both the creation of an organized Casual crew at Rangers and the firm's eventual name.[198] Several West Ham Casuals regularly made their way to Ibrox to sell National Front and other extreme right-wing political literature outside Ibrox on match days. The alluring tales of hooligan life in England and the

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[193] Thornton, *Casuals*, 12.
[194] Brimson, *Capital Punishment*, 14.
[195] Ted Polhemus, *Street Style: From Sidewalk to Catwalk* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 39.
[196] John O'Kane, *Celtic Soccer Crew: What The Hell Do We Care* (Hove: Pennant Books, 2006), 240.
[197] A "top boy" is a hooligan firm leader.
[198] Davie Carrick and Martin King, *Rangers ICF* (London: Head Hunter Books, 2006), 28.

fashion style of the London Casuals appealed to Johnstone and, by 1984, he organized the Rangers Inter City Firm. Prior to adopting the name "Inter City Firm" some Rangers hooligans were loosely organized around the loyalist inspired name, "Her Majesty's Service." Within two years there were over a thousand young male Rangers supporters who identified themselves as members of the ICF.[199] Although most ICF members hailed from the working-class housing estates of Glasgow, there were also numerous members from Falkirk, Edinburgh, Stranraer, Irvine, Airdrie, Northern Ireland and England.[200] Steven Gall recalled that the ICF "were from different parts of Glasgow – Castlemilk, Drumchapel, Springburn, Easterhouse – and they kind of formed themselves into gangs. They wanted to go back to the gang-fight days of the early to late '60s. They would arrange a meeting-point to have a fight, and in the meantime get warmed up by having a fight among themselves!"[201] Like the Billy Boys gang and brake clubs of the 1930s the ICF glorified both Rangers and militant loyalism.

Many of Britain's football Casual firms were motivated by factors far more complex than just the opportunity to engage in mindless violence. Several British Casual firms during the 1980s and 1990s identified themselves as extreme right-wing loyalists. Members of these firms were actively involved in, or, at least sympathetic to, loyalist paramilitary activity as well as neo-Nazi organizations like Combat 18, the British National Party and the National Front. The Motherwell SS[202] had close ties with both Combat 18 and the British National Party.[203] For a time, the Motherwell SS had a loyalist flute band reminiscent of Billy Fullerton's Purple and Crown Flute Band in the 1930s. Chelsea FC's notorious hooligan firm, the Chelsea Headhunters, was heavily involved in neo-Nazism and became synonymous with extreme British

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[199] Ibid.
[200] Ibid.
[201] Stephen Walsh, *Voices of the Old Firm* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2005), 164.
[202] "S.S." stands for Saturday Service. It is also an allusion to the Nazi *Shutzstaffel*.
[203] Carrick and King, *Rangers ICF*, 76.

nationalism. In the 1980s, as the militant skinhead trend in southwest London gave way to the northern inspired Casual culture, the Chelsea Headhunters maintained their identity as a far-Right firm. The firm's emblem was a *Shutzstaffel Totenkopf* flanked by a Union Jack and St. George's Cross (sometimes the St. George's Cross was replaced by a Northern Ireland national flag). Many Chelsea Headhunters were also involved in National Front and loyalist politics. Their intense British nationalism and antipathy towards Roman Catholicism led them to openly sympathize with the loyalist cause in Northern Ireland. One Chelsea Headhunter said several of them regularly traveled "over to Ulster for the marching season."[204] The Chelsea Headhunters were also heavily active in Combat 18. Similarly, the Millwall Bushwhackers in East London identified themselves as ultra-nationalists and many of their members were involved in loyalist and Far Right politics. Millwall, West Ham United, Arsenal, Portsmouth, Chelsea and Tottenham all had loyalist sections of their support that also supported Rangers as an expression of their "Britishness" and solidarity with Ulster loyalism.

The Rangers ICF was known as *the* loyalist firm in Britain. For most IFC members, football and loyalist politics were intertwined. A considerable number of ICF members were actively involved with their local loyalist flute band and many often traveled to Belfast to participate in marching season events. Impressionable young Scots were exposed to more militant expressions of loyalist culture in Northern Ireland than they were in Scotland. Over time, some ICF members became involved with UDA and UVF paramilitary units in Scotland. According to former ICF member Colin Bell, the ICF had been involved in providing aid and comfort to loyalist paramilitary groups since the inception of the firm.[205] Like other loyalist institutions in lowland Scotland, the ICF regularly sponsored dances and other fundraising events

[204] Ibid., 96.
[205] Ibid., 61

at loyalist pubs in Glasgow to raise money for various loyalist relief organizations in Ulster.[206] Bell himself was arrested and served five years in jail for illegally possessing six guns destined for Belfast.[207] Among Bell's numerous paramilitary connections in Northern Ireland was the notorious UDA commander, "Mad Dog" Johnny Adair. Bell claimed Adair regularly spent time in lowland Scotland meeting with loyalist paramilitary cells in Ayrshire and Lanarkshire and attending Rangers matches in Govan.[208]

Much of the material kitsch associated with the ICF featured loyalist paramilitary symbols, mottos and acronyms. Members of the firm often incorporated the acronyms "UDA" or "UVF" on Union Jack banners used as stadium decoration on gamedays.[209] One Chelsea Headhunter recalled that one of the most prominent commonalities between Casuals at Rangers and Chelsea was their shared hatred of the IRA and Irish nationalism.[210] Overt anti-Republicanism was reflected in much of the content of *The Blues Brothers* fanzine, which catered to loyalist football supporters of Rangers, Chelsea, and Linfield. One ICF member stated that the Rangers Casual firm was "the most patriotic and Right-leaning in their views" among Britain's numerous hooligan groups.[211] This was evident in the noticeable overlap between politics, football and street gang culture that informed the Rangers ICF.

Firms that shared similar political and cultural worldviews often allied to project the strength of their "cause" or identity group through physical force against a shared enemy "other." For example, loyalist members of Hearts of Midlothian FC's Capital Service Firm regularly visited Glasgow to join the ICF in protesting and even attacking Sinn Fein/IRA parades.[212]

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[206] Ibid., 62.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid., picture on unnumbered page.
[210] Ibid., 92.
[211] Ibid., 31.
[212] Ibid., 30.

Bloody Sunday memorial parades and James Connolly marches in Glasgow were often stewarded by members of the Celtic Soccer Casuals firm and were major targets for the ICF and other loyalist firms in Scotland. Protestant Greenock Morton FC Casuals also sometimes attended Rangers matches in Glasgow and often joined the ICF in prearranged street battles in one of the many vacant lots in Govan. Morton Casuals also regularly attended Orange Order marches and other loyalist events in Glasgow and Belfast with the ICF.[213]

The strongest and most solidly established of Britain's hooligan coalitions during the 1980s and beyond was the "Blues Brothers" alliance.[214] This hooligan partnership between Casual crews and other hardcore supporters of Rangers FC, Chelsea FC (London), and Linfield FC (Belfast) was rooted in their mutual devotion to the cult of loyalism, and, to a lesser extent, their shared involvement in British nationalist politics. Rangers, Chelsea and Linfield jerseys are still worn as badges of loyalist identity by flute band members and "sidewalk loyalists" at Orange Order parades as well as football matches.

The "Blues Brothers connection" between ultra-loyalist sections of Rangers and Chelsea supporters was originally forged during a preseason friendly played at Stamford Bridge in London in 1985. This match was a charitable event held to raise money for dependents of victims of the Bradford Fire Disaster.[215] The Bradford Fire Disaster occurred in May 1985 at Valley Parade Stadium during a football match between Bradford City FC and Lincoln City FC. Fifty-six people died and another two hundred and seventy were injured as a result of the blaze. Before, during and after the Bradford Fire Disaster charity match supporters of both clubs freely intermingled in the usually segregated pubs, terraces and surrounding streets without incident.

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[213] Ibid., 77.

[214] This nickname refers to the primary color of Rangers, Chelsea and Linfield as represented on their home jerseys.

[215] David Glasgow, "More Chelsea Boys," *Follow, Follow: A Rangers Fanzine*, no. 5 (April 1989), 4.

Based on the popular image of Chelsea supporters as violent, neo-fascist thugs perpetrated by the media one Rangers supporter admitted that he expected to be confronted "by a mob of skins covered in swastikas."[216] Instead, the opposite happened. The "boot boys" of the 1970s had vanished and there was "no hint of violence."[217] Most agreed that the basis of this unusual camaraderie between rival football fans was their shared commitment to British loyalism and sympathy and support for the ongoing Protestant struggle in Ulster. Ordinarily Chelsea's neo-fascist/nationalist inspired firm, the Chelsea Headhunters, would have challenged members of a visiting hooligan firm. Instead, according to one ICF member who was at Stamford Bridge in 1985, lasting "friendships were formed."[218] A Chelsea Headhunter known as "Big Geoff" recalled that "the two sets of fans seem to share the same political beliefs," especially pertaining to the situation in Ulster.[219] Big Geoff stated "there's always been this link with Rangers and Chelsea" because of the number of Rangers standouts like Nigel Spackman, Ray Wilkins, Brian Laudrup and Derek Johnstone who played for both teams.[220] Inside the match the Chelsea Headhunters sang anti-Celtic songs and the Rangers ICF responded by singing Chelsea's anti-Semitic song about their cross-town rival, Tottenham Hotspur, "The Spurs are on their way to Auschwitz."[221] One ICF member stated that this exchange of ideological "songs about each others' hated rivals cemented the bond between the two sets of supporters."[222] The secretary of the Chelsea Independent Supporters Association, Paul Roberts, stated that at the "benefit match for the Bradford disaster two sets of supporters enjoyed each others' company before, during and

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[216] Ibid., 4.
[217] Ibid., 5.
[218] Ibid., 4.
[219] Carrick, *Rangers ICF*, 92.
[220] Ibid. 92 and 121, see also Graeme Macpherson, "The Chelsea Connection," *The Official Matchday Magazine of Glasgow Rangers Football Club* (28 July 2007), 48-53.
[221] Carrick and King, *Rangers ICF*, 122. The anti-Semitic chanting aimed at Spurs by the Chelsea Headhunters was a product of Tottenham's historical links with London's Jewish community. Offensive chanting was often specifically targeted at Spur's hooligan firm known by the distinctly Jewish moniker, "the Yid Army."
[222] Ibid.

after the game, with no hint of trouble."[223] Supporters of the two clubs, especially those in the hooligan underground, rallied around the same loyalist symbols including the Union Jack, Red Hand of Ulster and other nationalist emblems. Davie Carrick reported that as the Rangers ICF left Stamford Bridge and made their way down Fulham Road, Chelsea supporters formed an impromptu "guard of honour" cheering, clapping and waving Union Jacks and Ulster flags as they passed.[224] One Rangers ICF member recalled that it was as if each set of supporters "had found a mutual long lost friend."[225]

Apart from the loyalist connection, the ICF and the Chelsea Headhunters shared roughly the same ultra-Conservative political ideas. Like the Chelsea Headhunters, the ICF had a considerable number of members who were hardcore nationalists and involved in neo-fascist organizations like Combat 18.[226] Rangers ICF members have been photographed brandishing neo-fascist flags featuring white supremacist symbols like the Nordic cross, Iron Cross, S.S. *Totenkopf* and giving the Nazi salute in casual settings and at official matches.[227]

In the seasons that followed the historic "Blues Brothers" match at Chelsea in West London, the Chelsea Headhunters and other hardcore loyalist Chelsea supporters regularly traveled to the loyalist shrine of Ibrox Park in Glasgow to participate in the loyalist civil religious ritual of a Rangers match. High profile neo-fascist Chelsea Headhunters like Stewart Glass and Chris Henderson frequently traveled to Glasgow for Rangers matches and had connections with several ICF "top boys."[228] Likewise, hardcore loyalist Rangers supporters and ICF members often swelled the ranks of the Chelsea Headhunter mob both in England and on the continent.

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[223] *Follow, Follow: A Rangers Fanzine*, no. 5 (April 1989), 5.
[224] Carrick, *Rangers ICF*, 122.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Ibid., 111, and picture on unnumbered page.
[227] Ibid. (pictures on unnumbered pages).
[228] Ibid.

Jason Emo from Middlesex stated that he firmly believed that "Chelsea fans that followed Rangers in Scotland or Europe are true, fanatical supporters of their adopted team."[229]

Based in Belfast, Linfield Football Club has historically been considered *the* loyalist football club in Northern Ireland. Their home ground, Windsor Park, was also home to the Northern Ireland International team. The loyalist connection between Chelsea and Linfield dates back to the Willie Houston benefit match played at Windsor Park on "Jubilee Day" in May 1935. Large numbers of Chelsea fans made the trip from London to Belfast for the game and friendships between the two sets of supporters were immediately forged. Following the match in 1935, many Linfield supporters adopted Chelsea as their English team to support. This informal connection between members of the two clubs was strengthened during "the Troubles" as a number of Chelsea Headhunters accompanied Linfield Section F Casuals on trips to Belfast for loyalist commemorations.

Rangers ICF members likewise had congenial ties with Linfield based on notions of a shared loyalist identity. These relationships were cultivated not just at football matches but also at other loyalist gatherings like marching season events in Northern Ireland and Glasgow and within loyalist flute band associations. ICF and Section F members regularly traveled the short distance between Glasgow and Belfast to attend matches at their sister club's ground as well as to swell the ranks of their ally's firm against rival hooligans.

In February 1990 the Blues Brothers alliance took material form with the publication of the first issue of *The Blues Brothers* fanzine. It was the first football fanzine dedicated to linking three separate sets of fans on the basis of shared socio-cultural and political values. Fanzines were underground magazines written and published by independent football club supporters. They served as an alternative to the official match-day programs and magazines published by the

[229] Jason Emo, "More Chelsea Boys," *Follow, Follow: A Rangers Fanzine*, no. 5 (April 1989), 5.

football clubs. Murray notes that fanzines were "devoted to the club, but independent of it."[230] Fanzines were especially popular among young working-class Casuals because of their rough and bawdy street satire and simple sports radio call-in-show format. Since the publication of the first issue the primary aim "of *The Blues Brothers* fanzine was to strengthen the strong bonds of loyalist union that already existed between fans of Linfield, Rangers and Chelsea."[231] They achieved this by publishing articles, editorials, cartoons, photographs and even advertisements that clearly defined who they were versus who they were not. They were loyalists or at least sympathetic to the plight of the Protestant population in Northern Ireland. Most importantly, they were anti-Catholic and anti-Republican. All issues of *The Blues Brothers* fanzine clearly defined the enemies of the Blues Brothers alliance as "the sporting wings of Republicanism": Belfast's Cliftonville FC, Derry City, the Republic of Ireland national team, and Glasgow Celtic FC.

The fanzine was especially popular among young loyalist Casuals affiliated with each club. One *Blues Brothers* contributor wrote that the fanzine catered "to thousands of fans with common interests" who they sought to formally unite in a common "True Blue" voice.[232] *The Blues Brothers* was a vehicle through which loyalists could communicate with the wider community anonymously.

Fanzines were sold to "punters" outside Ibrox, Stamford Bridge and Windsor Park and in specialty music stores, comic book shops and bookshops in Glasgow, London and Belfast. Most of *The Blues Brothers* editorial staff was based in County Down and was made up of loyalist Linfield supporters. Murray argues that the very existence of *The Blues Brothers* fanzine was "a clear indication of the right-wing sympathies that bind Rangers to stablemates Linfield and

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[230] Murray, *Bhoys, Bears and Bigotry*, 180.
[231] "Hands Across the Kingdom," *The Blues Brothers*, no. 4 (1990), 9.
[232] "Terrace Talk," *The Blues Brothers*, no. 5 (February 1991), 15.

Chelsea."[233] Apart from printing football news pertaining to Rangers, Chelsea and Linfield, the fanzine regularly published articles about the Orange Order, the Crown, misbehavior by Celtic or Cliftonville supporters and Republican atrocities in Northern Ireland. According to *Sunday Life*, *The Blues Brothers* was one of the top selling fanzines in Britain in 1991 and "more fans than you think owe their allegiance to the three teams in blue."[234]

The fanzine appealed to loyalist Casuals because it offered an uncensored forum for the articulation of radical loyalist and nationalist ideas and because it recognized the symbiosis between loyalist followers of the three football clubs. It was brazenly Orange and defiantly anti-Celtic and anti-Cliftonville. The fanzine's contributors regularly used common loyalist epithets like "taig," "beggar," "bog-hopper" and "paddy" in reference to Irish Catholics, IRA members and supporters of Cliftonville or Celtic. Likewise, it often crudely referred to Celtic Park as "the piggery," "Mother Teresa's Pleasuredome" or "the pedo-palace." When the popular American Protestant evangelist, Billy Graham, announced he would hold a series of events at Celtic Park *The Blues Brothers* responded, "Don't think Dr. Billy is gonna have much hope with the anti-Christs. Do you?"[235]

The editorial staff of the fanzine repeatedly denied it was a sectarian publication. Their position was that because the fanzine was targeted at the loyalist "Blues Brothers nation," many of the extreme loyalist sentiments and much of satire contained within its pages were interpreted by outsiders as sectarian. An unbiased fanzine reviewer affiliated with the *Scottish Zine Scene* fanzine suggested that at first glance *The Blues Brothers* fanzine would appear "to be over the top on the religious side, but it [religion] rarely gets mentioned."[236] Most pages of each issue of

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[233] Murray, *Bhoys, Bears and Bigotry*, 182.
[234] "The Blues Brothers," *Sunday Life* (Glasgow), 8 December 1991, 5.
[235] "Celtic Mission for Dr. Billy," *The Blues Brothers*, no. 5 (February 1991), 25.
[236] "Blues for You," *The Blues Brothers*, no. 7 (January 1992), 6.

the fanzine were dedicated to special interest stories regarding Chelsea, Rangers and Linfield; salacious and sometimes conspiratorial articles about Irish Republicanism; crude cartoons often targeted at representations of the loyalist "other" (which, in this case included Celtic FC, Cliftonville FC and other agents of Republicanism); and reader comments. It regularly focused its satirical attacks on various manifestations of Republican culture and terrorism in an effort to rally its "True Blue" base of readers around the common cause of loyalism. Many in the Republican community, however, believed that some of the selections featured in the fanzine had a more sinister motive.

The April 1992 issue of *The Blues Brothers* received international attention after the *Irish News* featured a story that accused the fanzine of openly promoting sectarian violence following the publication of a picture of Father Sean McManus with a target superimposed on his forehead. The caption under the picture of Father McManus read, "Blues sign new target man." Father McManus was a longtime vocal critic of the exclusively Protestant loyalist culture at Linfield. He was also the president of the Washington D.C.-based Republican special interest group, the Irish National Caucus. The cultural battle between Linfield and McManus began in 1991 when then Linfield manager, Eric Bowyer, made the comment to a Linfield fanzine that, due to the ongoing sectarian instability in Northern Ireland, he could not envision Linfield signing a Roman Catholic.[237] Following the publication of Boyers's comment, McManus demanded that the Irish Football Association (IFA) sever its ties with Linfield until significant measures were taken to eradicate the sectarian worldview that dominated boardroom politics and terrace culture at the club. Linfield did not respond initially to McManus's threats. After an intense anti-Linfield lobbying campaign spearheaded by McManus, *Coca-Cola* threatened to pull all of its IFA

[237] Sugden and Bairner, *Sport, Sectarianism and Society in a Divided Ireland*, 78.

sponsorships and Thorn-EMI withdrew its sponsorship of Linfield over the Bowyer affair.[238] If targeting Linfield's pocketbook was not enough, McManus threatened to use his political clout in the United States to wage a similar campaign against the Northern Ireland national team and disrupt their participation in the 1994 World Cup in the USA if they did not address the issue of Protestant exclusivism in their player and management selection process. McManus's threat to go after the Northern Ireland national team was significant to loyalists on two levels. First, Ulster Protestant loyalists made up the overwhelmingly majority of the Northern Ireland national team's support base. It was not uncommon to see both participants and spectators at Orange Order events and Rangers matches wearing Northern Ireland national team regalia as a badge of their loyalist identity. Second, the Northern Ireland national team had intimate connections with Linfield because they shared the same ground, Windsor Park, in the staunchly Protestant loyalist neighborhood known as "The Village" in Belfast. In the end, officials at Linfield were forced by the IFA to call an unprecedented press conference where the club's spokesperson publicly declared they were not a sectarian club stating:

> People of all classes and creeds are welcome at Windsor Park, both for Linfield games and for internationals, and the management committee strongly refute the scurrilous and unfounded allegations made by Father McManus and his associates and their campaign to have commercial sponsorship withdrawn from soccer in Northern Ireland.[239]

In the midst of McManus's campaign against Linfield, the editors of *The Blues Brothers* printed the picture of Father McManus with a target superimposed on his forehead. The editors of the fanzine maintained that the picture was merely a crude variety of working-class football

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[238] Ibid.
[239] Ibid.

humor. McManus, however, interpreted the picture as a sectarian death threat. He stated that the sentiments expressed in the publication "surely reflected the ethos at Windsor Park."[240] McManus used his political clout in Washington D.C. to persuade a Congressional committee to petition the IFA to force Linfield to both take responsibility for and publicly condemn the fanzine. It must be remembered that, as with other fanzines, *The Blues Brothers* was not officially connected with the club(s) it supported. Officials at Windsor Park were pressured to publicly condemn the actions of *The Blues Brothers* regardless of the fact that they had no links whatsoever with the publication or editorial staff.

The Blues Brothers alliance between supporters of Rangers, Chelsea and Linfield was created and sustained because of the political and religious ideologies held in common by hardcore supporters of each club. Publications like *The Blues Brothers* and the regular interaction between hooligans firms connected to the three clubs further solidified the bonds between them. Contrary to what some historians and sociologists have suggested, there was, and continues to be a real link between loyalist supporters of Rangers, Chelsea and Linfield that is grounded in their shared solidarity with the Protestants of Ulster and hatred of all things associated with Republicanism.

On July 28, 2007, Rangers and Chelsea shared the same pitch for the first time in twenty-two years when they met in a preseason friendly at Ibrox Stadium in Glasgow. From the pre-match festivities to the match itself any observer present recognized that there was something different about this match. The atmosphere before the game had the feel of a loyalist carnival. Pre-match venues including local pubs and the Govan Orange Hall, which were usually segregated "Rangers only" zones on matchdays, opened their doors to Protestant Chelsea supporters where they freely socialized with Rangers fans and were entertained by local loyalist

[240] Connor Macauley, "Blues' Fans Won't Stop My Crusade," *The Blues Brothers* [no. and issue unlisted] (1994), 4.

flute bands.[241] Numerous Linfield supporters from Northern Ireland also made the pilgrimage to Ibrox for this rare "Blues Brothers" reunion. On Copland Road and other major arteries leading to Ibrox Stadium, Chelsea and Rangers fans walked to the match together, without any hint of trouble. With the exception of Linfield fans, this would be unheard of in Govan. The rigidly segregated seating policy at Ibrox Stadium was even scrapped for this special match. Chelsea fans were free to sit wherever they chose without any harassment by Rangers supporters or stewards. Vendors outside the stadium did a brisk business selling badges, t-shirts, baseball hats, flags and scarves that celebrated the loyalist connection between the three clubs. The official matchday program likewise celebrated the close relationship between the two clubs by featuring a six-page story on the large number of high-profile players who had donned the blue jersey at both Rangers and Chelsea. The program also deviated from its usual practice of featuring a single Rangers player of note on the cover by placing superstars Barry Ferguson of Rangers and Frank Lampard of Chelsea on the cover together. During the match Rangers and Chelsea supporters enthusiastically sang loyalist songs like "The Sash My Father Wore," "I was Born Under the Union Jack" and "Rule Britannia." Supporters of each club also proudly brandished Union Jacks, St. George's Crosses and Northern Ireland national flags emblazoned with slogans like "Blues Brothers Alliance," "True Blues," "Loyal and True," and "No Surrender, 1690" surrounded by Rangers, Chelsea and Linfield crests. One of the larger banners displayed by Rangers supporters during the match was addressed directly to the Chelsea manager, José Mourinho, and read: "José, Thanks for Seville: Porto 3 - Beggars[242] 2" referring to his FC Porto squad's victory over Celtic in the 2003 UEFA Cup final in Spain. The bizarre congenial

[241] Personal observation.

[242] "Beggar" is a reference to Celtic supporters based on nineteenth and early twentieth century popular stereotypes of members of the Irish Catholic Diaspora community in Glasgow from which Celtic has traditionally drawn its support.

atmosphere at this match was proof positive that the Blues Brothers alliance between loyalist-minded Rangers, Chelsea and Linfield supporters was real and as strong as ever.

Glasgow Rangers FC, Sectarianism and Civil Religion during the First Decade of the Twenty-First Century

Rangers Football Club was built on a loyalist philosophy that continued to be celebrated among the Ibrox faithful well into the first decade of the twenty-first century. In a report commissioned by the Scottish Executive regarding problems of sectarianism in Scottish football, non-Old Firm supporters generally expressed the view that "while the rest of Scotland had 'moved on,'" Glasgow and areas of Ayrshire and Lanarkshire were still locked in an outmoded, strange and unpleasant "tradition"" based on ethno-religious rivalries imported from Ireland.[243] Following violent sectarian clashes at the Old Firm derby in October 2002, Scottish First Minster Jack McConnell warned that "sectarianism could become synonymous with Scotland" unless aggressive measures were swiftly implemented to dilute the popular strains of traditional sectarianism still embedded in twenty-first century Scottish society.[244] McConnell believed Scottish football (particularly matches involving the Old Firm) "was the trigger that resulted in a very public display of the deep-rooted sectarianism that permeates much of Scotland's society."[245] Echoing the sentiment of the controversial Scottish composer James MacMillan, McConnell believed that sectarianism was endemic in Scottish society and the archaic ethno-tribal animosity displayed at Rangers vs. Celtic matches "showed Scotland's darkest side and was a wake-up call that bigotry was alive and well." McConnell argued, "football clubs must ban those who are responsible for whipping up the frenzy of hatred and violence and they must

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[243] H.F. Moorehouse, "Consultation with Football Supporters on Problems of Sectarianism within Scottish Football: A Report to the Scottish Executive," Research Unit in Football Studies, University of Glasgow (13 October 2006), 12.
[244] "Scots Given Bigotry Warning," *BBC Scotland*, 13 October 2002, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/2324099.stm (25 August 2007).
[245] Ibid.

act against the sale of symbols of hatred at their grounds."[246] The First Minister further suggested, "To eliminate sectarianism everyone must accept that this is not harmless banter – this is mindless violence and a culture of shame."[247] While McConnell's claims of the "endemic" nature sectarianism in Scottish society were dramatically overstated, he was able to use the "bully-pulpit" to create a government-backed initiative to stamp out sectarianism with Old Firm and sectarian football culture as the dominant focus. He believed that if the most public, sensory, emotional and regular displays of sectarian behavior could be extinguished, there would be a ripple effect in wider Scottish society.

After decades of pleading with the senior leadership of Scotland's major football clubs to implement stringent measures to combat sectarianism and other forms of antisocial behavior at their grounds the Scottish Executive finally decided to address the matter itself as part of its larger initiative to chip away at sectarianism in Scottish life. In 2002 the Scottish Executive commissioned the "Cross-Party Working Group on Religious Hatred" charged with researching ways of strategically tackling religious bigotry in Scotland. The Working Group's report recommended that legislation should be introduced that enabled judges to render tougher penalties for crimes motivated by sectarianism. They cautioned, "Without a package of enforcement measures, as well as situational and social prevention, legislation alone is unlikely to have much effect."[248] In June 2003 the Working Group submitted the following recommendations to the Scottish Executive:

I. The Lord Advocate should issue up-to-date detailed guidelines to the police on their handling of alleged offences. There should be specific consideration of any

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[246] Ibid.
[247] Ibid.
[248] "Tackling Religious Hatred," *Update on the Recommendations of the Cross-Party Working Group on Religious Hatred*, Scottish Executive Library, Edinburgh, 1.

motivation of religious hostility, which should be fully recorded in the report to the Procurator Fiscal.

II. The Crown Office should update its guidelines to prosecutors to ensure that any religious elements are brought before the court and are not withdrawn in return for an accused agreeing to plead guilty to a lesser offence.

III. The Crown Office should record the number of offences with a religious motivation that are prosecuted along with the outcome of each case.

IV. The Scottish Executive should commission research into incidents of religious and hatred, following the progress of cases through the criminal justice system. Any such research should seek to understand the motivation of the offenders and the impact of the crimes on their victims. A study should be commissioned of contemporary sectarianism, which would provide information on the most effective approaches to tackling the problem. All projects and programs designed to reduce sectarian attitudes should be evaluated.

V. The Scottish Football Association should make it a licensing condition that clubs have policies against sectarian behavior – and that they take steps to vigorously enforce those policies at matches. Failure to do so should carry penalties up to, and including, the loss of a license. Clubs and police should be required to report on the measures and their effectiveness in tackling sectarianism.

VI. Football Clubs should take specific actions against supporters indulging in insulting sectarian behavior. Fans could be banned from the ground for one or more matches and seat allocations could be reduced for supporters' clubs whose members have behaved unacceptably. Clubs should take steps to ensure increased

effectiveness of the monitoring and subsequent discipline of supporters who use sectarian behavior at away matches. They should publicize the numbers of people who have been warned, suspended or banned from matches – and name those concerned.

VII. The police, Procurators Fiscal and football clubs should share information to identify and deal with those supporters who are charged with or convicted of offences at or near football grounds – including those involving an element of religious hatred. The police should inform a supporter's home club as soon as they are arrested for such an offence. Procurators Fiscal should tell the home club of any action that is being taken, and the Sheriff Clerk should inform the club of a conviction for any offence committed in the context of a football match.

VIII. Earlier kick-offs for Old Firm matches should, as far as possible, become the norm.

IX. All local authorities should license street traders and introduce conditions preventing them from selling any offensive sectarian material in the context of football matches. The police should monitor the situation and report any breaches to the local authority, who should suspend the license.

X. The police, Crown Office, Scottish Executive, local authorities, relevant voluntary organizations, SFA and Old Firm clubs should join together at senior levels to coordinate and monitor a continuing response to religious hatred as it affects them. They should develop policies to spotlight and target religious intolerance and evaluate the progress and effectiveness of the work being carried out. After

twelve months, the group should provide the Scottish Executive with a snapshot report, which should also be presented to the Scottish Parliament.

XI. The coordinating group should seek to encourage, sponsor and evaluate project programs and research designed to change sectarian and other aspects of religious culture.

XII. Following the evaluation of the current advertising campaign promoting a tolerant society, the Scottish Executive should consider a campaign to promote a Scotland free from religious hatred.[249]

The Working Group's twelve-step approach to ridding Scottish society of the blight of sectarianism was encapsulated in Section 74 of the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2003. This legislation detailed the provisions for the prosecution of criminal offences motivated by religious prejudice.[250] Although the Scottish government's initiative yielded some positive results, it failed to eliminate the ethno-tribal and religious hostility between rival supporters of the Old Firm.

Changing the deeply entrenched traditions and meaning of Rangers and Celtic proved to be an almost impossible task. During the period covering June 27, 2003, to February 29, 2004, Scottish police reported two hundred and sixty-two arrests at football matches involving allegations of "religious aggravation" to the Procurators Fiscal.[251] The vast majority of these arrests involved Old Firm supporters. A substantial contingent of loyalist Rangers supporters still believed the club was a vehicle for expressing views that had been shunned by the vast majority of Scots. These supporters saw the Scottish Executive's "war on sectarianism" in football as a front to completely eradicate traditional loyalist cultural expression from Ibrox. It

[249] Ibid., 4-18.
[250] Ibid., 19.
[251] Ibid.

was further proof for many hardcore loyalists "that Scotland was sleepwalking towards Vatican rule."[252] Rangers supporters who continued to sing political and sectarian songs were convinced popular Protestantism in Scotland was "under siege." Through their defiance they were making a final stand for the preservation of the "Lost Cause" of Protestant loyalist civil religious culture in the lowlands.

In May 2006 Rangers FC was fined £13,300 by UEFA following sectarian chanting and an attack on the Villareal CF team bus by Rangers hooligans at their Champions League fixture with the predominantly Catholic Spanish club. After being threatened by UEFA with expulsion from European competition if it did not eradicate sectarian expression from the ranks of its support, Rangers officials publicly committed the club once again to diluting the ultra-loyalist atmosphere at Ibrox. On June 9, 2006, Rangers FC, in conjunction with representatives from the largest and most active Rangers supporters' clubs organizations, announced they would comply with UEFA's three-point directive. First, Rangers was "ordered to announce measurable targets in order to reduce sectarian behavior amongst its supporters."[253] Second, the club was to "control their anti-sectarian activities by producing comprehensive statistics that are communicated to the public."[254] Finally, Rangers were told "to make a public address announcement at every official fixture, be it international or domestic, stating that any sectarian chanting and any form of the song, 'Billy Boys,' is strictly prohibited."[255]

In response to the UEFA directives, Rangers officials began to actively encourage the singing of what they called "long forgotten" non-sectarian songs like "Wolverhampton Town"

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[252] Tray Nor, "Docking Gers Points is No Way to Beat the Bigots," *Daily Record* (Glasgow), 6 August 2007, 24.
[253] "Rangers Told to Axe 'Billy Boys'" *BBC Sport*, http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/sport2/hi/football/teams/r/rangers/5064472.stm, 9 June 2006 (26 April 2009).
[254] Ibid.
[255] Ibid.

(Appendix A).[256] Because the vast majority of fans were unfamiliar with the new club-dictated repertoire, lyrics were distributed to the fans at home games and the new tunes were repeatedly played loudly over Ibrox Stadium's public address system. Murray warned fans, "The consequences of for singing sectarian songs would be grave" because they were "jeopardizing the future of the club."[257]

The Scottish Executive decided to implement a comprehensive banning orders program in August 2006 aimed at eradicating violence, sectarianism and racism from Scottish sporting culture by banning individuals accused of such behavior "from games and associated flashpoints across the UK and abroad" for up to a decade.[258] Rather than trying to work with or reform the existing ethno-tribal football cultures in Glasgow, First Minister Jack McConnell declared that a new popular football culture had to be created which would not tolerate any vestige of sectarian or racist behavior.[259] Modeled after similar programs in England and Wales, Scottish football banning orders were introduced in the Police, Public Order and Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2006. The Chief Executive of the SFA, David Taylor, believed the new legislation would reinforce the progress the clubs, police and government had made in the three years since the passage of the first round of anti-sectarian legislation aimed at "civilizing" football culture. Football banning orders could be imposed in two different ways. First, a court could impose a banning order on an individual "convicted of a football related offence instead of, or in addition to, any sentence the court could impose for the offence."[260] Banning orders imposed following a

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[256] "Wolverhampton Town" celebrates Rangers' semi-final victory over Wolves in the inaugural European Cup Winners Cup in 1961.
[257] "Rangers Revive Traditional Songs," http://www.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/uk/_news/scotland/glasgow_and_west/5244022.stm, *BBC Sport*, 4 August 2006 (26 April 2009).
[258] "Football Banning Orders," Scottish Executive News Release, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2006/08/29100729, 29 August 2006 (25 August 2007).
[259] "Efforts Stepped Up to End Bigotry," http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk, 12 December 2006 (26 April 2009).
[260] "Football Banning Orders," Scottish Executive News Release, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2006/08/29100729, 29 August 2006, (25 August 2007).

conviction could last for up to ten years. Second, "a Chief Constable could make a summary application to a sheriff court for a football banning order to be imposed against an individual whose behavior has given cause for concern, although there may not be enough evidence to mount a prosecution."[261] Banning orders imposed without a conviction could last for up to three years. Offences that could result in a banning order included sectarian chanting, physical assault or shouting racist, sectarian or ethnically insensitive remarks. To publicize the football banning orders program to the Scottish football following public, the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland and Scottish Executive created the "Straight Red" campaign. The "Straight Red" campaign was a high-profile effort that used a combination of radio announcements, posters and informative beer coasters to communicate the purpose of the football banning orders program to the public.[262] Many Rangers supporters viewed the government's effort as a direct attack on their club's loyalist cultural heritage. Determined to maintain their loyalist traditions, Rangers fans continued to sing provocative songs, especially outside Ibrox stadium which they knew to be under the watchful eye of "big brother."

Rangers supporters put the football banning orders legislation to the test during the away leg of the round of sixteen UEFA Cup match against Osasuna in Pamplona, Spain, on March 14, 2007. Using a mobile phone video camera, a Rangers supporter filmed hundreds of Rangers supporters collectively singing Tina Turner's hit song "Simply the Best" and inserting the phrase "fuck the Pope and the IRA" into the chorus. Responding to what they described as heavy-handed tactics, Rangers supporters clashed with Spanish riot police during the game. The amateur Rangers filmmaker who caught this behavior on camera uploaded the video file to the popular video file sharing website YouTube after the match. The video was subsequently

[261] Ibid.
[262] Ibid.

brought to the attention of the Control and Disciplinary Board of UEFA. Sectarian singing and hooligan behavior on the part of Rangers supporters at Osasuna resulted in a £8,280 fine against the club and warnings of stiffer penalties to come if the Rangers leadership was not able to control their fans.

Fearing future penalties for antisocial behavior and sectarianism on the part of loyalist Rangers supporters could further harm the club's bottom line and international reputation executive director, David Murray, threatened to suspend the sale of tickets to away matches if supporters did not stop singing offensive "party" songs and chants. Rangers Supporters Association secretary, John MacMillan, responded by arguing only a minority section of the supporter base was to blame for the misbehavior and it did not "matter how often they are told [to stop singing sectarian songs and chants], some people will just not listen."[263] MacMillan added, "The club and the majority of the [Rangers] supporters have done their damndest to eradicate this kind of thing."[264] The Rangers Supporters Trust begged the club leadership for yet another chance to police themselves. Rangers officials reluctantly agreed despite the fact the club had now been heavily fined by UEFA twice in two seasons for sectarian chanting at European matches.

The actions of Rangers supporters in Spain demonstrated that it would take more than the threat of banishment from matches at home and abroad extinguish the deeply entrenched civil religious ritual associated with the club. Extreme loyalism was still present during the summer friendly matches and during the first half of the 2007-08 SPL season. Loyalist banners, kitsch (hats, scarves, t-shirts, gold necklaces and medallions), flags, songs and chants were still a major part of the Rangers gameday spectacle despite the supposed crackdown on overt loyalist cultural

[263] Ewan Murray, "Rangers Facing UEFA Inquiry Over Fan Chants," *The Guardian*, 20 March 2007, 8.
[264] Ibid.

expression at Ibrox. Most Rangers supporters were convinced that if they collectively defied the government's, club's and UEFA's mandate to "clean up their act," there was nothing the authorities could do about it. They reasoned, "What were the Strathclyde police going to do, arrest thousands of Rangers supporters at a time for singing?"

A week prior to the opening of the 2007-08 SPL season, Rangers launched the "Follow with Pride" initiative (the successor to the less than successful five-year-old "Pride over Prejudice" campaign). Rangers legend, coach Ally McCoist, used the opportunity of the launch to promote sporting behavior and to warn supporters that offensive or abusive chanting could sabotage the club's SPL title bid. Since fining the club and harsh banning orders were not working, UEFA threatened to dock points earned at matches where sectarian or antisocial behavior was present. This threat fell on deaf ears. At the opening match of the season at Tulloch Caledonian Stadium against Inverness Caledonian Thistle, a number of Rangers supporters "were heard singing the Sash, insulting the Pope and referring to loyalist terrorist groups."[265] The sectarian chanting and singing at Inverness convinced Rangers chairman, Sir David Murray, that even more radical measures were still needed to stop the loyalist ritual chanting. Murray and Rangers' chief executive Martin Bain called a joint meeting with leaders of various Rangers supporters' groups the week after the Inverness match to make it clear that the club was "prepared to refuse all tickets for future away matches if that's what it takes to stop the chants."[266] It seems that the threat of banning all away ticket sales combined with possibility of having points docked for crowd behavior did encourage a degree of self-policing among "true" fans trying to prevent their club from falling into further disrepute. However, convincing

[265] Keith Jackson, "Rangers Fans Face Ban from Away Matches: Club's Hard Line on Bigots," *Daily Record* (Glasgow), 6 August 2007, 6.
[266] Ibid.

radical Rangers loyalists who believed they were obliged to defy the club's mandates in an effort to preserve the club's loyalist image, proved to be an almost impossible task.

On May 14, 2008, Rangers supporters were involved in one of the worst episodes of football related violence in Britain since World War II. In the days preceding the UEFA Cup Final in Manchester between Rangers and Zenit St. Petersburg over two hundred thousand, mostly ticketless, loyalist Rangers supporters from all parts of Britain descended on Manchester to participate in this historic moment in the life of the club with like-minded "True Blue" brethren.[267] After Rangers lost to the extremely talented Russian club 2-0, hundreds of their supporters were involved in violent clashes with Manchester police in the city center. CCTV footage of the riot showed a large group of male, mostly young Rangers supporters engaged in a series of running battles with police forces. Overwhelmed police units were eventually forced to call out their special riot unit in full tactical gear to quell the hooligan unrest.[268] Police dogs were unleashed on the crowd after the riot squad was greeted with a barrage of bottles hurled from the Rangers mob. One police constable was set upon by around thirty Rangers hooligans who beat him to the ground and proceeded to kick him mercilessly until his comrades were able to rescue him from the brutal assault. Automobiles and stores were vandalized and the Manchester city center was thoroughly trashed. Fifteen police officers and one police dog were injured in the hooligan disturbances.[269] One of the very small number of St. Petersburg supporters who traveled to the match from Russia was seriously injured when a Rangers supporter near the stadium stabbed him after the game. In the end, a paltry thirty-four arrests were made. Twelve of the thirty-four individuals taken into custody (only one of whom was a

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[267] "Rangers Chief 'Deplores' Violence," *BBC Scotland*, http://nes.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/scotand/glasgow_and_west/7405454.stm (16 May 2008).
[268] Ibid.
[269] Ibid.

St. Petersburg supporter) were released without charge. Rangers chairman, Sir David Murray, condemned the violence and confirmed that the club would pursue banning orders for those involved in the violence.[270] He said that the club deplored "the actions of a small minority who were involved in the disturbances" and supported "the severest action taken against them."[271]

The violence that marred the UEFA Cup Final in Manchester overshadowed the fact that thousands of Rangers supporters participated in sectarian singing and chanting throughout the match. One of the sectarian songs sung repeatedly at Manchester was the extremely controversial "Famine Song" (Appendix A). The "Famine Song" is a derogatory, aggressively offensive song about Irish Catholic refugees who fled to Scotland in the wake of the Irish Potato Famine. The song includes the lyrics: "From Ireland they came. Brought us nothing but trouble and shame. Well the famine's over, why don't you go home?" The song was first introduced by a very small minority of Rangers fans at the Old Firm match on April 16, 2008, and resulted in a number of complaints to "Show Racism the Red Card"[272] by Celtic supporters. Despite being incredibly offensive to Irish sensibilities, the song contained no overt racist or sectarian language. The "Famine Song" was a tasteless ethnic group insult that urged members of the Irish Catholic Diaspora community in Scotland to repatriate back to Ireland, but it did not neatly fall under the banner of "sectarian" or "racist."

The week following its debut, concerns about the "Famine Song" were raised with SPL, SFA and Rangers officials; however, no official action was taken. As the lyrics to the tune circulated among independent supporters' websites and were printed on t-shirts sold outside Ibrox Stadium, the singing of the song became more widespread and audible at Rangers matches. The "Famine Song" was heard again at the Old Firm match on April 27 and again on May 1,

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[270] Ibid.
[271] Ibid.
[272] The organization that deals with complaints of racist behavior in Scottish football.

2008, against the mostly Catholic club, Fiorentina, in Florence, Italy. On May 10, Rangers supporters directed a rousing rendition of the "Famine Song" at Dundee United's Noel Hunt who happened to be an Irish national. From the time it was introduced in April until the end of the football season in May 2008, the song was sung at events under the jurisdiction of both the SPL and UEFA with impunity. The SPL and UEFA seemed to be turning a blind eye to an apparently overt collective sectarian expression.

The Irish Diaspora in Scotland Association, the Garngad Irish Association and the Celtic Trust all petitioned "Show Racism the Red Card" repeatedly, urging the watchdog organization to condemn the new Rangers song as being "racist." Although the lyrics of the song were offensive, there was no explicit racist or sectarian language present in the song. Because of the reluctance of "Show Racism the Red Card" and the governing bodies of football in Scotland and Europe to adequately address the concern over the lyrics to the "Famine Song," it did not begin to attract the attention of public and press until August 2008. The "Famine Song" was sung by large numbers of Rangers supporters during their match with Falkirk on August 9, 2008, and against Heart of Midlothian FC on August 16. At the Hearts match, independent unlicensed vendors were selling t-shirts featuring a graphic of two intoxicated "Mr. Potato Head" caricatures wearing green and white "hooped" Celtic jerseys on the front and the words of the "Famine Song" emblazoned on the back.[273] The song was again sung at Pittodrie throughout the match with Aberdeen, again with no official censure.

Despite conjecture that Rangers supporters could be arrested for singing the "Famine Song" at the Old Firm derby on August 31, the song was sung louder than ever by the entire Rangers visiting end at Parkhead.[274] The singing became even more pronounced when Celtic's

[273] Personal observation.
[274] Personal observation.

goalkeeper, Artur Boruc (nicknamed "the Holy Goalie" by the Celtic faithful), saluted the visiting section with his middle finger after allowing the final goal of their 4-2 loss to Rangers. Following the match Rangers hooligans attacked a car occupied by a mother and her two young children in the Tollcross area of Glasgow because one of the kids was wearing a Celtic top. Clare Martin told the *Scottish Sun* that the hooligans "kicked and punched the front and side of the car and hit it with some kind of weapon" while hurling a steady stream of sectarian abuse and expletives at the family.[275] Later that evening, one of Celtic's coaches and Irish national, Neil Lennon, was assaulted by two older Rangers supporters on his way home from dinner. According to the *Scottish Sun*, two men called Lennon a "Fenian bastard" and then hit him with a blunt object.[276] Lennon said of the incident, "It's just another night out in Glasgow."[277] Proponents of banning the "Famine Song" and labeling it as "sectarian" and "racist" argued that the sectarian attacks on the Martin family and Coach Lennon were, at least in part, inspired by the singing of the song earlier in the day.[278] The SPL's delegate to "Show Racism the Red Card," former Rangers standout, Craig Brown, offered no condemnation of the "Famine Song" despite the immense publicity it garnered following the August Old Firm clash. Brown's silence over the issue reflected the overwhelming sentiment of the Rangers supporters who took part in loyalist singing and chanting. Brown believed that the song was nothing more than tasteless banter aimed at infuriating their rivals.

In September 2008 the Irish government became involved in the row over the "Famine Song" when it voiced its concern over the song through its consulate in Edinburgh.[279] Rangers chief executive Martin Bain responded to the international pressure by issuing a public statement

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[275] Eitan Grant, "Family's Hooligan Car Terror," *Scottish Sun*, 1 September 2008, 5.
[276] Robert McCauley, Lennon K.O.'d on Night Out, *Scottish Sun*, 2 September 2008, 4.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Ibid.
[279] *Reporting Scotland, BBC Scotland*, September 15, 2008.

asking supporters to refrain from singing the "Famine Song" at future matches. The weekend after Bain issued the club's request a significant section of the Rangers support defiantly sang the "Famine Song" despite the distribution of fifty thousand leaflets before the game asking them not to do so. After the song was sung throughout the following week's match against Hibernian most observers were of the opinion that defiance was as much a motivation for singing the song as ethno-tribal anti-Irish Catholic animosities. After condemnation and pressure from members of the Scottish parliament, the Irish government and anti-racism groups like "Kick it Out," "Show Racism the Red Card," Searchlight and the Equality and Human Rights Commission, Strathclyde police received the order to arrest anyone caught singing the "Famine Song."[280]

Loyalist Rangers supporters were tired of apologizing for celebrating their civil religious traditions. They thought it was ridiculous that they were once again being targeted for simply offending the sensibilities of the opposing side and celebrating their loyalist culture. To these fans, offending the opposition was part of the whole football experience. Goading the opposition was one of the elements of the entire football experience that made the game fun. The leader of one of Britain's leading repositories on free speech issues, Irish-born Padraig Reidy argues that Rangers supporters had the right to insult the Irish over the Great Famine or any other issue. Reidy states "considering we all know that there have been nasty, offensive songs at Old Firm games for years, making it into a national issue seems absurd and dangerous. It's trying to set a legal limit on speech that isn't incitement to violence."[281] He maintains that the song is undoubtedly offensive "but seeking to outlaw any kind of insulting or offensive speech/songs

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[280] Kenny Scott (Head of Security and Operations at RFC),"Famine Song Statement," Rangers: The Official Club Site, http://www.rangers.premiumtv.co.uk/page/News/NewsDetail/0,,5~1436866,00.html (31 October 2008).
[281] Lesley-Anne Henry, "Rangers Fans 'Famine Song' Defended," *Belfast Telegraph*, http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/local-national/rangers-fans-famine-song-defended-1397, 22 September 2008 (19 October 2008).

does become very problematic, because someone will always take offence."[282] Rangers supporter Colin Lamond stated that, "the [loyalist] songs won't die. They'll lie dormant, and when they're needed to come back to be the twelfth man for the team, they will."[283]

Despite the endurance of loyalist ritual practice and expression among certain sections of Rangers' support it is clear that the Souness Revolution successfully diluted much the Protestant triumphalism that defined the club for a hundred years. Rangers continues to be identified as a Protestant club and a focal point of loyalist civil religion, but these associations are no longer officially recognized by club leaders. Hooliganism has also dramatically declined since the 1980s. During the first decade of the twenty-first century it was also clear that sectarian chants had become little more than manifestations of the banter and hostility that all rival sports fans indulge in. There was a time when those sectarian chants at Ibrox had a socio-political force behind them. That ceases to be the case in modern Scotland.

[282] Ibid.
[283] Walsh, *Voices of the Old Firm*, 127.

CHAPTER III
Up To Our Knees in Fenian Blood: Alternative Expressions of Loyalist Civil Religion in Glasgow During the Twentieth Century

The city of Glasgow has a long history of street gang activity. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, street gangs have thrived in the city's high-density tenement complexes, particularly in the East End of the city. While gangs in other parts of the Glasgow metropolitan area were primarily territorial in nature, those in the East End of Glasgow were often both territorial and sectarian. The sectarian gangs that emerged in the closes and alleyways of Glasgow's East End tenement communities were a by-product of the rapid industrialization, urbanization and demographic change that completely altered the city's social and spatial landscape during the nineteenth century. Irish immigrants, who flocked to Glasgow during the nineteenth and early twentieth century to satisfy the "Second City of Empire's" insatiable need for semi-skilled and unskilled workers, totally transformed the working-class social order of the city.

In 1861 Glasgow's population was approximately 395,503.[1] This figure mushroomed to approximately 784,496 by 1911.[2] Most of the new Glaswegians were Roman Catholics from Ireland.[3] A considerable number of Irish Protestants and Catholic Scottish Highlanders also swelled the ranks of Glasgow's nineteenth- and early twentieth-century immigrant working-class population. For the most part, Irish immigrants settled in working-class neighborhoods on Glasgow's East End like Calton, Bridgeton, the Gorbals and Mile-End. Bill Murray claims that it was in this diverse urban environment that different groups of youths, relatively free from adult

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[1] Irene Maver, *Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd., 2000), 170.
[2] Ibid.
[3] A considerable number of the Irish Catholic immigrants who migrated to Glasgow during the second half of the twentieth century migrated from County Donegal and other parts of rural Ulster. They migrated to the southwestern lowlands of Scotland because of the availability of unskilled jobs; it was also one of the most affordable and geographically close destinations for Ulster Irish migrants.

control, "were thrown together to form their own hierarchies and subcultures."[4] Glasgow's sectarian street gangs emerged as a by-product of ethnically mixed urban working-class communities characterized by little social mobility, high levels of male unemployment, high crime rates, pervasive vice, inadequate health care, poor sanitation, incessant noise and little if any political voice.

The maze of tenement communities that snaked through Glasgow's East End provided a fertile environment for the ignition of ethno-tribal animosities and anxieties imported from Ireland. Most immigrant families in Glasgow lived in ethnically mixed tenement neighborhoods. This situation and composition differed from other British cities with similar demographics like Liverpool and Belfast where working-class ghettos were segregated along sectarian lines. However, despite the fact that Glasgow's tenements were desegregated, it was clear that in some of these communities specific ethnic groups dominated. For example, since at least the 1850s, Calton, the Gorbals, the Gallowgate and Norman Street have traditionally been areas of Irish Catholic settlement, while Bridgeton, Kinning Park, Whiteinch, Partick and Govan were centers of Ulster Protestant migration.

The adaptation of "Orange" or "Green" sectarian identities by some of Glasgow's most notorious East End gangs dates back to at least the 1880s. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Glasgow newspapers published a number of articles about the growing "gang menace." They noted that sectarian tensions imported into the Scottish lowlands from Ireland drove many of the street gang fracases in the tenement districts of Glasgow. This sectarian tension was most evident during the spring and summer loyalist marching season. Traditional ethno-tribal processions like the Orange Order's Twelfth of July parades instigated "party-

[4] Bill Murray, *The Old Firm: Sectarianism, Sport and Society in Scotland*, revised ed. (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 2000), 120.

related" brawls between sectarian gangs. One Glasgow newspaper commented that gang members of both sexes would "join processions for no other reason than to cause trouble."[5] This youth-centred ethno-tribal warfare between rival sectarian gangs intensified during the first three decades of the twentieth century and eventually became a mainstay of tenement life in Glasgow. More importantly, by attracting a younger, rougher, more aggressive and less religious variety of non-traditional loyalist, sectarian gangs expanded the reach and definition of what it meant to be a "loyalist" in Scotland.

Surrender or You Will Die: Glasgow's Loyalist Bridgeton Billy Boys Street Gang during the Interwar Period.

The most notorious loyalist gangs in Glasgow originated in the working-class district of Bridgeton. Bridgeton was the heart of Glasgow's East End. By the 1880s, Bridgeton already had a deeply entrenched Orange tradition because of the heavy concentration of Ulster Protestant immigrants who settled in the district during the course of the nineteenth century. The cultural stamp that these immigrants left on the area eventually earned Bridgeton the nickname, "the Little Shankill."[6] A considerable number of nineteenth-century Bridgetonians were originally from rural areas of Ulster and migrated to Glasgow's East End to work in the city's booming cotton mills and weaving factories.[7] One resident recalled, "memories of life in Ulster and its bigotry were deeply ingrained in the area."[8] Sectarian tribal animosities imported from Ulster ran especially high because the area was also home to a considerable Irish Catholic population. Because of the district's long association with the ultra-loyalist Billy Boys street gang and its position as a center for Orange Order activity, Bridgeton is almost always incorrectly represented

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[5] "The Truth About the Billy Boys," *Weekly Record* (Glasgow), 20 December 1930, 3.
[6] A reference to the staunchly Protestant/loyalist area of North Belfast.
[7] Robert Jeffery, *Gangland Glasgow: True Crime from the Streets* (Edinburgh: Black and White Publishing Ltd., 2002), 59.
[8] Ibid.

by scholars as being a "Protestants only" district prior to World War II. As mentioned above, like most working-class neighborhoods in Glasgow, Bridgeton was ethnically and religiously mixed. In fact, during the interwar period Bridgeton's parliamentary constituency, which consisted of Bridgeton, Calton and Dalmarnock had the highest number of Catholic voters of all the parliamentary seats in Glasgow, including that of the heavily Catholic Gorbals.[9] The reaction of young loyalist Bridgetonians to the political and demographic realities of their environment from the 1920s forward was to claim territory by regularly conducting symbolic marches through predominantly Irish Catholic areas and by using street level violence and intimidation to establish a sectarian social hierarchy through street gangs.

One of the earliest identifiable loyalist gangs from the Bridgeton district was called the Blue Band. The Blue Band was organized by local male youths who had grown up immersed in Orange culture. Life in the context of the Blue Band provided disillusioned working-class young people with an identity that had substance and meaning. It provided excitement to an otherwise monotonous, tedious and anonymous urban life. Gangs like the Blue Band operated on the margins of loyalist society. At formal Orange functions, they formed the ranks of the drunken and rowdy sidewalk loyalists. The function of early loyalist gangs like the Blue Band was to mark and defend territory around Bridgeton and to antagonize Irish Catholics who were oftentimes their immediate neighbors.

During the 1884 marching season, the Blue Band staged an impromptu loyalist march in July, complete with "party tunes" played by a local flute band that proceeded from Bridgeton Cross, down Abercromby Street and along the Gallowgate toward Camlachie.[10] Followed by "a large crowd of people," the gang and the band were involved in violent sectarian disturbances

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[9] Ibid.
[10] "Party Rioting in the East End," *Glasgow Weekly Herald*, 5 July 1884, 3.

along the entire route.[11] The most notable trouble occurred opposite the Catholic Church on Abercromby Street and along the Irish Catholic enclave of the Gallowgate.[12] Police reported that the "Orange" and "Green" gangs wielded spike-encrusted belts, threw stones and vandalized businesses.[13] This episode of violent sectarian antisocial behavior was typical of early "Orange" versus "Green" gang affrays in Glasgow. Sectarian rampages like the one mentioned above demonstrated that members of both factions were willing to apply serious physical force to demonstrate their strength and to mark and defend territory. For the next forty years, "Orange" and "Green" gang rivalries intensified in the tenements of Glasgow, permeating almost all aspects of the social lives of neighborhood youths.

As discussed in Chapter II, football has been central to the popular culture of Scotland since the late nineteenth century. During the twentieth century, most working-class Glaswegian males spent a large majority of their disposable time, energy and income on football. David Stewart noted that in Bridgeton during the 1920s and 1930s, "football, as obtained all over Glasgow, was the dominating athletic pursuit."[14] During a football match at Glasgow Green in 1924 between an unnamed team of eleven Protestants from Bridgeton and eleven members of the Roman Catholic gang known as the Kent Stars, William "King Billy" Fullerton scored the winning goal against the Stars.[15] The opposition rewarded him with a serious hammer bludgeoning which resulted in an extended stay at the Royal Infirmary.[16] Fullerton dispatched a call to arms to young loyalist yobs in the Glasgow area. He stressed to his messengers that "a great wrong had to be righted."[17] Within days of the football match, Fullerton had formed a

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[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] "I was Boss of the Billy Boys," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 17 January 1955, 4.
[15] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 120.
[16] "I was Boss of the Billy Boys," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 17 January 1955, 4.
[17] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 120.

group of thirty like-minded young loyalists who collectively referred to themselves as "the Billy Boys."[18] The name "Billy Boys" paid homage both to the gang's founder, "King Billy" Fullerton, and to the messiah of loyalism, William III.

Fullerton claimed the Billy Boys had a membership of around eight hundred during the gang's heyday in the late 1920s and the first half of the 1930s.[19] Impressed with their power, prestige and dedication to actively fighting the "Green menace" at street-level, loyalist youths from areas like Cambuslang, Airdrie and Coatbridge organized affiliate gangs modeled on the Billy Boys.[20] In his autobiography, Glasgow Chief Constable Sir Percy Sillitoe, recalled the Billy Boys attracted young, working-class "William of Orange Protestants," from several Glasgow area districts.[21] For the next decade, the Billy Boys were a constant fixture at loyalist events like Orange Order parades and Rangers matches. Murray states, "if they were not attacking or being attacked by rival gangs at walks where banners and the big drum were the prize trophy, they were picking fights before, during or after the exploits of their sporting heroes [Rangers]."[22]

The Billy Boys gang comprised an institutional hierarchy with Billy Fullerton acting as supreme leader, secretary and treasurer.[23] Several lieutenants charged with collecting membership dues and acting as intelligence agents supported him. Beneath the lieutenants, foot soldiers provided the muscle for street-level sectarian warfare. Billy Boys lieutenant John Ross, recalled that the organization had a quasi-military disciplinary structure including court martial proceedings that could result in expulsion from the gang for not following the commands of

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[18] "I was the Boss of the Billy Boys," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 17 January 1955, 4.
[19] Ibid.
[20] "I was the Boss of the Billy Boys," *Evening Citizen* (Galway), 17 January 1955, 4.
[21] Sir Percy Sillitoe, *Cloak Without Dagger* (London: Cassell and Co. Ltd., 1955), 127.
[22] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 120.
[23] "The Parson Gang Breaker," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 18 January 1955, 4.

ranking members.[24] Having one's membership revoked was equivalent to being banished from the region because "sooner or later, he will be met by a crowd of his one-time associates and seriously maltreated."[25] Fullerton recalled, "there was an unflinching loyalty" to what he referred to as "the cause."[26] Membership cards were issued to the most committed fee-paying gang members. These portable identity cards were an important development in the life of the Billy Boys because they clearly explained exactly what "the cause" of loyalism meant to the gang. According to the cards, members were charged to "uphold King, Country and Constitution" and "protect other Protestants."[27] Billy Boys member Allan MacRobert admitted that he was attracted to the crew as a teenager because he was a "True Blue" Rangers supporter and "hated Catholics."[28] Glaswegian juveniles and young adults became involved in gang activity for a number of reasons. Fullerton believed the combination of the industrial depression and unemployment that hit Clydeside particularly hard during the interwar period drove many disillusioned youths into gang life.[29] He was convinced that the gang provided members with a fantasy world that was disconnected from a world that offered limited life opportunities. The Billy Boys' explicit dedication to "the cause" of loyalism was the glue that bound this tribe of young Glaswegians together.

Perhaps one of the most unique and ironic aspects of the Billy Boys was that the gang was not exclusively male. Although evidence about their role in the gang is scarce, a considerable number of loyalist "Billy girls" were involved in the organization.[30] Working-class Protestant females became involved with the Billy Boys for a number of reasons. Some were

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[24] "The Truth About the Billy Boys," *Weekly Record* (Glasgow), 20 December 1930, 3.
[25] Ibid.
[26] "I was the Boss of the Billy Boys," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 17 January1955, 4.
[27] "The Parson Gang Breaker," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 18 January 1955, 4.
[28] "Evil Faces of Glasgow's Gangsters Revealed," *The Scotsman*, 19 July 2004.
[29] "I was the Boss of the Billy Boys," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 17 January 1955, 4.
[30] "The Truth About the Billy Boys," *Weekly Record* (Glasgow), 20 December 1930, 3.

brought into the fold as girlfriends of male members or via female friends who were already members. Others were attracted to the local power and community prestige associated with being affiliated with the gang. Social status could be elevated for females depending on which male gang member they were dating. In a world where opportunities for working-class young women were few, gang life offered them camaraderie, protection and even the opportunity to make money. Male Billy Boys referred to female members as their "queens."[31] Outside of carrying alcohol and extra drumheads for the Purple and Crown Flute Band during loyalist marches, one of the primary responsibilities of a queen was to smuggle weapons to the field of battle. They were charged with this duty because Glasgow police regularly stopped and searched known male gang members for deadly weapons, especially before and after Rangers matches. It was well known that representatives of Glasgow's all-male police force were reluctant to search a female for weapons for fear of being accused of "improperly assaulting her."[32] Female members also had the power to instigate violence at the mere report of a slight to her or the gang's dignity.[33] Many of the more serious beatings meted out by male members were in defence of the honor of female members or at their behest.[34] The reasons for female gang membership were basically social, including desires for popularity and excitement.

As with other urban street gangs worldwide, the Billy Boys considered their group to be "family." In order to nurture this "family," the leadership provided emotional, physical and most importantly, considerable financial support to its members. How did a gang concentrated in one of the most impoverished areas of Glasgow bankroll this considerably large organization when most of its members were mired in a seemingly perpetual cycle of chronic unemployment and

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[31] Sillitoe, *Cloak Without Dagger*, 128.
[32] Ibid.
[33] "The Truth About the Billy Boys," *Weekly Record* (Glasgow) 20 December 1930, 3.
[34] Ibid.

poverty? The Billy Boys was financed by both legal and illegal means. Legally, the gang collected a weekly 2d per member membership fee.[35] Occasionally they passed donation buckets at loyalist gatherings like Orange marches and flute band events as well. The Billy Boys also sponsored lotteries, movie screenings and dances in Glasgow and Lanarkshire.[36] However, most of the cash collected by the Billy Boys was procured by illicit means. Fullerton claimed that one of the more popular ways of raising money included ambushing Catholics at the "buroo" after they collected their unemployment checks.[37] Loyalists referred to these ambushes as "hunting the Barney." "Hunting the Barney" was a particularly popular pursuit at the annual Glasgow Fair where the Billy Boys would hunt down random Roman Catholics and physically assault them when caught.[38] Following a severe beating, the Catholic victim was robbed and left for dead.[39] This was ironic because Fullerton adamantly claimed that, "it was a rule that at no time was theft to become a part of the activities."[40] From 1930 forward, the Billy Boys used their power and muscle to extort "protection" money from local businesses.[41] Recent research suggests the Billy Boys demanded up to £5 a week from local publicans at a time when their weekly wage was around £3 to £5 a week.[42] Penalties for not paying could range from vandalizing stores to threats of violence against business owners and their families.[43] Fullerton's loyalists supposedly deposited all money collected on behalf of the organization into a bank

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35 "The Parson Gang Breaker," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 18 January 1955, 4.
36 Ibid.
37 "I was the Boss of the Billy Boys," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 17 January 1955, 4.
38 Mary Edward, *Who Belongs to Glasgow?: 200 Years of Migration* (Glasgow: Glasgow City Libraries Publishing Board, 1993), 55.
39 Ibid.
40 "I was the Boss of the Billy Boys," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 17 January 1955, 4.
41 "The Truth About the Billy Boys," *Weekly Record* (Glasgow), 20 December 1930, 3. See also Sillitoe, *Cloak Without Dagger*, 129.
42 "Evil Faces of Glasgow's Gangsters Revealed," *The Scotsman*, 19 July 2004.
43 Sillitoe, *Cloak Without Dagger*, 129.

account accessible only to Fullerton and two of his most trusted lieutenants.[44] At least £300 was kept in the organization's Bridgeton bank account at all times.[45] Fullerton stated that at one point they had £1,200.[46] Money in the gang's treasury was primarily used to pay for hospital bills, attorney fees, and court fines, and to support family members of jailed gangsters.[47] It was also used to purchase instruments and uniforms for Fullerton's Purple and Crown Flute Band and to fund trips to loyalist ritual commemorations in both Scotland and Northern Ireland.[48] Fullerton's skill as a leader and organizer was admired by several of his major adversaries including, Glasgow's Chief Constable Sir Percy Sillitoe.[49]

The sectarian gang warfare between the predominantly Irish Catholic gangs of the East End and the Protestant Billy Boys escalated in 1926. In October of that year, undercover members of the Catholic gang, the Calton Entry, brazenly ambushed Billy Fullerton's wedding. Calton Entry members interspersed within the waiting crowd of well-wishers greeted the bride and groom with a hail of bottles and other missiles, rather than confetti, as they left the church.[50] Fullerton recalled that there were running street battles with Calton Entry members involving an assortment of weapons.[51] The street fighting lasted until the wedding party was able to flee to the safety of a local Masonic hall where the reception was subsequently held.[52]

In July 1927, the Billy Boys made front-page news in Glasgow following a flurry of violence on the return journey of the Orange Order's annual Twelfth of July procession. One of the original aims of the organization was to protect Orangemen and loyalist flute bands

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[44] "The Parson Gang Breaker," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow) 18 January 1955, 4.
[45] "Evil Faces of Glasgow's Gangsters Revealed," *The Scotsman*, 19 July 2004.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid., See also Sillitoe, *Cloak Without Dagger*, 129.
[48] "The Truth About the Billy Boys," *Weekly Record* (Glasgow), 20 December 1930, 3.
[49] Robert Jeffery, *Crimes Past: Glasgow's Crimes of the Century* (Edinburgh: Black and White Publishing Ltd., 2006), 37.
[50] "The Parson Gang Breaker," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 18 January1955, 4.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

participating in Orange processions from attacks by various Roman Catholic gangs like the Norman Conquerors ("Conks") from the Gallowgate and the Calton Entry and Kent Stars from the Calton district.[53] *The Sunday Mail* reported that "a crowd of young men, about two hundred in number, their ordinary clothes not to be seen by reason of their many orange coloured decorations, marched down Glasgow Road West apart altogether from the procession."[54] To announce their presence, they provocatively sang their "theme song" to the tune of "Marching Through Georgia:"[55]

> Hullo, hullo, we are the Billy Boys
>
> Hullo, hullo, you'll know us by our noise!
>
> We're up to our knees in Fenian Blood,
>
> Surrender or you'll die!
>
> For we are the Bridgeton Billy Boys.[56]

When the Billy Boys' loyalist procession arrived at a tenement on Glasgow Road occupied predominantly by Irish Catholics the demeanor of the marchers became more violent and confrontational. The Billy Boys were confronted by the Norman "Conks" and their Irish Catholic sympathizers, who were bellowing from tenement windows high above the street. The Irish Catholics threw "everything from boiling water to excrement onto the heads of the marchers."[57] Several gang members were encouraged by their peers to rush the tenement entries

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[53] "Disturbance in Glasgow Railway Station: Allegations of Gang Terrorism in Bridgeton District," *Glasgow Herald*, 1 May 1934, 3.
[54] "Orange Walk Scenes: Battle Outside Public House and Police in Action with the 'Billy Boys,'" *Sunday Mail* (Glasgow), 10 July 1927, 1.
[55] Ibid.
[56] "The Billy Boys" later became a Rangers football fan anthem. The extremely provocative and controversial song remains one of the most popular tunes among loyalist Rangers supporters at both home and away football matches despite an official ban on the song by the SFA and UEFA.
[57] Jeffery, *Crimes Past*, 35.

and apprehend the Republican sympathizers so they could be "sorted out" by the loyalist mob.[58] Before the Billy Boys could rush the tenement the police arrived and the loyalist gang cleared the scene.[59] Later that Sunday evening, the Billy Boys were involved in "a miniature battle" with a contingent of Irish Catholic gangs outside of the County Bar.[60] In effect, "with their Protestant base," the Billy Boys "set up a non-sporting parallel to the Old Firm" with Rangers matches and Orange events serving as major focal points of ritual confrontation with "the other."[61]

The Catholic Norman Conquerors leader "Bull" Bowman responded to Fullerton's territorial challenges by launching an offensive on the Billy Boys during an unemployment parade sponsored by the National Unemployed Workers' Movement (NUWM) (Police chief Sillitoe insisted the NUWM was "communist inspired").[62] On January 19, 1932, Bowman ordered around three hundred of his foot soldiers to arm themselves with pick-shafts (the Conks' weapon of choice) and provide muscle for the NUWM procession scheduled to march into Billy Boys territory on Abercromby Street. The march into the Billy Boys' territory by two enemies of the Crown and constitution was a highly provocative gesture. It was widely known that the Billy Boys despised communism about as much as they hated Irish Republicanism and often associated one with the other. Tory politicians regularly hired the Billy Boys to break up socialist, communist, trade union, Labour Party and other left-wing gatherings. The gang's commitment to extinguishing the political voice of the Left in Glasgow was officially recognized when they received medals for their strikebreaking activities during the General Strike of 1926.[63] The Norman "Conks" had all but commandeered the parade by the time the NUWM procession

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[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Murray, *The Old Firm*, 120.
[62] Ibid., 128.
[63] Ibid.

arrived in Billy Boy territory. Aware of the procession Fullerton stationed his foot soldiers at strategic locations along Abercromby Street to defend the loyalist territory from the "Conks'" symbolic insult. As the procession turned on to Abercromby Street, a Billy Boy member yelled "God Save the King," and a melee quickly ensued.[64] The "Conks" and members of the NUWM were vanquished and the dignity of the loyalist territory was retained. Sectarian gang battles were not for material gain, but rather, were symbolic ritual demonstrations of strength against "the other."

Supporting Rangers Football Club provided yet another avenue for the members of the Billy Boys to publicly exhibit their devotion to loyalism. Murray states that "the Billy Boys provided a great deal of the colour behind their favourites' goal at Ibrox, and bawled out the songs, chants and slogans that urged their favourites on."[65] When not involved in territorial disputes in the East End or causing havoc at Orange parades, many of the Billy Boys spent their disposable time and income supporting Rangers. Ex-Billy Boy Allan MacRobert's son stated of his father, "Rangers and the Billy Boys were his life."[66] For Billy Boys like MacRobert and Fullerton, the battle waged on the pitch in the name of loyalism every weekend was a prelude to the sectarian struggles in the streets and vacant lots outside the ground. Many of the sectarian fracases involving the Billy Boys began with "a dispute over the relevant merits of certain football teams," namely Rangers and Celtic.[67] As we have seen in Chapter II, Old Firm derbies at Ibrox Park in the 1920s and 1930s had developed into loyalist ritual gatherings where "the terracing erupted into seething, diametrically opposed sections" and "religious rivals in their

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[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid., 127.
[66] "Evil Faces of Glasgow's Gangster's Revealed," *The Scotsman*, 19 July 2004.
[67] "On the Way to the Vestry the Lad Flaunted a Sword," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 10 January 1955, 4.

traditional places flaunted their historic banners and shouted abuse."[68] Fullerton said of Old Firm that, "you could almost see the hatred in the air as clearly as the blue clouds of tobacco smoke."[69] This hatred usually segued into physical violence between members of Glasgow's two tribes. The Billy Boys were often the principal instigators of these sport-related melees against their Irish Catholic rivals.

The Billy Boys' forays into football hooliganism began early in the life of the club. "King Billy's" devotion to Rangers made the football club a primary focal point of Billy Boys gang life from 1926 to 1939. Following the final game of the 1926 Glasgow Cup between Rangers and Celtic at Hampden Park, the Billy Boys were involved in a hooligan riot with Irish Catholic gangsters and other Celtic supporters dubbed "The Mount Florida Stampede" by the *Evening Citizen*.[70] The disorder was instigated by a member of Fullerton's organization who ran up to a Celtic supporter, yelled "up the Billy Boys," and punched him in the face after noticing a green and white scarf hanging out of the victim's pocket.[71] Once the Celtic supporter was on the ground, a group of around twenty Billy Boys proceeded to beat him until he was "unconscious and bleeding profusely from the mouth."[72] The green and white scarf was taken from the Celtic fan's lifeless body by one of the Billy Boys and paraded around the "battlefield" as a trophy. It took a combined force of thirty mounted and regular police to break up the sectarian riot that ensued. This was the first of many major football-related gang fracases involving the Billy Boys.

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[68] "You Could Not Drag Me to an Old Firm Game Now," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 19 January 1955, 6.
[69] Ibid.
[70] "Man Who Saw Green Charged With Breech of the Peace: Mount Florida Stampede," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow) 10 October 1927, 1.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.

In May 1930, Billy Boys member Charles Cameron was arrested for assaulting and seriously injuring a Celtic supporter following a brief, but heated, Old Firm discussion on London Road.[73] The Billy Boys instigated countless fights with Celtic supporters traveling London Road, the most direct route to Celtic Park from Glasgow's city center.[74] It ran right through the heartland of the Billy Boys' territory at Bridgeton Cross. One local constable remarked that, "wearing a Celtic scarf or badge seemed to cause an outbreak of violence" in the Bridgeton Cross area.[75] When Chief Constable Sillitoe arrived in Glasgow in 1933 with his "no-nonsense" approach to the street gang problem, one of his first actions was to threaten to ban all Old Firm matches in the city if the violence that surrounded the derbies did not end. From the 1933 season forward, Sillitoe stationed his best officers, nicknamed the "Cossacks" (because they were often mounted) at highly visible locations inside and around both Ibrox Park and Celtic Park during Old Firm matches. In May 1934, Sillitoe's "Cossacks" arrested several Billy Boys at Bridgeton Cross for assaulting Celtic supporters returning from a match at Parkhead. Glasgow Detective-Lieutenant William Patterson stated that around a hundred members of the "so-called Orange organization" instigated an Old Firm related brawl by chanting, "to hell with the fucking Papists" at the Celtic supporters who dared cross their territory.[76] Murray argues that the heavy police presence "eliminated some of the more violent features of these games," but despite Sillitoe's heavy-handed efforts, violence between the two sets of rival supporters remained a staple of Old Firm matches during the interwar period and beyond. [77]

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[73] "Bailie on "This Gang Menace,"" *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 9 May 1930, 1.
[74] As of August 2008, Celtic supporters still try to avoid this area on Old Firm weekends.
[75] "Disturbance in Glasgow Railway Station: Allegations of Gang Terrorism in Bridgeton District," *Glasgow Herald*, 1 May 1934, 3.
[76] "Disturbance in Glasgow Railway Station: Allegations of Gang Terrorism in Bridgeton District," *Glasgow Herald*, 1 May 1934, 3.
[77] Murray, *Old Firm*, 126.

In the spring of 1938, the last Old Firm derby prior to the outbreak of World War II was the scene of the worst episode of public disorder of Sillitoe's Glasgow career: a pitched battle involving around two hundred Rangers and Celtic supporters overwhelmed Glasgow's police force.[78] It started when the Billy Boys assailed a considerable contingent of Celtic supporters at loyalist Fleshers' Haugh (the birthplace of Rangers Football Club) on Glasgow Green. It ended with numerous injuries and arrests.

But that was the beginning of the end for the Billy Boys: three members, Hugh McCormack, John Wilson and Billy Fullerton assaulted two Norman Conquerors with knives at Glasgow Green in July 1938. The two "Conks," Paddy Mulholland and Bobbie McCourt, fought back with the bottles of cheap lager they were nursing. Several police were injured attempting to stop the affray. Each of the five gangsters was sentenced to three years at Barlinnie prison. Although the incarceration of the these three high-profile Billy Boys dealt a major blow to the gang, most former Billy Boys members insist that it was World War II rather than the efforts of Sillitoe and Peddie that ultimately brought the Billy Boys to their knees.[79] When Fullerton, McCormack and Wilson were released in 1941, Britain stood alone in Europe against Hitler's Third Reich. Able fighting men were in short supply. To bandage this gaping hole in their fighting force, the British government reintroduced the practice of press-ganging.[80] Historians have recently discovered that the directive to recruit able-bodied men regardless of their prior convictions came directly from the War Office.[81] These five rival gang members fell victim to press-ganging as soon as they were released from prison. By the end of 1940, 5,622 merchant seamen had perished and four million tons of Allied supplies had been lost to German U-boats

[78] "200 Men involved in Glasgow Gang Fight," *Sunday Mail* (Glasgow), 6 March 1938, 4.
[79] "Evil faces of Glasgow's Gangster's Revealed," *The Scotsman*, 19 July 2004.
[80] "For King, Country and Crime," *The Scotsman*, 27 May 2007.
[81] Ibid.

attacks in the Atlantic.[82] Fullerton and the other gangsters were quickly thrust into service as merchant seamen in the Royal Navy and participated in the Atlantic Theatre. Although all of these gang members survived the war, their gangs did not. After experiencing the horrors of war, many members of the Billy Boys, Norman Conquerors and other gangs returned to Scotland and settled into a more respectable and domestic working-class life, carving out a new role in the larger nationalism of the post-war British state.[83]

Although the Billy Boys gang crumbled in the wake of World War II, its legacy lives on in the ultra-loyalist folklore, poetry and songs that romanticize their exploits. When Billy Fullerton died at age fifty-seven in July 1962, he and his gang had attained cult-like status in Glasgow's loyalist community. Ian Johnstone stated that Fullerton "was revered as a champion of local people, who defended them from attack and provided his own version of the welfare state in the 1920s and 1930s when times were hard."[84] Billy Boys member Allan MacRobert remembered Fullerton as someone who "looked after old folks and all that in Bridgeton."[85] Rangers supporters adopted the Billy Boys song as their own and it continues to be enthusiastically sung at home and away matches by loyalist fans. Fullerton's obituary in the *Glasgow Herald* reported that his funeral cortège consisted of over a thousand mourners who escorted his casket from his tenement home in Bridgeton to Riddrie cemetery on the East End of Glasgow.[86] The funeral procession was appropriately led by a loyalist flute band belting out the "party tunes" that guided the life of Glasgow's "razor king."

A year after his death, Billy Fullerton was eulogized in a poem called "King Billy" by former Billy Boy, Edwin Morgan:

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[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] "Evil Faces of Glasgow's Gangster's Revealed," *The Scotsman*, 19 July 2004.
[85] Ibid.
[86] "King Billy's Funeral," *Glasgow Herald*, 26 July1962, 5.

Grey over Riddrie the clouds piled up, dragged their rain through the cemetery trees. The gates shone cold.

Wind rose flaring the hissing leaves, the branches swung, heavy, across the lamps. Gravestones huddled in drizzling shadow, flickering streetlight scanned the requiescats, a name and an urn, a date, a dove picked out, lost, half regained.

What is this dripping wreath, blown from its grave red, white, blue and gold, "To Our Leader of Thirty Years Ago."

Barehead, in dark suits, with flutes and drums, they brought him here, in procession seriously, King Billy of 'Brigton,' dead, from Bridgeton Cross: a memory of violence, brooding days of empty bellies, billiard smoke and a sour pint, boots or fists, famous sherrickings, the word, the scuffle, the flash, the shout, bloody crumpling in the close, bricks for the papish windows, get the Conks next time, the Conks ambush the Billy Boys, the Billy Boys the Conks, till Sillitoe scuffs the razor down the stank –

No, but it isn't the violence they remember, but the legend of a violent man born poor, gang-leader in the bad times of idleness and boredom, lost in better days, a bouncer in a betting club, a quiet man at last, dying alone in a Bridgeton box bed.

So a thousand people stopped traffic for the hearse of a folk hero and the flutes threw "Onward Christian Soldiers" to the winds from unironic lips, the mourners kept in step, and there were some who wept. Go from the grave. The shrill flutes are silent, the march dispersed. Deplore what is to be deplored, and then find out the rest.[87]

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[87] Edwin Morgan, "Billy Fullerton of the Brigton Billy Boys," 1963, www.glesga.ukpals.com/profiles/billyboys (3 March 2008).

The collective label of loyalism instilled in young working-class male gang members a quintessentially Protestant British identity informed by a crude seventeenth and eighteenth-century "us versus them" idea of "Britishness." To these young people, there were those who were British (Protestant) and those who were not. Irish Catholics were seen as loyal to Rome rather than the British monarch and Constitution and were thus considered a threat that must be confronted by both intimidation and force. Andrew Davies argues that, "feuds between rival gangs in the city's East End provided an ongoing renewal of sectarian hostility among those aged in their teens, twenties and even thirties."[88] Sustained violent conflict with the Catholic "other" regularly reinforced the loyalist identity of young male gang members and sharpened ideas about who they were versus who they were not. With the introduction of loyalist gangs into the civil religious structure of loyalism in lowland Scotland, the Orange Order and Rangers Football Club ceased to be the only cultural vessels for direct participation in the loyalist "cause."

Hands Across the Water: Loyalist Paramilitarism in the Southwestern Lowlands of Scotland during "the Troubles," 1967-2002

Shortly after the demise of the Billy Boys, their sectarian rivals, the Norman Conquerors, gradually faded away. As with the rivalry between Rangers and Celtic, the "Conks" depended on the Billy Boys to give their gang meaning. Without the Billy Boys, the Catholic gang from Norman Street was just another gang with no real *raison d'etre*. During World War II, loyalist gangs in Glasgow virtually ceased to exist because many members of their ranks had answered the call to fight for "king and country." After 1945, loyalist gangs were slow to reorganize. Although "razor gangs" still roamed the streets of the East End of Glasgow, very few were

[88] Andrew Davies, "Football and Sectarianism in Glasgow during the 1920s and 1930s," *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxv, no. 138 (November 2006): 206.

explicitly organized around loyalist principles like the Blue Band and the Billy Boys. This ceased to be the case in the1960s - as the situation in Northern Ireland began to unravel.

During the second half of the twentieth century, loyalists from lowland Scotland and Ulster regularly traveled back and forth across the North Channel for work, to visit friends and family, to attend football matches and to take part in loyalist events like Orange parades, flute band competitions and Apprentice Boys of Derry marches. Lowland Scottish loyalists identified themselves broadly as members of an extended loyalist moral community rooted in the traditions and culture of Protestant Ulster. Scottish loyalists were united by what Durkheim referred to as a common "community of interests" based on loyalty to the Crown, the unwritten Constitution and the Protestant ascendancy that made them conscious of their "moral unity."[89]

Northern Ireland's generation of sectarian conflict, "The Troubles" (1969-1998), elevated lowland Scotland's tribal strife to a new level. When the core of the loyalist community (Protestants/loyalists in Northern Ireland) came under attack by dissident Republican groups in the late 1960s many Scottish loyalists were personally and emotionally affected. A considerable number of Scottish loyalists believed that Northern Ireland was at the brink of civil war, and that it was their moral duty to help defend and support their "kith and kin" against Republican terrorism.

The loyalist civil religious community in Scotland reacted to the unfolding conflict in Northern Ireland in a variety of ways. Orange lodges sponsored fund raising events for Protestant victims of IRA terrorism. Glasgow area Orangemen and loyalist flute bands traveled in record numbers to Belfast, Londonderry and other towns and villages in Northern Ireland throughout the duration of "the Troubles" to demonstrate their solidarity with their Ulster

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[89] Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Karen E. Fields (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 432.

brethren during the annual Battle of the Boyne commemorations. Some Scottish Orangemen even volunteered to man barricades at strategic entry-points into Protestant communities in Belfast so that local Orangemen and flute band members could participate in the Twelfth of July parades.[90] Scottish-based Rangers supporters' clubs regularly held fundraisers for various Ulster Protestant charities. In the later decades of "the Troubles," loyalist football Casual firms like the Rangers Inter City Firm sponsored dances, raffles and other fundraising events to support loyalist charities and the paramilitary defensive. Despite these efforts, many loyalists in Scotland did not believe traditional loyalist institutions, like the Orange Order, were doing enough to contribute to defending the spiritual heartland of loyalism from IRA dissident activity.[91] These loyalist hardliners believed Scottish loyalists should play a much more direct role in the sectarian ethno-tribal warfare that enveloped Northern Ireland during the 1970s and 1980s.

"True Blue" Scottish loyalists were willing to sacrifice their freedom and in some cases, their lives, defending Protestants in Ulster from IRA terrorism. These loyalist Scots understood the sectarian battle in Ulster to be a "sacred cause" aimed at the defence of the Protestant ascendancy in Ulster and the continued connection between Northern Ireland and Great Britain. They were active participants in the cyclical ritual bloodletting that Marvin and Ingle claimed was necessary for a given civil religion to endure.[92] Those involved in loyalist paramilitarism truly believed that the preservation of Northern Ireland's status within the United Kingdom was a sacred duty worthy of blood sacrifice. Marvin and Ingle argue that members of a civil religion "are willing to kill and die for truth as they understand it."[93] When blood was spilled in defense

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[90] John McKinlay, "Scots Help to Man Belfast Barricades," *Glasgow Herald*, 13 July 1972, 1.
[91] "Scots Loyalty in the Killing Fields of Ulster," *Scotland on Sunday*, 9 July 1989, 6.
[92] Carolyn Marvin and David Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Totem Rituals and the American Flag* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 129.
[93] Carolyn Marvin and David Ingle, "Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Revisiting Civil Religion." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 64 no. 4 (Winter, 1996), www.asc.upenn.edu/USR/fcm/jaar.htm (14 February 2007).

of the loyalist community it was to be celebrated and honored in a quasi-religious manner, that is, immortalized in songs, poems, murals, graffiti, histories, festivals and folklore. Marvin and Ingle note that what constitutes a civil religious group in any given historical period "is the memory of the last blood sacrifice."[94] The memory of the most recent blood sacrifice or ethnic conflict with the Irish Catholic "other" united loyalists and ultimately served to sustain the civil religion of loyalism in lowland Scotland.

Many Scottish loyalists believed physical force and active participation in "the cause" was necessary to swell the ranks of their isolated and besieged loyalist brethren in Ulster. Steve Bruce notes that the loyalist defensive effort against the IRA insurgency in Northern Ireland garnered very little sympathy abroad.[95] Isolated pockets of support for the loyalist effort existed among the Protestant Irish Diaspora communities in eastern Canada and England, but lowland Scotland gave by far the most fervent support. Bruce argues that during the early days of "the Troubles" Ulster paramilitaries successfully courted their "kith and kin" in lowland Scotland.[96] In 1972, IRA violence against Northern Ireland's Protestant communities rose to unprecedented levels. Sustained attacks against the Protestant community from 1972 onward impelled a host of Scottish loyalists to actively enlist in one of the major Ulster-based loyalist paramilitary factions. A number of young, male, working-class Scottish loyalists were willing to sacrifice themselves for the truth as they understood it. That "truth" was grounded in a traditional, romanticized understanding of "Britishness" informed by the symbolic legacy of William III and the Glorious Revolution and ongoing contemporary conflict with the Roman Catholic "other." By the end of 1972, the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) reportedly had around one thousand active

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[94] Ibid.
[95] Steve Bruce, *No Pope of Rome: Anti-Catholicism in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mainstreet Publishing, 1985), 171.
[96] Ibid.

members in cells scattered across lowland Scotland, while the more militant Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) boasted around five hundred members.[97] Once an individual joined one of the two organizations, they were made to place their hand on a Bible and swear their allegiance to the Queen, Constitution and Reformed Faith before their peers.[98] This sacred oath was an act that intimately bound the individual to the loyalist community. The ritual induction ceremony also symbolized the surrender of the individual to the group/community. Once one was inducted into a loyalist paramilitary group in Scotland, they were considered members for life. Loyalist paramilitary associations gave Scots removed from the civil disorder in Ulster an avenue for direct participation in the ethno-tribal conflict that ravaged Northern Ireland for the next thirty years.

Most Scottish UDA and UVF activity from 1972 forward was concentrated in the loyalist enclaves of Glasgow, Lanarkshire and Ayrshire. Scottish loyalists became involved in paramilitarism because they believed Westminster might "sell out" loyal British citizens in Ulster by negotiating with the Provisional IRA. Others joined because their friends, family and members of the extended loyalist community were being negatively affected by the escalating civil conflict in Northern Ireland. Scottish loyalists were prime targets for recruitment at Twelfth of July events in Northern Ireland during "the Troubles" because of their eagerness to contribute to "the loyalist cause."[99]

The Orange Order in Scotland was traditionally considered to be the primary vessel of loyalist cultural identity in Scotland. They were the most respected and public voice of the loyalist movement in Scotland and the most strident defenders of the rights of Ulster Protestants and the position of Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom. At the outset of "the Troubles"

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[97] Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*, 171.
[98] "Death Only Way out of Glasgow UVF Branch," *Glasgow Herald*, June 1, 1979, 3.
[99] "Scots Loyalty in the Killing Fields of Ulster," *Scotland on Sunday*, 9 July 1989, 6.

the Orange Order in Scotland was devoted to actively participating in the defence of the Protestants in Ulster. However, in the wake of a host of arrests of Orangemen for crimes linked to loyalist paramilitarism in Northern Ireland during second half of the 1970s, Scottish Orange Order officials distanced the brotherhood from the actions of loyalist paramilitaries and purged its ranks of members connected to such groups. The Orange Order in Scotland was content to publicly sympathize with the plight of the Protestants in Northern Ireland and leave the physical fight against the IRA to the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and British military. These "law and order" Orangemen were reluctant to import into Scotland the sectarian violence that plagued Londonderry and Belfast during "the Troubles." The official position of the primary loyalist body in Scotland led to a disconnect within the loyalist community between advocates of "law and order" and those loyalists who favored a direct "physical force" approach to the situation in Ulster.

In March 1973, a bomb was detonated at the Apprentice Boys of Derry Hall on Landressy Street in Bridgeton. At first, police believed that the Apprentice Boys Hall had been the target of an attack by one of the numerous active IRA cells active in Glasgow. This was proven not to be the case after the *Daily Record* received an anonymous letter from a tipster that revealed the explosion was caused by mining gelignite[100] being kept at the Apprentice Boys hall by Scottish UVF operatives "Big Bill" Campbell and his associate, George Martin. The gelignite was accidentally ignited when the men placed the volatile explosive on the kitchen counter next to the stove before heating up a meat pie. Heat from the stove ignited the gelignite causing a massive explosion that destroyed the Apprentice Boys Hall in what Bruce referred to as loyalist

[100] Gelignite is a high explosive made from a gel of nitroglycerine and nitrocellulose in a base of wood pulp and sodium or potassium nitrate. This type of explosive was cheap, malleable and could be transported easily because of its low volatility. In order to ignite gelignite, a detonator was required. In lowland Scotland it was used in coal mining operations for rock blasting.

paramilitary "own goal."[101] The anonymous informant stated that the explosives were to be used in a car bomb destined for Saint Andrew's Catholic Chapel on Clyde Street.[102] He claimed he went public with the information because of his concern that the sectarian civil conflict in Ulster could be exported to Glasgow.[103] The informant claimed he was "a good Protestant" and had "no love for the Pope" but he feared for the future safety of his young children growing up in a Glasgow mired in sectarian conflict similar to that in Northern Ireland.[104] The failed effort by the Bridgeton UVF to blow up Saint Andrew's Chapel and their subsequent exposure by a loyalist informant illustrated the deep divide between Scottish loyalists who were willing to martyr themselves (whether through blood sacrifice or jail time) in service to "the cause" and those who sympathized with the loyalist cause, but believed it was not the responsibility of Scots to import Northern Ireland's sectarian violence.

Ulster paramilitary groups relied on loyalists and affiliated paramilitary cells in Scotland for two primary things: fundraising and the collection of guns, ammunition, mining gelignite and detonators. The IRA had a ready supply of money from members of the international Irish Catholic Diaspora community (especially from the United States) as well as a reliable pipeline of the extremely destructive plastic explosive, Semtex, and small arms and ammunition from Libya and Czechoslovakia.[105] On the other hand, loyalists in lowland Scotland were the only real external source of monetary support for Protestant relief and defence efforts in Northern Ireland. Money was regularly collected for the Loyalist Prisoners Aid Fund at Orange Order meetings and parades and at Ibrox Stadium before and after Rangers home games.[106] Scottish loyalist

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[101] Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*, 171-2.
[102] Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*, 172.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*, 172.
[106] "Scots Loyalty in the Killing Fields of Ulster," *Scotland on Sunday*, 9 July 1989, 6.

paramilitary groups also sponsored fundraising socials like discos and parties to raise money for Ulster loyalist causes. Henry Harvey, an Orangeman from Laurieston, recalled that "hooded paramilitaries" from Ulster often made brief guest appearances in the middle of UVF fundraisers to urge those assembled to help them "win the long and bloody war in Northern Ireland."[107] Members of Scottish UDA and UVF cells also contributed material support to "the cause" by supplying a steady consignment of deadly mining gelignite and detonators to their comrades in arms in Ulster. Loyalist miners who worked in the Lanarkshire coalfields would steal small amounts of explosive each month and stockpile it until they had enough to ship to Belfast.[108]

The annual Twelfth of July celebrations in Scotland and Northern Ireland provided "the best cover of the year for Ulster paramilitaries to meet Scottish and English comrades-in-arms to discuss operational matters and take delivery of smuggled weapons, explosives and ammunition."[109] The marching season also provided cover for loyalist miners to travel to Ulster to train UDA and UVF operatives how to use to explosives. In 1973, Stranraer police discovered twenty sticks of highly volatile mining gelignite in a toilet cistern in Stranraer ferry terminal.[110] It was obvious to police that the explosives were to be retrieved by a mule and delivered to Northern Ireland via the Larne ferry.[111] Later that same year, two paramilitary gang members in Drongan were arrested and jailed for possessing fifty sticks of mining gelignite that they later admitted was destined for Belfast. Again in 1977, a UDA cell in Aryshire was disrupted by Special Branch intelligence. Three Scottish UDA members were found guilty of stockpiling one hundred and four sticks of gelignite for Belfast.[112] Court testimony confirmed that the gelignite

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[107] "Arms Trial Jury Hears of Terror Gun Deal," Daily Record (Glasgow), 25 November 1995, 7.
[108] Steve Bruce, *The Red Hand: Protestant Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 160.
[109] "Scots Loyalty in the Killing Fields of Ulster," *Scotland on Sunday*, 9 July1989, 6.
[110] Bruce, *The Red Hand*, 160.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*, 173.

was to be smuggled by the Ayrshire-based cell to UDA operatives in Belfast then distributed to cells located throughout Northern Ireland. Powerful explosives from southwestern lowland mining districts were essential to the loyalist war against the IRA in Ulster. Scotland was also an important link in the chain of small arms being sent from Eastern Canada (primarily Ontario) to Ulster via Liverpool or Glasgow.[113]

In March 1974 the chairman of the Twentieth Century Reformation Movement and minister of the Zion Sovereign Grace Baptist Church in Glasgow, Reverend Jack Glass (dubbed by critics as the "Scottish Ian Paisley"), publicly claimed that "large numbers of Protestants in the west of Scotland were willing to fight in Northern Ireland in the event of a civil war."[114] Glass was a familiar face to Scottish loyalists. According to Glass, "there was a feeling of exasperation among Scottish Protestants about the Ulster situation" brought about by Prime Minister Heath's willingness to negotiate with IRA terrorists.[115] This exasperation drove many loyalists to become actively involved in paramilitarism.

A few months after Glass's dire revelation about the degree of Protestant militancy in Glasgow, the commandant of the 6th Battalion Rangers of the UDA, Colin Campbell, was arrested for assault and robbing a post office in Lanarkshire.[116] It was later discovered that money procured in the robbery was to be used to purchase guns and ammunition for the Ulster UDA. Campbell's accomplices, Sammy Tyrie, Andy Tyrie and Malcolm Nicol were all convicted "possessing explosive material for illegal purposes" and sentenced to lengthy prison terms.[117] Although law enforcement officials successfully prosecuted the Lanarkshire post office

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[113] Steve Bruce, "The Ulster Connection," in *Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 240.
[114] "Scots Willing to Fight, Says Glass," *Glasgow Herald*, 21 March 1974, 11.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*, 172.
[117] Ibid., 173.

burglary, there were a host of unsolved robberies in Glasgow, Lanarkshire and Ayrshire during the 1970s linked by police to loyalist paramilitary groups.[118] One of the largest unsolved bank heists suspected to be the work of Scottish loyalist paramilitaries occurred in Glasgow in January 1979. Strathclyde police were convinced the robbery netted over six thousand pounds for the loyalist paramilitary effort.[119] Extended jail sentences for paramilitary activity did not deter fervent Scottish loyalists from enlisting their physical support in "the cause." Militant loyalists were willing to sacrifice their freedom to defend fellow members of the loyalist civil religious community.

On January 31, 1979, the Scottish Special Branch took the first proactive step towards the eradication of paramilitarism in Scotland when they rounded up thirty-one loyalists connected the Dumfries UDA in Paisley.[120] Twenty-four loyalists were arrested in Paisley and Kilmarnock under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and charged with furthering the aims of Protestant paramilitary groups in Scotland and Northern Ireland. Most of the loyalist defendants revealed that they joined the UDA simply as a demonstration of loyalty and solidarity with their besieged "kith and kin" in Ulster. As "the Troubles" intensified during the 1970s, Scottish paramilitary cells had become much more militant. The early activities of the Dumfries section of the Paisley UDA were mainly confined to fundraising for the UDA.[121] Karl Knutsen testified that when he joined the group their primary function "was to collect money for Loyalist Prisoner's Aid and sell records."[122] His attorney told the court that "no suggestion was made to him about acquiring guns and he had no idea other members were involved in that sort of thing."[123] Knutsen

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[118] "Police Probe Extremist Links with Hold-ups," *Glasgow Herald*, 3 February 1979, 1.
[119] Ibid.
[120] "13 more Detained in Anti-terror Swoop," *Glasgow Herald*, 1 February 1979, 3.
[121] Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*, 183.
[122] "Two freed in Ulster Guns Trial," *Glasgow Herald*, 7 June 1979, 3.
[123] Ibid.

maintained that the environment and direction of the organization changed after December 1976 when more militant loyalists zealots including Roddy MacDonald and Billy Currie systematically took over the leadership of many of Scotland's UDA cells. According to Knutsen, it was at this point that the Dumfries UDA became directly involved in securing arms and explosives for use by the military wing of the UDA, the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF), in Northern Ireland.[124] Another Dumfries UDA member, Ronald Kerr, substantiated Knutsen's claims that the original focus of the organization was to collect money, but that the organization began arms smuggling only after hardcore loyalists like Billy Currie became involved in the Dumfries cell.[125] Knutsen and Kerr both testified that they were routinely beaten and tortured with power tools and other fiendish devices for not meeting fundraising quotas or for disobeying direct orders. A ranking member in the Dumfries UDA section, A.M. Johnston, told the jury that from 1977 forward the Dumfries UDA was heavily involved in "a large and fairly general plot to get arms to Northern Ireland to further the Protestant cause, the cause of the UDA."[126] The High Court in Glasgow eventually found six of the UDA operatives guilty of criminal conspiracy to further the purposes of the UDA in Northern Ireland and incarcerated.[127] In the end, committed law enforcement officials were able to eliminate the Dumfries section of the UDA in Paisley using a combination of intense surveillance and patience.[128]

Immediately after dismantling the Paisley UDA, Lanarkshire police arrested James and Linda Boslem in Wishaw, Lanarkshire, for possession of eighteen sticks of Dynagex mining explosive. It was later discovered that the couple was stockpiling explosives for Northern

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[124] "Walls Will Run with Blood" Threat by UDA," *Glasgow Herald*, 1 June 1979, 3.
[125] "My Hair was Torn out with an Electric Drill – UDA Man," *Glasgow Herald*, 15 June 1979, 3., and "UDA Men's Fear of Snoopy," *Glasgow Herald*, 14 June 1979, 3.
[126] "Mastermind Would Have Let Guns Rust, Says Defense," *Glasgow Herald*, 8 June 1979, 5.
[127] "UDA Men Guilty of Gun-running," *Glasgow Herald*, 12 June 1979, 1.
[128] "Armed Police as 24 Face Terror Charges," *Glasgow Herald*, 10 February 1979, 3.

Ireland.[129] The prosecuting attorney alleged that the couple "intended to cause serious damage to property in Scotland or elsewhere in the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, or enable others to do so."[130] Although the prosecution established no concrete connection with Ulster loyalist paramilitaries, Hamilton Sheriff's Court eventually convicted the Boslems of contributing to furthering the aims of Northern Ireland terrorist groups. During the last few years of the 1970s, it was increasingly difficult and significantly more risky for loyalist paramilitaries to operate in Scotland. Along with local police forces throughout the western lowlands, the Scottish Special Branch established a reliable network of loyalist informers that kept Scottish paramilitaries under almost constant surveillance.

Despite the numerous successes by Scottish law enforcement officials in their campaign against the Scottish UVF and UDA during the late 1970s, there were still significant cracks in the Scottish constabulary's loyalist dragnet. This fact was exposed on the evening of February 18, 1979, when a Bridgeton UVF cell successfully detonated bombs at the Old Barns Pub in Calton and the Clelland Bar in the Gorbals following an Old Firm match at Celtic Park. The *Glasgow Herald* described the Old Barns Pub as "a favourite haunt of Irish exiles" from the local neighborhood.[131] The Clelland Bar on Hospital Street was also a popular venue for traditional Irish music and entertainment. However, it was not considered by locals to be a "sectarian pub."[132] Despite the ferocity of the explosions, no one was killed in the attack. The explosive material used in the two attacks originated from two separate coal pits in Lanarkshire and Kirkcaldy.[133] Two loyalist miners with ties to the UVF in Glasgow eventually confessed to stealing the explosives. Bruce states "there was apparently no problem in supplying small

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[129] "Armed Police Seal Off Court," *Glasgow Herald*, 7 February 1979, 1.
[130] Ibid.
[131] "Explosives Hunt After Pub Blasts," *Glasgow Herald*, 19 February 1979, 9.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid.

amounts because of the miner's habit of saving themselves work by leaving any leftover gelignite down in the mine for the next day's blasting."[134] The mining gelignite was collected over an extended period of time then smuggled in bulk shipments to UVF members in Glasgow.

Echoing the refrains of members of the Dumfries UDA cell, individuals linked to the Bridgeton UVF claimed they became involved with the organization simply as a public demonstration of solidarity with the Protestants of Ulster. Bridgeton UVF member George Martin told the Glasgow High Court that he initially joined the paramilitary cell because "he had many friends in Northern Ireland and wanted to help them."[135] Similarly, Alfred Berrick told the jury that he joined the Bridgeton UVF "out of a sense of justice and revenge" after one of his close friends was killed by the IRA in Belfast.[136] UVF defendant, John McCaffery, believed the Scottish sections of the UVF were simply welfare organizations charged with raising money for loyalist prisoner relief in Northern Ireland.[137] McCaffery compared the activities of the UVF in Scotland to those of the Red Cross.[138] Another member of the Bridgeton UVF section, Edward McLay, told the court that when he joined the group he understood that money raised by Scottish UVF units was sent to the governing body of the Ulster UVF and used to purchase weapons.[139] Members of the Bridgeton UVF claimed the dynamics of the group changed after the loyalist extremist, William Campbell, was released from prison and assumed leadership of the cell.[140] Martin testified that when Campbell returned to Bridgeton, "things got tougher and more unpleasant."[141] Another member of the Bridgeton UVF, George Alexander, claimed after Campbell and a number of his associates assumed control of the organization, death was literally

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[134] Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*, 182.
[135] "Death only way out of Glasgow UVF Branch," *Glasgow Herald*, 1 June 1979, 3.
[136] "Death Made Me Join the UVF," *Glasgow Herald*, 12 June 1979, 3.
[137] "UVF Like Red Cross- Witness," *Glasgow Herald*, 13 June 1979, 3.
[138] Ibid.
[139] "UVF Prisoner Claims Home was an Arsenal," *Glasgow Herald*, 2 June 1979, 3.
[140] "Death Only Way out of Glasgow UVF Branch," *Glasgow Herald*, 1 June 1979, 3.
[141] Ibid.

the only way out of the gang.[142] Bruce claims Martin had no problem turning on Campbell because, prior to the bombings, Campbell had hammered holes in his legs as a disciplinary measure for "insubordination."[143] Needless to say, Martin still held a grudge against Campbell for this brutal act. In the end, nine Bridgeton UVF members, including Campbell, were imprisoned for up to sixteen years for their various roles in the Glasgow pub bombings.

The attacks on the Old Barns Pub and Clelland Bar in 1979 were the only two significant sectarian paramilitary terrorist attacks on Scottish soil during "the Troubles." Although no one was killed in the blasts, the Glasgow pub bombings highlighted the very real possibility that the sectarian civil unrest that plagued Ulster could easily be exported to Scotland via extremists in one of Glasgow's two Irish communities. This act of terrorism proved that the UVF was willing to take the war to the Republican enemy in Scotland. The extended jail terms administered by the Glasgow High Court were "designed to be a warning to anyone else contemplating similar activity."[144] Harsh sentences administered by the Crown Courts and intense surveillance by Scottish police did not discourage the most determined and devoted Scottish loyalists from participating Ulster-linked paramilitary organizations.

Although the strength of the various paramilitary organizations operating in Scotland during the 1980s fluctuated, they continued to be a major source of support for the main loyalist militant factions in Northern Ireland. Scottish loyalist flute band members, Scottish Apprentice Boys of Derry members and unaffiliated Scottish loyalists who traveled to Northern Ireland for the annual Battle of the Boyne parades continued to be targeted for recruitment by loyalist paramilitaries well into in the 1980s. Unlike the Scottish paramilitaries of the 1970s, young Scottish loyalists involved in Ulster paramilitarism in the 1980s usually "had no family history

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[142] "Death Only Way Out of Glasgow UVF Branch," *Glasgow Herald*, 1 June 1979, 3.
[143] Bruce, *No Pope of Rome*, 182.
[144] Ibid.

of loyalism at all. They were drawn into it when they went to Rangers matches and sang all the songs and bought the UDA and UVF magazines" from loyalist vendors outside Ibrox Stadium each Saturday during football season.[145] One Rangers supporter stated that naive loyalist "punters" would "get to speaking with the people selling them [loyalist magazines], and get invited to Belfast. They just get carried along with it."[146] There was regular interaction between Scottish and Ulster loyalists at Rangers matches. During the 1980s, thousands of Northern Irish Rangers supporters, especially from Belfast, frequently made the short trip to Glasgow for home games at Ibrox. The Shankill Road Rangers Supporters Club alone sent up to five coach loads of Northern Irish Rangers fans from Belfast to Govan for each home game in the 1980s.[147] Hidden within these armies of Northern Irish Rangers supporters were a host of active paramilitary members. Rangers matches provided Ulster paramilitary representatives with ideal "cover for smuggling material or travelling incognito to meet sympathizers" in Scotland.[148]

Loyalist paramilitary members in Scotland continued to collect money, guns and explosives for operations in Northern Ireland in the 1980s. They also hid fugitive Ulster loyalist paramilitaries wanted by the RUC in Northern Ireland. In 1987, Major Fred Holroyd, an undercover military officer stationed in County Armagh, told *Scotland on Sunday* that he knew of at least two senior UVF officers from Portadown, County Armagh, hiding in loyalist safe houses in Ayrshire.[149] They were wanted for four bombings in Dublin in 1974 that killed thirty people and for involvement in the "murder triangle" campaign in Armagh.[150] Holroyd stated that several other loyalist fugitives (including five further suspects in the "murder triangle"

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145 "Scots Loyalty in the Killing Fields of Ulster," *Scotland on Sunday*, 9 July 1989, 6.
146 Ibid.
147 Ibid.
148 Ibid.
149 "Ulster Terror Bosses Hide in Scotland," *Scotland on Sunday*, 22 March 1987, 1.
150 Ibid.

campaign in Portadown) had also been hiding in sympathetic southwestern lowland loyalist communities since the mid-1970s.[151] The Irish broadcast journalist, Joe Tiernan, claimed he had "travelled to Scotland several times to speak with loyalist chiefs. They were involved with some pretty hairy events, and I'm not surprised they're keeping a low profile in Scotland."[152] Many loyalist communities in the lowlands of Scotland during the 1980s became reliable safe havens for Ulster loyalist fugitives.

In 1989, the UDA was forced to reorganize its Scottish units following a string of arrests involving members of the Perth Brigade. Several Scottish UDA cells had become undisciplined and poorly organized during the course of the 1980s and were easily infiltrated by law enforcement intelligence officials. Tommy Lyttle, the supreme commander of the UDA in Northern Ireland, strongly believed that reorganizing the Scottish UDA cells was strategically important to their overall mission in Ulster. Scottish UDA cells provided a reliable source of money, guns, and mining explosives for the loyalist campaign in Northern Ireland. Moreover, Lyttle believed the UDA in Scotland could hide Ulster UDA fugitives. While on the run in Scotland, Ulster UDA fugitives would be used to establish new cells and strengthen existing ones. The UDA High Command in Belfast was convinced that the loyalists in Scotland were their "nearest and best friends" in a world where they had very few sympathizers.[153] Lyttle argued that there was still "a role for them (the Scots) in the conflict" in Ulster.[154] He stated:

> At times of crisis – for example a warlike situation – we have a cadre of people to fall back on. After all, the Scots and the Ulster population are one ethnic group. They are the same people. There is a growing awareness of that here. It is

[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] "Terror Trial Sparks UDA Drive for Secrecy," *Scotland on Sunday*, 9 July1989, 6.
[154] Ibid.

important that we know our identity.[155]

By the end of the 1980s, the UDA successfully implemented a strategy aimed at strengthening and restructuring its vital network of cells in the southwestern lowlands. Included in this reorganization strategy was an intense drive to recruit a new generation of Scottish loyalists. The UDA needed a reenergized and disciplined corps of troops in Scotland who were not only dedicated to the loyalist cause, but who also had clean police records.

Perhaps the most successful method the UDA in Scotland employed in attracting new recruits during the 1980s and 1990s was publishing loyalist magazines that appealed to a younger demographic. UDA magazines were primarily distributed outside Ibrox Stadium on match days alongside popular Rangers fanzines like *Follow, Follow*. This tactic created the illusion that paramilitary activity was in some way associated with being a Rangers supporter. The UDA also distributed their propaganda among loyalist flute band organizations and Orangemen at public Orange functions like Twelfth of July commemorations. UDA propagandists in Scotland knew that the message they were trying to convey through their magazines would be more enthusiastically consumed in environments already saturated with the spirit of loyalism.

One of the most popular propaganda magazines published by the UDA in the 1980s was called *The Loyalist*. *The Loyalist* was a Scottish-based publication that glorified the activities of the military wing of the UDA, the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF). It was popular reading material at Rangers home games during the late 1980s and ultimately influenced numerous young Scottish Rangers supporters to join local UDA/UFF units.[156] *The Loyalist* attracted widespread media attention in 1987 after it published the names, addresses and phone numbers

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[155] Ibid.

[156] "Scots Loyalty in the Killing Fields of Ulster," *Scotland on Sunday* 9 July 1989, 6.

of known Scottish Republican flute band members in Glasgow.[157] Many of the Roman Catholic Glaswegians named in *The Loyalist* received threatening phone calls from radical loyalists for weeks and eventually had to change their telephone numbers to avoid future harassment. This was a form of subtle shadowy terrorism aimed at letting members of Glasgow's Republican community know that the Scottish UFF knew who they were and where they lived.

The UVF was much more successful than the UDA in producing and selling loyalist propaganda in Scotland. Launched in 1989, the UVF magazine *Red Hand* was one of the most popular publications of its kind in Scotland for the next decade. *Red Hand* claimed to be the official literary organ of the Loyalist Prisoner's Welfare Association (LPWA) in Scotland. The LPWA was publicly marketed as a charity whose proceeds were used to provide financial support for family members of incarcerated UVF members. Although the "charity" did provide some financial relief, a considerable amount of the money raised on behalf of the LPWA was used to fund the UVF's paramilitary campaign in Northern Ireland. Each Scottish UVF battalion was charged with raising a certain amount of money to send back to Ulster for "the cause." Much of this money was earned through magazine sales. The Scottish UVF was regularly able to sell over five thousand copies of each issue of *Red Hand*.[158] Like *The Loyalist*, *Red Hand* was used as a recruiting tool aimed at attracting the next generation members to its ranks. It used violent, anti-Republican rhetoric that appealed to the most hardcore loyalists in Scotland. *Red Hand* also regularly published the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of pubs, businesses, Republican flute band members and other individuals thought to have Republican sympathies.[159] In 1991 *Red Hand* became the subject of a police investigation when

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[157] Ibid.
[158] "*Red Hand* Hold Scots Families in Grip of Fear," *Scotland on Sunday*, 13 October 1991, 10.
[159] Ibid.

it targeted an amateur pub football squad known to have Republican leanings. That year, the *Red Hand* ran an editorial that stated:

> These young men should bear in mind that by blessing themselves and having a portrait of the Roman anti-Christ tattooed on their bodies, they are following in the paths of such progressive forces as Hitler, Mussolini and the Mafia and, of course their heroes, the IRA. Loyalists encountering such garbage should endeavour to readjust their Fenian physiognomies as fully as possible."[160]

The *Red Hand* also threatened bus firms, including Ayr-based Essbee, who regularly transported Republicans to and from public demonstrations and flute band parades.[161] Later in 1991, the publication again came under fire after opening one of its issues with this greeting: "Well folks, here we have it, another edition of the *Red Hand*, another 50p toward a bullet."[162] When asked in a *Scotland on Sunday* interview whether or not he condoned acts of violence inspired by his publication, an unnamed contributor to the *Red Hand* responded:

> It doesn't concern me in the least. If they are supporters of the IRA they support a campaign of murder, mayhem and terror. So they can't hardly complain when someone rearranges their physiognomies. They are the enemy in Scotland![163]

Publication of *Red Hand* ceased in 2000. Ironically, publication of the *Red Hand* was halted by an order from the UVF command in Belfast who, five years into the peace process, found its tone too bellicose and warlike.[164]

Scotland continued to be a vital source of material and physical support for the UVF and UDA well into the 1990s. In 1995, the high-profile arrest of Lindsay Robb, Progressive

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[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid.
[162] "Red Hand Editorial Comment," *Red Hand* no. 5 (Fall 1991): 2.
[163] "Red Hand Hold Scots Families in Grip of Fear," *Scotland on Sunday*, 13 October 1991, 10.
[164] Wood, *Crimes of Loyalty*, 329.

Unionist Party[165] "peace negotiator," Craigavon Protestant Boys' Flute Band member and devoted UVF operative, once again exposed how vital the Scottish connection was to the overall loyalist paramilitary effort in Northern Ireland. Robb's arrest was significant because of his leading role in the peace talks held earlier in the year with Northern Ireland Minister of State, Michael Ancram, at Stormont. Robb traveled extensively in Scotland with his flute band. During his travels to Scotland in the early 1990s, Robb established a reliable chain of UVF contacts in the country's lowland loyalist communities.[166] These Scottish contacts were used to secure arms for export to the conflict zone in Ulster. In July 1995, Robb along with five other UVF members were accused of "conspiring to further the cause of the UVF by acquiring guns, ammunition and explosives, with the intent to endanger life or cause serious injury to property in the United Kingdom and Irish Republic."[167] Robb's loyalist gunrunning ring included UVF members from Northern Irish, Scottish and English brigades. Robb arranged for a number of guns to be deposited and held by loyalist Francis Hives at The Market Pub in Liverpool.[168] UVF members John Johnston, David White and William McArthur were charged with transporting the arms from Liverpool to Falkirk.[169] Once in Falkirk, Robb arranged for the guns to be picked up at a pre-designated location by members of the Craigavon Protestant Boys' Flute Band. The flute band members would then smuggle the arms to Northern Ireland in their large bass drums.[170] In the end, Robb and two of his Scottish counterparts, John Johnston and William McArthur, were found guilty and imprisoned for conspiracy to acquire and transfer arms to the UVF in Northern Ireland. The three other men were found guilty of lesser charges.

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[165] The Progressive Unionist Party is the political wing of the Ulster Volunteer Force and Red Hand Commando.
[166] James Freeman, "Scots link in UVF Gun Plot," *Glasgow Herald*, 7 December 1995, 1.
[167] "Terrorist Trial Told of Gun in Pub," *Glasgow Herald*, 24 November 1995, 4.
[168] "Trial Told Box Shown on Video Held Guns," *Glasgow Herald*, 28 November 1995, 5
[169] Ibid.
[170] "Loyalist Politician Jailed for 10 Years," *Daily Record* (Glasgow) 21 December 1995, 7.

The judge told the accused that Northern Ireland had "enough troubles on its own without interference of a deadly kind from anyone else outside."[171] When Robb was led from the court following the guilty verdict, he defiantly shouted, "Up the UVF!"[172]

Paramilitary cells remained active in Scotland during the 1990s despite repeated attempts by police to eradicate them. Scottish government, law enforcement officials and the public were only aware of the failed attempts to funnel arms across the Irish Sea to Northern Ireland. The exact amount of material aid that slipped passed law enforcement officials cannot be known. Contrary to assumptions by leading scholars in the field, evidence suggests that substantial consignments of money and arms were sent to Ulster from Scotland by the UDA and UVF between 1972 and 2000. The UVF trial of Lindsay Robb and his co-conspirators in the mid-1990s was proof that there were still a considerable number of Scottish loyalists who were willing to assume great personal risk to participate directly in furthering the cause of loyalism in Northern Ireland.

Robb was not the only high profile Ulster loyalist operating in Scotland during the 1990s. The leader of the Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF),[173] Billy Wright (a.k.a. "King Rat"), relocated to Scotland following his expulsion from the UVF for the unapproved murder of a Catholic taxicab driver in Belfast.[174] While in Scotland, Wright sought refuge among loyalists in Bridgeton and Lanarkshire where he oversaw the organization of new Scottish LVF cells. One Bridgetonian recalled that Wright "had plenty of friends here and this is where he spent a lot of time."[175] Wright was well received in Bridgeton where there were "a lot of people very loyal to

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[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid.
[173] The Loyalist Volunteer Force was a small but dangerous and fanatical paramilitary loyalist group based in Belfast. It is considered to operate outside mainstream paramilitary loyalism.
[174] "Scots Loyalist Hardmen Were Last Night Preparing to Travel to Ireland for King Rat's Funeral Today," *Daily Record* (Glasgow), 30 December 1997, 7.
[175] Ibid.

what Billy Wright believed in."[176] He explained that many militant Protestants in Bridgeton believed that the loyalist connection between Ulster and the southwestern lowlands of Scotland was stronger than ever during the 1990s because they were "sick of the concessions being made time and again to Republicans."[177] After Wright was murdered by the IRA in December 1997, a large contingent of "King Rat's" Scottish followers and sympathizers traveled across the North Channel to Portadown to pay their last respects to their martyred leader.[178]

Paramilitary activity in Scotland sharply declined during the first decade of the twenty-first century. As Northern Ireland stabilized following the Belfast Agreement (1998), there ceased to be any real need for a paramilitary support network in Scotland. Despite this fact, Scotland continued to be home to a small number of loyalist militants willing to lend physical, monetary and emotional support to what was clearly becoming a lost cause in Northern Ireland. Hardcore militants still dedicated to fighting the lost cause in Northern Ireland understood that not all conflicts concluded as successful blood sacrifice rituals and that new sacrifices had to be made in an effort to reclaim losses from the failed blood sacrifice ritual.

The Scottish media and scholars alike have been quick to dismiss the contribution of Scottish paramilitary cells to the overall loyalist campaign in Northern Ireland during "the Troubles." Scottish branches of the UDA and UVF have mostly been described as inept, dysfunctional organizations run by opportunistic amateurs. During "the Troubles," commentators often used derogatory names like the "Union of Dumb Amateurs" and the "United Vegetable Farmers" to characterize what they viewed as the incompetence of the Scottish loyalist paramilitaries. While in some instances these labels were certainly justified, it would be a mistake to simply dismiss the impact of these groups on the overall loyalist

[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid.

campaign against Republican paramilitarism in Northern Ireland. Thousands of sticks of mining explosive and countless caches of guns and ammunition escaped Scotland's intense surveillance network and were funneled through lowland Scotland by underground networks of loyalist supporters to their comrades in Northern Ireland, often with devastating consequences. With this said, outside of Orangemen, the vast majority of loyalists in Scotland continued to fall into one of two categories: "parade Protestants," - flute band members who displayed intense loyalist swagger while parading on loyalist high holidays - and the "high octane fervor of the ninety-minute loyalists' who supported Rangers."[179]

As with other expressions of loyalism in the Glasgow area, gangs and paramilitaries interacted quite seamlessly with loyalism's other institutional frameworks. They participated both formally and informally in loyalist civil religious rituals like Orange parades and Rangers matches. They often marched in Glasgow's loyalist flute bands. Gangs and paramilitary groups incorporated the symbols, language and ideas common in mainstream loyalist institutions like the Orange Order and Rangers Football Club. They believed in a physical force approach to confronting the Catholic/Republican "menace" both in lowland Scotland and in Northern Ireland. Loyalist street gangs and paramilitaries did not simply represent mindless thuggery. Instead, these groups and the violence associated with them were the product of specific beliefs and practices rooted in contexts, practices and history.

Certain loyalist street gangs are still regularly ritually eulogized in song by the Rangers faithful, especially at away and Old Firm matches, and loyalist paramilitary activity is celebrated in art, poetry and song at gatherings like Rangers matches and loyalist flute band events. Loyalist street gangs and paramilitaries are still romanticized by working-class loyalists in Glasgow because they represent the most primal manifestation of defending the "*the* people"

[179] Woods, *Crimes of Loyalty*, 339.

against the incursion of the Green/Catholic "other." It must, however, be stressed that as with many of the other institutional frameworks of loyalism in the Glasgow area, loyalist gang and paramilitary members used religion mainly as a badge of identity.[180] Ideologically, they were loyalist-minded, however, members were rarely affiliated with a church congregation. The closest most loyalist gang and paramilitary members came to being exposed to any vestige of religious life was during an Orange Order event.

[180] "Truth About Glasgow Gangs: Gangs Seldom Seen Save When on the Warpath," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 1 August 1930, 8, and "On the Way to the Vestry the Lad Flaunted a Sword," *Evening Citizen*, 10 January 1955, 4.



Figure 14. Loyalist Mural in East Belfast that celebrates the cultural connection between Ulster and Scotland.

Chapter IV
Pugnacious Protestantism: Loyalist Flute Bands and the Transmission of Loyalist Popular Culture in the Urban Lowlands of Scotland

When you get up on the morning of the Twelfth and the uniform goes on there is nothing quite like it. Only twenty miles to parade today! Your band strikes up the first tune and the hairs on the back of your neck immediately stand to attention and you are off. Two tunes later and the sleepyheads in the lodge are still falling in as you have wakened them from their slumber. The crowds cheer you through the city center and all along the Lisburn Road. Old friends and new call out your name as you pass and you march that bit straighter. The shoulders get thrown back and the chest sticks out just that bit more.

The field. Thank goodness for the field: and a chance to rest your weary bones, take the boots off and drink a bottle of water in one go to quench your thirst. Then there are speeches from the Orangemen. A cheer or two from the crowd as they tell the world that we are British and proud to be so. Then the parade moves off and we marshal up. There's a cheer from our Ulster brethren as we pass by; a small Scottish band but as loud and proud as they come. Back along the route of the parade to a welcome of sorts from our Republican neighbors in the New Lodge Road area as we pass them on our way to Clifton Street. We don't even see the missiles these idiots fling because we are celebrating our cultural heritage today. Our day has come.

We disband at Clifton Street Orange Hall and I make my way quickly back to Ballynafeigh just in time to see the parade coming safely through the 'Holy Land.' The loudest cheer of the day for my fellow bandsmen in number 10 District comes

as they cross the Ormeau Bridge and walk with dignity and decorum up 'the road.' The National Anthem at the hall and it is over for another year. But it's only 364 days till the Twelfth you know.[1]

- Calum Johnstone, Newtown Defenders Flute Band, Irvine, Scotland

During the course of the twentieth century, loyalist bands emerged as one of the primary vehicles for the cultural transmission of popular loyalism in the industrial lowlands of southwestern Scotland. Loyalist bands were musical groups whose primary function was to march in formation with the Orange Order during their ritual parades. Although there were a variety of different types of loyalist bands, fife or flute and drum ensembles have historically been the most popular and prevalent. Loyalist bands were major actors in the annual Orange Order ritual dramas central to the maintenance and preservation of loyalist identity in Scotland's Ulster Protestant communities. As part of the overall civil religion of loyalism, flute bands functioned much like a typical church choir in that they were designed to use the medium of music to regularly reaffirm the group's foundation stories and moral values to the community of believers. Band performances not only guided the marchers and provided entertainment for the spectators, they also deliberately retold the violent history and cultural mythology of loyalism through loyalist songs like "The Sash My Father Wore," "Derry's Walls," "YCV Brigade," and "The Billy Boys" (Appendix A). Loyalist music was a distinct cultural marker that reinforced loyalist identity when played in the context of ritual commemorations that celebrated past blood sacrifices in the name of the loyalist cause. It was designed to evoke feelings of identity, belonging and even separation among members of lowland Scotland's loyalist community.

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[1] Calum Johnstone, "A Scots Bandsman in Belfast," http://www.the-twelfth.org.uk/Scots%20bandsman%20in%20Belfast.htm (1 February 2010).

Bandsmen used their instruments as sonic weapons in their annual quests to claim space (both real and imagined) and provoke hostilities with their Irish Catholic foes. Loyalist bands represented the essence of pugnacious Protestantism or "a vigorous assertion of ascendancy and violent confrontation, actual or projected, with the Roman Catholic community which had its highest ritual expression in the practices surrounding the 12th of July."[2] The songs, symbolic displays and even the names of individual bands together composed vital elements in the overall loyalist folk collage on display at loyalist ritual events. Aggressive, quasi-militant Orange processions supported by loyalist bands belting out a shrill, gut-wrenching cacophony of triumphalist songs have flourished as a mainstay of loyalist civil religious rites since the inaugural Orange Order parade in Ulster in 1796.

Loyalist bands in Scotland were originally directly connected with the Orange Order. With the exception of the Bridgeton Purple and Crown Flute Band during the 1930s, direct ties between loyalist bands and the Orange Order in lowland Scotland continued until the 1970s. As the ethno-tribal conflict in Ulster intensified during "the Troubles" in the 1970s, young loyalists who became disillusioned with traditional Orangeism opted to express their loyalist devotion through the more aggressive medium of militant Blood and Thunder bands. Blood and Thunder bands were often critical of the Orange Order and more closely allied to loyalist paramilitary groups in terms of their core ideology. Generally speaking, the ideology of most loyalist Blood and Thunder flute bands favored a "physical force" approach to the eradication of Republican terrorism in Northern Ireland. Many Blood and Thunder bands glorified the efforts of loyalist paramilitaries like the UDA and UVF through their appropriation of band names, band emblems and uniforms that were linked to these militant groups (Fig. 15). These young, mostly male,

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[2] Elaine McFarland, *Protestants First: Orangeism in Nineteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 142.

working-class loyalists used major traditional Orange Order celebrations like Battle of the Boyne parades as outlets for expressing *their* vision of what loyalism meant. The radical devotion to the general ethos of loyalism that sustained generations of bands cannot be reduced to rationalism. Their militant loyalist identity was based on a radical vision of loyalism heavily informed by Protestant paramilitarism in Ulster. The version of loyalist identity expressed by Blood and Thunder bands could be described as a "No Surrender," ultra-sectarian, aggressive and confrontational variant of loyalism.

The Orange Order's tradition of ritually parading in public to the raucous sounds of fife/flute and percussion ensembles was an extension of the wider established European custom of community groups playing loud and antagonistic "rough music." As E.P. Thompson explained in *Customs in Common*, rough music was a general term used to describe a system of public noisemaking used by a section of a given community to mobilize and focus public opinion against individuals who egregiously trespassed against understood community norms.[3] One common thread highlighted in each expression of rough music described by Thompson was that the ultimate goal of this form of socio-drama was to make as much noise as possible so the community's eyes were firmly focused on the "sins" of the victim. Neil Jarman notes that in the context of Ulster "the performance of rough music [by loyalist bands] aimed to reestablish and reconfirm the moral boundaries of the community."[4] In the parts of Glasgow where large numbers of Protestant and Catholic immigrants lived in close proximity to one another, these Irish-born territorial dramas endured. During times of perceived threat or conflict, like the Home Rule period or "the Troubles," loyalist bands were known to play provocative sectarian tunes

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[3] E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture* (New York: The New Press, 1993), 472.

[4] Neil Jarman, "For God and Ulster: Blood and Thunder Bands and Loyalist Political Culture," in *The Irish Parading Tradition: Following the Drum*, ed. T.G. Fraser (Houndsmill: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000), 162.

outside the homes of Irish Catholics.[5] Each generation of loyalist "rough musicians" in Scotland and Ireland were motivated, at least in some measure, by the opportunity to annually focus their community's attention on the historical "treachery" of Irish Catholics and the ongoing threat of Vatican "tyranny."

The European military tradition of marching in step to the rhythm of flutes and drums is rooted in the Dutch House of Orange. In the 1590s, Maurice of Orange reintroduced the Greek and Roman practice of incessant marching and drilling to improve obedience and discipline among the ranks of his Protestant soldiers. William McNeill argues the marching and drilling techniques introduced by the Dutch *Stadtholder* during the later stages of the Eighty Years War (1568-1648) resulted in the creation of a distinct "*esprit de corps* that superseded previous identities."[6] When properly implemented, these exercises through, what McNeill calls "muscular bonding,"[7] created an exclusive community of soldiers "where comradeship prevailed in good times and bad and where old-fashioned principles of command and subordination gave meaning and direction to life."[8] Central to this new training technique was the use of fife and drum music to rhythmically guide the movements of marching soldiers both in training and on the battlefield. Maurice de Saxe, Marshal of France, later explained:

> Movement to music is natural and automatic. I have often noticed while the drums were beating for the colors, that all the soldiers marched in cadence without intention and without realizing it. Nature and instinct did it for them.[9]

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[5] Ibid.
[6] William McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 127.
[7] McNeill describes the concept of "muscular bonding" as "the euphoric feeling that prolonged rhythmic muscular movement arouses," 2.
[8] Ibid., 131.
[9] Ibid., 9.

Unthinking obedience and focused discipline instilled in infantrymen through endless bouts of marching and drilling, enabled them to instinctively respond to commands during the heat of battle. The Dutch military's use of repetitious marching and drilling techniques in training its infantry soon translated into victories on the battlefield and likewise caught the eye of a host of European military commanders. By the end of the eighteenth century, most European military commanders had adopted the musical tradition of marching and drilling to fife and drum music.[10]

Public parading with fife and drum accompaniment on commemorative holidays was already a well-established practice in Ireland by the time William III stepped ashore at Carrickfergus in County Antrim on June 14, 1690. It was a decidedly Protestant practice imported to Ireland by the English army. Since at least 1557, the English military used fife and drum melodies to call orders and to accompany marches.[11] Ongoing interaction with Dutch forces during the Eighty Years War eventually led to the adoption of many of Maurice of Orange's revolutionary marching and drilling techniques by British military commanders during the seventeenth century. Militarily inspired marching and parading to fife and drum music gradually found favor among both official and popular imitators in Ireland during the course of the eighteenth century. Public commemorations that marked Protestant victories over the ongoing aggressive threat of the Catholic "other" like November 5 (the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605) and October 23 (the anniversary of the Irish Rebellion in 1641) were usually marked by public state sponsored parades in Dublin. After the victory of the Williamite army at the Battle of Aughrim in 1691, military-style marching became "a more widespread and popular activity" among Protestants in Ireland.[12] Each year on November 14, Dublin Castle and

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[10] Gary Hastings, *With Fife and Drum: Music, Memories and Customs of an Irish Tradition* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2003), 44.
[11] Stanley Sadie, ed., *New Groves Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan Press, 1985), 741.
[12] Jarman, 159.

the Dublin Corporation annually sponsored elaborate public celebrations to commemorate William's birthday. These state-sponsored royal commemorations in Dublin usually included columns of soldiers marching in step to fife and drum music. Similarly, smaller organizations of craftsmen and fraternal brotherhoods like the Boyne Society mimicked the pageantry of official royal and civic occasions by holding public their own public marches usually accompanied by fife and drum. By the end of the eighteenth century, marking significant dates related to the symbol of William III was an established popular tradition in Ireland. Founded in 1795, the Orange Order was able to capitalize on the popularity of already established Williamite commemorations by incorporating traditional aspects of these parading customs into their own public ritual displays.

The Orange Order's practice of marching on significant Williamite dates fit neatly into an already existing popular culture of public display that routinely marked significant historical, military, religious and civic events by staging public festivals and parades. Early Orangemen borrowed heavily from the "more ephemeral tradition of the agrarian bands who had similarly marched in a military manner, appointed officers and identified themselves with [orange] cockades and floral displays."[13] Like established military bands, amateur agrarian bands usually consisted of a collection of several fifes and side snares and one or two bass drums. They usually took to the streets on significant religious, state and local occasions. The Orange Order's adoption of the fife and drum as their preferred mode of musical accompaniment "was quite natural, either through the influence of former soldiers, or simply by imitating the army."[14] Additionally, the fact that the early Orange Order was born out of the agrarian sectarian violence that plagued south Armagh during the 1790s was heavily reflected in their quasi-militaristic and

[13] Neil Jarman, *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Berg, 1997), 47.
[14] Hastings, *With Fife and Drum*, 44.

notably aggressive posturing during their public parading rituals. Orange Order parades differed from earlier parading traditions (military, state and guilds, and so on) in that they were pageants of the Protestant working-class focused on symbolically claiming both physical and ideological space through ritual demonstrations of strength. The shrill penetrating fife/flute and drum music traditionally employed by the Orange Order was an important factor in the effectiveness of the civil religious ritual because it enabled the brotherhood's message to be transmitted to both the followers and the enemies of loyalism. Even without the lyrics, recognizable songs like "The Sash My Father Wore," "Croppies Lie Down" and "Derry's Walls/No Surrender" were loaded with meaning for both the loyalist marchers and Irish Roman Catholics (Appendix A). Orange music produced by loyalist bands penetrated the physical barriers placed between Irish Catholics and the loyalist marchers. Loyalist music played during public Orange Order marches overwhelmed the entire space being ritually claimed by the Orangemen. These annual Orange Order ritual commemorations served as a catalyst for both the formation of a vibrant loyalist band culture and the rich variety of music associated with it.

Fife and drum music has been a central feature of loyalist ritual since the first Orange Order parade held at Markethill, County Armagh, Ireland, in July 1796. Local volunteer militia or military units usually supplied the music at the earliest Orange Order parades.[15] One eyewitness at the inaugural Portadown Battle of the Boyne parade in July 1796 observed the presence of "long drum" and a group of three fifers who supported each group of Orangemen.[16] Lambeg drum[17] and fife accompaniment remained the norm at Orange Order parades until the 1870s when more audible flute and brass bands began to feature more prominently in annual

[15] Jarman, "For God and Ulster," 161.
[16] Hastings, 8.
[17] The Lambeg drum is named after village of Lambeg in County Antrim, Northern Ireland where it originated.

loyalist ritual celebrations (Fig. 16).[18] Lambeg drums were enormous double-sided bass drums usually decorated with a portrait of William III or some other loyalist collage. It has been claimed that their "sonic boom" could be heard up to a mile away. Percussion expert Paul Marshall argues, "The Lambeg could stake a claim to the title of the loudest drum in the world, it is frequently played at above 120 db, louder than a small aircraft taking off and about the same as a pneumatic drill."[19] The Lambeg drum was used as a sonic weapon by parading Orangemen through the first half of the nineteenth century. After the 1850s, Lambeg drumming gradually fell out of fashion because the instruments were played at a much slower pace than the fast beats of the military marching tempo that was quickly gaining popularity among loyalists in the urban districts of both Ulster and lowland Scotland. In most bands these distinctly Irish forms of percussion were replaced with a standard double-sided marching band bass drum still common in contemporary loyalist bands. Lambeg drums are currently banned from use in Orange parades in Scotland because the gut-wrenching thunderous roar of the instrument is considered too aggressively provocative and intrusive.

Accordingly, louder multiple-keyed blackwood B-flat melody flutes replaced fifes as the instrument of choice for loyalist musicians during the 1880s. Fifes were gradually phased out of the loyalist musical tradition because they were more physically demanding to play during long marches and much less audible than the shrill B-flat melody flutes. According to Gary Hastings, a very tight embouchure and considerable air pressure were required to play the highest octaves of the fife.[20] During extended Orange parades like the Twelfth of July commemorations, which covered considerable mileage with constant musical accompaniment, fifers were often pushed to their physical limits. After the 1880s, fife and Lambeg drum ensembles continued to thrive in

[18] Fionnuala Prosser, "History and Origins of the Lambeg Drum," in *Ulster Folklife*, vol. 27 (1981): 36.
[19] Paul Marshall, Lambeg Drum, *Drumdojo*, www.drumdojo.com/lambeg/htm (7 December 2009).
[20] Hastings, 47.

certain areas of rural Ulster but fell out of favor elsewhere. From at least the 1880s forward, most loyalist bands in lowland Scotland consisted of a combination of B-flat melody flutes, snare drums, cymbals and marching band bass drums.

The shift in instrumentation used in Orange Order rituals during the final decades of the nineteenth century coincided with the overall politicization of the loyalist musical repertoire. This was a direct reaction to three major threats to the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland: the agrarian unrest connected with the Irish National Land League; Gladstone's reform agenda for Ireland; and the first and second Irish Home Rule movements. This prolonged period of anxiety and unrest made loyalists in Scotland much more "strident about defining their identity as Protestant and British and distinct from the Catholic Irish other."[21] Marcela Cristi regards civil religion as "an 'episodic' phenomenon emerging during unsettled political times in response to crises of legitimation."[22] Often during unsettled times, individuals of the same identity or interest group tend to unify together in an effort to defend their collective interests. In the process of mobilizing the "imagined community" of loyalism against the ever-present threat of "popery," aggressive Orange bands known as "Billy bands" and their "party" music became a primary method for the dissemination of cultural loyalism to the wider loyalist public. Loyalist music in Scotland from at least the 1870s forward was consciously designed to provide politico-cultural expression and identity to the loyalist civil religious collective. The music was intended to antagonize and even provoke their traditional Roman Catholic enemies in a symbolic renewal of historical conflicts.[23] For example, one of the most popular songs played by the Billy bands

[21] Jarman, "For God and Ulster," 163.
[22] Marcela Cristi, *From Civil to Political Religion: The Intersection of Religion, Culture and Politics* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001), 10.
[23] Hastings, 55.

while on parade was crudely titled "Kick the Pope." This sectarian crowd-pleaser was usually accompanied by bandsmen, Orangemen and loyalist onlookers alike chanting:

Tooral – ooral kick the Pope,

Tooral – ooral kick the Pope,

Tooral – ooral kick the Pope,

We'll kick him intae candie.

As a result of the popularity and familiarity of this song, press outlets in Glasgow and Belfast began regularly referring to Orange Billy bands as "kick the Pope" bands by 1900.[24] The more antagonistic and militant posturing of many loyalist bands was a direct response to the ongoing series of perceived threats to Protestant Irish community. Loyalist flute bands acted as a cultural artery through which the dogma of Protestant loyalism flowed.

The Orange Order in Scotland had a military foundation and was brought to Scotland by Scottish regiments who fought in the United Irishmen Rebellion of 1798. Some of the soldiers served in Ireland alongside members of the newly formed Orange Order and were inspired to form their own loyalist fraternal lodges. Regiments including the Bredalbane and Argyll Fencible regiments acquired the first Scottish Orange Order warrants in 1798. Twelve further regiments formed Scottish lodges over the next few years. Additionally, considerable inflow of Ulster Protestant handloom weavers, mainly from rural parts of Ulster, who immigrated to the southwestern lowlands of Scotland between the 1790s and 1820s, bolstered the Orange tradition in lowland Scotland. With the influx of Protestant Irish migrants from Ulster came many of the quintessentially Ulster Irish cultural traits associated with traditional Orangeism including ritual parading with a flute and drum corps. The first official Orange Order parade in Scotland was held in Glasgow on July 12, 1821, to commemorate William III's victory at the Battle of the

[24] Jarman, "For God and Ulster," 163.

Boyne. Although relatively small by modern standards, the inaugural Battle of the Boyne celebrations in Scotland featured all the traditional trappings of an Irish Orange parade including the accompaniment of a fife and drum band that belted out familiar loyalist tunes like "Boyne Water," "Green Grassy Slopes of the Boyne" and "God Save the King" (Appendix A). Accordingly the majority of the participants in this first Twelfth of July parade were members of Glasgow's substantial Protestant Irish Diaspora community. Sustained contact and interaction between Protestant Irish migrants in the industrial lowlands with their Orange "kith and kin" in Ireland ensured that the loyalist musical tradition in Scotland deviated little from the standards and trends that emanated from the civil religious heartland of Protestant loyalism.

Annual ritual marches were vital to sustaining loyalist civil religion in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland, especially from the Home Rule era (1886-1914) forward. By the early twentieth century the numerous Orange Order parades held in the Glasgow area each marching season had evolved into carefully orchestrated and meticulously choreographed mass public rituals whose Unionist message appealed to a broader section of lowland Protestant society. As described in Chapter I, the story that the Orange Order wanted to communicate to the assembled "congregation" was conveyed most effectively through the myriad loyalist folk collages on display at their regular public ritual demonstrations. A folk collage or " folk assemblage," according to Jack Santino, refers to the "the popular presentation of discrete elements as a larger whole."[25] They include the "juxtaposition of elements that can be and often are displayed as discrete units in order to modify strengthen or otherwise develop a symbolic public statement."[26] As part of the overall loyalist folk collage on display during a loyalist parade, bands served to intensify the primary object of the ritual display: the Orange Order. This was achieved by

[25] Jack Santino, *Signs of War and Peace: Social Conflict and the Uses of Symbols in Public in Northern Ireland* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 50.
[26] Ibid., 50-1.

adding meaningful songs and other additional symbolic elements that served to enhance the delivery of the intended ideological message. For example, bass drummers in loyalist bands often attached a bouquet of orange lilies to their drum in homage to the "great deliverer," William of Orange. Bass drum skins and shells were already vividly illustrated with Ulster loyalist and Scottish symbols like the Red Hand of Ulster, the Scottish Saltire, interwoven thistles, roses and shamrocks, symbols relating to the 36th Ulster Division and the Battle of the Somme and monarchal emblems (especially those relating to William III). The addition of a bouquet of orange lilies to a drum represented the intensification of an object that was already laden with loyalist symbolism (Fig. 16). Loyalist folk collages like a symbolically decorated bass drum created "a dialogue of semiotic messages within itself to create a symbolic form greater than the sum of its parts."[27] When carried in a loyalist parade, the adornments on the drum and the drum itself became part of a larger folk collage consisting of other elements including: bannerettes, flags, open Bibles topped with replica crowns, orange collarettes, flute bands, loyalist songs and so on.[28] Subtle additions to the loyalist collage enhanced the effectiveness of the intended message of loyalist/Orange ritual displays.

Until the 1970s, most Orange bands in lowland Scotland were semi-autonomous entities associated with or sponsored by a local or District Orange Order lodge.[29] On the whole, most band members during this period were also members of the local Orange lodge. Individual Orange Order lodges hired the bands to march with them during their commemorative parades. Money made from participating in these events was used to purchase instruments, sheet music and uniforms. There were generally two types of bands. First, there were bands that were members of the Scottish Flute Band Association, "whose aim it was to ensure that the bands

[27] Ibid., 51.
[28] Ibid.
[29] McFarland, *Protestants First*, 140-41.

played good quality music from light opera to traditional Scottish airs and melodies."[30] These more respectable bands were focused on musicianship and "band discipline was strict and controlled by a band conductor, band sergeant and corporal after a military style."[31] Members of these bands were usually drawn from the upper strata of the working-class ranks of the Orange Order. In addition to the highly disciplined military-style Orange bands, there were the rougher, much more sectarian and wildly popular "Billy bands." Membership in the Billy bands consisted of lower working-class Orangemen who were more concerned with making loud noise to annoy and provoke their Irish Catholic neighbors than they were with musicianship. Billy bands were made up of between twelve to eighteen flautists who "played the melody lines only of party tunes with little variation in intonation."[32] The flute corps was led by up to ten side snare drums and up to two bass drums with the band's name printed on the drum skins: "Sons of William," "True Blues," "Defenders," "Blue Bells" or "Covenanters."[33] Even in the case of the rougher Billy bands, band culture in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland was encompassed within the broader ambit of Orangeism until at least the 1970s when a network of autonomous loyalist bands was developed.

One notable exception to the established Orange Order-oriented band structure prior to the 1970s was the independently financed, self-organized Bridgeton Purple and Crown Flute Band created by Billy Boys street gang founder, Billy Fullerton, sometime during the late 1920s. In an interview with the *Evening Citizen* in 1955, Fullerton noted that his idea of creating an independent, more militant variety of loyalist flute band was "new…novel… and absolutely

[30] Ibid., 141.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.

provocative."[34] He recalled that several of his followers could already play the flute and "it was found that this musical weapon could be produced as readily as the more lethal merchandise of the junk shops."[35] Fullerton's Purple and Crown Flute Band consisted of as many as sixty bandsmen and eight "spearmen"[36] at any one time. The popularity of the Purple and Crown among loyalist youths and young adults in Bridgeton eventually led to the creation of a "junior section" of the band aimed at loyalist teenagers called the Bridgeton Derry Boys.

Essential ingredients to the success of a drum and flute corps included leadership, organization and dedication to the general corpus of loyalism. Some scholars have compared the Billy Boys' rigid discipline, complex organizational structure and loyalist devotion to the powerful loyalist street gangs and paramilitary groups in Belfast three decades later.[37] When the Billy Boys were not fighting rival Irish Catholic gangs in the name of "king and country" on the streets of Glasgow or football stands of Ibrox or Celtic Park, they were engaged in military-style fitness and marching drills led by "King Billy" Fullerton.[38] Fullerton routinely drilled his men "like a battalion of soldiers."[39] Years later Fullerton recalled that many of his followers already were exposed to a regimen of rigid discipline at Borstal prison and he took advantage of that fact.[40] At the end of each band practice members of the Purple and Crown would gather at the "Umbrella" at Bridgeton Cross and play "God Save the King."[41] Glasgow Chief Constable

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[34] "I was the Boss of the Billy Boys," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 17 January 1955, 4.
[35] Ibid.
[36] "Spearmen" got their name because they actually marched on the flanks of loyalist processions carrying spears that were often witnessed being sharpened prior to a march. Today, wooden batons are carried to keep the marches in time and in formation and to prevent onlookers from spilling into the ranks.
[37] Robert Jeffery, *Crimes Past: Glasgow's Crimes of the Century* (Edinburgh: Black and White Publishing Ltd., 2006), 34.
[38] "The Parson Gang Breaker," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 18 January 1955, 4.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Robert Jeffery, *Gangland Glasgow: True Crime from the Streets* (Edinburgh: Black and White Publishing Ltd., 2002), 63.

Percy Sillitoe once stated that the Billy Boys were "genuine musicians in a rough way."[42] Whether conscious of the fact or not, the organization of both the Purple and Crown and Derry Boys flute bands reinforced the cohesion of each level of the Billy Boys gang by providing extra layers of discipline, responsibility, organization and, most importantly, loyalist identity.

The Bridgeton Purple and Crown Flute Band had a reputation in Orange circles as being the most "True Blue" and energetic band in Glasgow. Robert Jeffery claims "the Billy Boys liked nothing better than marching provocatively through streets they knew to be mostly Catholic" especially on Catholic holy days and loyalist holidays.[43] Most of the band's aggressive energy was directed at provoking or waging war with the Irish Catholic "other." Every Sunday morning just after dawn the Purple and Crown conducted a "church parade." After meeting at Bridgton Cross on Glasgow's East End, the band would march in formation up Poplar Street and down French Street with the Church of Scotland as their final destination. Chief Constable Sillitoe stated "this was by no means the direct route, but they preferred it."[44] As they provocatively played "party tunes" like "The Sash My Father Wore," "Derry's Walls," Rule Britannia, and the "Green Grassy Slopes of the Boyne" in the predominantly Catholic area, they were greeted with a hail of bottles (oftentimes filled with urine), pickshafts and other missiles (Appendix A). Sillitoe maintained that the Billy Boys "felt their job was concluded when they had created a Sunday morning riot."[45]

Early on the Twelfth of July 1929, the Purple and Crown Flute Band, Derry Boys Flute Band and other Billy Boy members in full loyalist regalia, initiated a procession independent from the official Orange Order Battle of the Boyne commemoration held the previous weekend.

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[42] Sir Percy Sillitoe, *Cloak Without Dagger* (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1955), 130.
[43] Jeffery, *Crimes of the Century*, 35.
[44] Sillitoe, 130.
[45] Ibid.

The procession was a rough yet symbolic demonstration of loyalist strength that followed a territorial challenge made by the leader of the rival Catholic Norman Conquers gang, Bull Bowman. After assembling at their traditional meeting place at Bridgeton Cross, the procession made its way down Poplin Street toward Norman Street guided by the deep boom of a single bass drum.[46] When the procession reached the corner of Poplin Street and Norman Street at 7:00 a.m., the drum major shouted, "Right boys, 'the Sash' [My Father Wore]!"[47] Responding to the drum major's command, cymbals clashed, flutes screeched and the big drum raucously thumped out the traditional loyalist standard as the loyalist marchers turned onto Norman Street. The result of this provocative act was a series of running battles between Protestant loyalist and Catholic gang members and sympathizers for the remainder of the day. The antics of Fullerton's men were regularly repeated until the gang's demise at the onset of World War II. The two loyalist flute bands created by Billy Fullerton provided a model for the independent Blood and Thunder Band movement that emerged in Scotland during "the Troubles." Fullerton gave the more militant and aggressive flute bands of "the Troubles" era a blueprint for how to use flute bands and provocative loyalist music as sectarian weapons.

When it came to loyalist bands in Scotland during the first half of the twentieth century, the Bridgeton Purple and Crown was the exception rather than the rule. Most Orange lodges during this period continued to support Orange bands made up of lodge brethren who marched with their own local or District lodges during the main parades. This arrangement remained solidly intact until the outbreak of "the Troubles" in Northern Ireland. From the 1970s forward, semi-autonomous lodge bands virtually disappeared and were systematically replaced by secular independent bands with no formal ties to the Orange Order.

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[46] "Glasgow Gangs of the Raging Twenties," *Evening Citizen* (Glasgow), 21 January 1955, 8.
[47] Ibid.

As the sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland escalated during the 1970s, loyalist band culture experienced a radical change. Independently run, stridently loyalist, and notably militant Blood and Thunder bands[48] replaced other band types at Orange Order parades. Blood and Thunder bands first emerged as an emotional reaction by young male loyalists to the IRA campaign in Northern Ireland. Membership in a Blood and Thunder flute band provided loyalists with an outlet that allowed them to actively and publicly demonstrate their solidarity with those Protestants who were "under siege" in Belfast outside of the confines of the Orange Order. Although Blood and Thunder bands operated independently from the Orange Order they still played a major role in most Orange ritual parades. Blood and Thunder bands were able to convey a more militant and aggressive vision of loyalism while supporting an Orange lodge on parade. The secular and often borderline-paramilitary imagery connected with loyalist band uniforms, symbols, flags and songs set them apart from the intensely religious and conservative Orange Order. Blood and Thunder bands were able to influence the emotional atmosphere of a loyalist parade by the types of songs they played, how they played them and where along the parade route they chose to play certain songs. In this sense, they were able to take a certain degree of ownership of the loyalist ritual process. Although Blood and Thunder bands and the Orange Order had different philosophies regarding their engagement with the loyalist cause in Ulster, they were united by their common devotion to preserving the Williamite legacy in the United Kingdom.

Blood and Thunder music placed heavy emphasis on percussion. While on parade Blood and Thunder bands featured columns of up to twenty side snare drummers who tapped out an ongoing barrage of machinegun-sounding rattles. A single large bass drum, or "Ballywalter," the deep booms of which filled the immediate sonic environment, supported the side snare

[48] Blood and Thunder bands are also referred to as "First Flute" bands.

drummers. Further columns of up to thirty flautists, whose musical weapon of choice was the B-flat melody flute, followed the percussion sections.[49] The B-flat melody flute produced a notably shrill, high-pitched sound similar to that of a piccolo. Like the Billy bands that preceded them, Blood and Thunder bands had a reputation for raucous, disorderly behavior while on parade and favored the playing of secular sectarian songs extremely loud to provoke confrontation with the "auld enemy."

Blood and Thunder band music was comprised almost exclusively of secular "party" songs played extremely loud and at fast tempo. In Blood and Thunder bands there was no room for improvisation. Like all of the military-inspired bands since William of Nassau first instituted the practice, Blood and Thunder musicians were forced to rigidly play to the heavy beat of the bass drum. This, in turn, invoked a sense of driven purpose and unity within the collective. Quasi-militant and intensely devout loyalist Blood and Thunder bands rapidly gained popularity in the loyalist enclaves of Scotland during a period when many young working-class men and boys were searching for new ways to express their loyalist identity outside of the conservative and strictly religious strictures of the Orange Order. For these young working-class Scots, being a loyalist was "an expression of their cultural and political identity, not a matter of religious faith."[50] By the end of the 1970s many young loyalist Scots considered the Orange Order's stance on the civil conflict in Northern Ireland to be too passive. Blood and Thunder bands offered an alternative cultural vessel for loyalists who were unaffiliated with the Orange Order to participate, in an official capacity, in annual loyalist commemorations. By participating in Orange Order parades loyalist bands affirmed "their support for the general Unionist position

[49] Hastings, 6.
[50] Jarman, "For God and Ulster," 165.

although without necessarily conforming to the Orange ideals."[51] Blood and Thunder bands were also able to use annual Orange ritual events to present their own version of loyalism. Thus, by the final two decades of the twentieth century, Orange Order ritual celebrations were the property of a loyalist culture that extended far beyond the exclusive confines of the Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland.

Many loyalist band members severed their ties with the Orange Order during the first two decades of "the Troubles" yet they chose not to abandon the wider Orange tradition of parading on significant dates in loyalist history. As Jarman explains, Blood and Thunder bands "formally separated themselves from the stricture of the Order, but they have retained their place within the wider Unionist family and they remain committed to the custom of parading."[52] By the end of the 1970s, disaffected loyalist males swelled the ranks of the Scotland's independent Blood and Thunder bands, and with their youthful exuberance came a more energetic, militant and aggressive approach to both loyalist music making and public display. Katy Radford notes that participation in male-dominated Blood and Thunder bands provided members with an opportunity to make "open claims to territory" (once again, both real and imagined) through a "unified display of masculine bravado."[53] By the early 1980s, Blood and Thunder bands were firmly entrenched as major agents of loyalist cultural dissemination in lowland Scotland.

The relationship between independent Blood and Thunder bands and the Loyal Orders was strained from the outset of the independent band movement. From the 1970s forward individual Orange lodges hired loyalist bands to support their marchers on various parades. Although there were a variety loyalist band genres including accordion bands, brass bands and the occasional

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[51] Jarman, *Material Conflicts*, 103.
[52] Jarman, "For God and Ulster," 167.
[53] Katy Radford, "Drum Rolls and Gender Roles in Protestant Marching Bands in Belfast," *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, vol. 10/11 (2001): 43.

bagpipe ensemble, Blood and Thunder bands were by far the most popular and prevalent variety. Many of Scotland's loyalist flute bands were quick to form paramilitary links and imposing discipline on them became an intractable problem for the Orange Order. Tension between flute band members and the Orange Order was often the result of bandsmen breaching the Orange Order's strict traditional parading decorum by displaying paramilitary symbols or slogans, drinking, antisocial behavior and playing songs with paramilitary or overly sectarian themes, especially around Catholic churches and neighborhoods. Jarman notes that, "while it may be possible to banish the more extreme regalia from the parades, it is more difficult to control the many sectarian anthems that are beaten out with gusto and regularity that delights the crowd."[54] Sensitive songs including "The Billy Boys," "Three Scottish Soldiers," "Build my Gallows" and other songs that glorified the violent exploits of loyalist paramilitary organizations in Ulster continue to be heard at Orange Order parades in Scotland (Appendix A).[55]

By 1976 the popularity of the violent sectarian rhetoric and the glorification of the loyalist paramilitary movement in Northern Ireland through song evolved into big business for a host of independent record firms in lowland Scotland and Northern Ireland who sought to capitalize on the sectarian violence in Ulster. The sectarian warfare in Ulster created a market demand for contentious sectarian music among both loyalists and Republicans. Larger, well-organized Blood and Thunder bands like the Black Skull (Glasgow) and Govan Protestant Boys were able to market their records to patrons of loyalist pubs, outside Rangers matches, Rangers supporters' clubs and spectators at loyalist marches (Fig. 18). Blood and Thunder band records were also sold at loyalist shops and other independent record stores throughout lowland Scotland

[54] Jarman, *Material Conflicts*, 103.

[55] "Three Scottish Soldiers" recounts the story of three Royal Highland Fusiliers soldiers who were shot by the IRA while off duty on a mountain road overlooking Belfast on March 9, 1971. The impact of their murders is still remembered by many as one of the key events leading to Northern Ireland's descent into full-scale violence.

and Northern Ireland. In 1976 a journalist for the *Sunday Mail* reported, "since the fighting erupted again on the streets of Belfast, sales of records of sectarian songs have soared."[56] The market for loyalist songs had grown into a one million pound a year operation by the mid 1970s.[57] Loyalist pubs and clubs generated up to fifty thousand pounds a year through the sale of loyalist records.[58] Although evidence is sparse regarding how much of the money raised through these record sales was funneled to Northern Ireland to support loyalist paramilitaries, it is reasonable to assume it was substantial.

Scottish Blood and Thunder Bands also held regular fundraisers to demonstrate their support for the paramilitary effort in Northern Ireland. Money raised at these events was forwarded to either the UDA or UVF to support their effort against the IRA. Being connected to a loyalist paramilitary organization in Northern Ireland amounted to "street cred" in Scotland's loyalist youth subculture. The overtly sectarian secular party tunes and paramilitary overtures often exhibited by Blood and Thunder bands in public were in dialogue with and commented on elements in loyalist popular culture that were neglected by the Orange Order.

The rough nature of loyalist Blood and Thunder bands reflected the physical environment from which many of them emerged. The ghettoization of urban working-class residential life that persisted in Scotland after the end of World War II resulted in limited social, recreational, housing and employment opportunities to young working-class male Scots. In this geographical and social context, Blood and Thunder bands were loyalist community identity and support organizations that gave structure and meaning to the often-confused lives of devoted members. Weekly band practices served as a regular affirmation of their culture. Bands provided young working-class males, and in some instances females, a vehicle for participating in something

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[56] "Hate Parade Songs Make a Million," *Sunday Mail* (Glasgow), 12 December 1976, 9.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

greater than themselves. Reasons individual members cite for becoming involved in a Blood and Thunder band vary. All members at some level felt obliged to participate because of their ethnic or ideological identification with Ulster loyalism. For many, membership in local loyalist band was a family tradition. It was not uncommon for multiple generations of a family to be represented in a local flute band. Others joined because band membership in their housing estate was considered to be fashionable or macho. During the twentieth century, the "Rangers effect" also played a significant role in shoring up the ranks of lowland Scottish Blood and Thunder bands. Membership in a band enabled individuals regularly exposed to loyalism at Rangers matches to become active players in the "loyalist world."

Membership in a loyalist band required an intense level dedication and commitment. Potential members had to first commit to learning how to play a musical instrument. Bandsmen were then required to learn to play at least ten songs without the aid of sheet music before they were allowed to parade in public.[59] For most members, the thrill of participating in loyalist commemorative events was worth the time and effort spent practicing and fundraising. Bands held regular fundraising events like dances and band contests to raise money for uniforms, instruments and travel expenses. During the course of the last three decades of the twentieth century, Blood and Thunder bands evolved as "the most important agency in the reproduction of populist loyalism across the generational divide."[60] It was a loyalist institutional framework that vividly reflected the lives of the young working-class youths that populated its ranks.

Blood and Thunder bands are cited on occasion as lacking musical ability and are considered by many observers to be little more than a loose collection of socially delinquent boys and young men making sectarian noise. This perception of the Blood and Thunder

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[59] Hastings, 6.
[60] Desmond Bell, *Acts of Union: Youth Culture and Sectarianism in Northern Ireland* (London: Macmillan Press, 1990), 125.

phenomenon comes from a lack of understanding about this section of the wider loyalist band tradition. The emergence of Blood and Thunder bands in the working-class communities of Northern Ireland and lowland Scotland paralleled that of the hard-driving heavy metal and punk rock genres that were themselves byproducts of urban working-class British ghettoes during the 1970s. Both genres were youthful expressions of working-class male anxiety, defiance and discontent. The musical mediums were each designed to shock conservative society and sensibilities to the core by giving it a collective "V sign."[61] As with heavy metal or punk rock performances, when the energy level of Orange ritual parades reached a crescendo, and the crowds (especially those of the female persuasion) were enthusiastically cheering them on, band members would often begin to engage in a cocky and defiant variety of "muscular bonding" labeled by Catholics as "loyalist swagger" (Fig. 21). This defiant and provocative system of bodily gestures was punctuated by the awkward spinning, weaving, swooping and "head-banging" motions exhibited by large, muscular, male bass drummers. These "head-banging" and other aggressive gesticulations closely resembled what one would witness among both performers and fans at any given Iron Maiden, Clash, or Motörhead concert. Like heavy metal and punk rock performers, loyalist bandsmen flaunted social convention by covering their arms with a collage of tattoos. Common tattoos worn by loyalist bandsmen included the Red Hand of Ulster, paramilitary symbols and slogans, Union Jacks, bulldogs and even mini recreations of Belfast murals featuring masked gunmen.[62] Together, the heavy-metalesque "party songs," crude cocky gestures and tattoos all added to the potency of the larger folk collage on display at loyalist rituals.

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[61] In this case, the "V sign" (thristing the backs of the first two fingers) is equivalent to "shooting a bird" with one's middle finger in the United States.

[62] Personal observations & photos.

Since the 1970s Scottish Blood and Thunder bands have been heavily represented at Twelfth of July parades in Belfast. They have a notorious reputation for being among the most boisterous and antagonistic participants in annual Belfast Boyne celebrations. Historically, many Blood and Thunder bands used their participation in Belfast loyalist parades as a means to publicly demonstrate their extreme level of devotion to "the cause." Likewise, they have on numerous occasions also been the instigators of sectarian violence at interface areas in Belfast. Hastings notes, "Some of the wilder and more exuberant [Blood and Thunder] bands come over [to Northern Ireland] from Scotland."[63] One loyalist bandsmen from the East Kilbride area of Glasgow stated that visiting Belfast during the "Glorious Twelfth" was "like a wee holiday for us; its like going to Mecca."[64] Another bandsman explained that he enjoyed parading in the spiritual heartland of loyalism because of his "religious beliefs and because when he hears the band strike up he gets an adrenaline rush right through him."[65] He explained that the parades brought loyalists from myriad backgrounds together as a single unit, united under a common cause.[66] Parades during the marching season were also occasions where Scottish flute band members with paramilitary connections could meet with their "brothers in arms" and plan operations; namely smuggling explosives from the coalfields of lowland Scotland. Parades in Belfast also provided an opportunity for the UDA and UVF to recruit potential Scottish members who, emotionally swept up in the loyalist celebrations, were often all to willing to sign up. For many bandsmen, participation in a loyalist paramilitary organization was considered the ultimate gesture of devotion to the loyalist cause.

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[63] Hastings, 6.
[64] Audrey Gillian, "Off to the Loyalist Mecca with Three Bottles of Vodka, Two Cases of Beer and a Sea of Union Flags," *The Guardian*, www.guardian.co.uk/uk/3003/jul/12/northernireland, 12 July 2003 (27 October 2009).
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.

As in Northern Ireland, many Blood and Thunder bands in the Scottish lowlands active during "the Troubles" had sympathies to or direct connections with various Ulster-based loyalist paramilitary organizations. For example the Young Cowdenbeath Volunteers Flute Band were a loyalist band organized as a living memorial to the Young Citizens Volunteers (YCV). Originally organized in 1912, the YCV was a Protestant youth organization similar to the Boy Scouts/Boys Brigade. The inaugural meeting of the YCV was held at Belfast City Hall on September 12, 1912, just prior to the signing of the Ulster Solemn League and Covenant. With the prospect of Irish Home Rule becoming a reality and the failure of the organization to obtain financial support from the British government, the YCV applied for membership in Sir Edward Carson's Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) in 1914. In May 1914, the YCV became the youth-wing of the UVF. When Britain entered World War I in August, the YCV and UVF went to war as the 36th Ulster Division. The YCV was symbolically resurrected as the youth-wing of Gusty Spence's reformed paramilitary incarnation of the UVF in the 1970s. The Young Cowdenbeath Volunteers Flute Band paid homage to both incarnations of the loyalist fighting force. From the name of their band, to the insignia on their drums, the songs in their repertoire and their replica 36th Ulster Division uniforms, the Young Cowdenbeath Volunteers made their loyalties abundantly clear. The founder of the Young Cowdenbeath Volunteers, Jim Costello, once explained that his band was not a typical "fuck-the-pope outfit with some drum major prancing around in front of us. In fact we're not an Orange band. They come three a penny. We're a loyalist band in business to build support for the cause."[67] He made it clear that the "cause" to which he was referring was the UVF's paramilitary campaign against the Provisional IRA and other Republican factions in Ulster. Costello explained that most of its members had friends that

[67] "Boys of the Boyne," *Scotland on Sunday* (Glasgow), 1 July 1990. 27.

were incarcerated for involvement in loyalist crimes in both Scotland and Northern Ireland.[68] Although evidence is inconclusive, it is safe to assume that members of the Young Cowdenbeath Volunteers were probably actively involved in paramilitary activity linked to the UVF at one time or another.

The YCV flute band and the Orange Order first came into conflict in 1987 during an Orange parade in Broxburn, West Lothian. While on parade, Orange Grand Master Magnus Bain ordered the YCV to leave the parade because their name made symbolic reference to an illegal paramilitary association.[69] The band refused to leave and proceeded to the Orange saluting platform where they played "The YCV Brigade" at a fever pitch (Appendix A). Bain and a number of other ranking Orangemen showed their disapproval by turning their backs on the band.[70] A small scuffle broke out and a number of collarettes were thrown at the saluting platform in protest.[71] There was clearly support for the YCV flute band and what they represented among the Scottish Orangemen gathered in Broxburn.

The YCV was not the only loyalist flute band to develop a contentious relationship with the Orange Order hierarchy during the second half of the 1980s because of their determination to present a folk collage on parade that celebrated the memory of the 36th Ulster Division and the UVF. Formed in the late 1940s, the Greengairs Flute Band was one of the most senior flute bands in Scotland. The band originated in the Ayrshire coalmining village of Greengairs. From the late 1940s until 1977, the band was a typical loyalist melody flute Orange band connected to the local Greengairs Orange chapter (Greengairs Purple Spriggs, LOL 275).

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[68] Ibid.
[69] Bruce, "The Ulster Connection," 246.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.

Loyalist flute bands in Northern Ireland were always the trendsetters as far as loyalist music was concerned. Scottish bands, with very few exceptions, always adopted the musical trends made popular in the loyalist center. Influenced by the "Blood and Thunder" movement in Ulster, the members of the Greengairs Flute Band voted to shift their musical focus from being a traditional melody flute Orange band to a Blood and Thunder band in 1977.[72] They added the word "thistle" to their name to symbolize the band's shift in music style and swagger.[73] A year after this shift, the Greengairs Thistle received their first invitation to march with a Belfast Orange lodge (Prince Albert Temperance, LOL 1892) on the Twelfth of July. The host Orange lodge operated from the Orange Cross located on Belfast's ultra-Protestant Shankill Road. The downstairs lounge of this loyalist social club was a shrine to the 36th Ulster Division. Bedecked with photographs, medals, plaques, rolls of honor, old Orange sashes and slogans such as "Some Gave All," "For God and Ulster" and "Lest We Forget," the emphasis of this memorial room was placed on the blood sacrifice made in the name of "king and country" at the Battle of the Somme in 1916.[74] This shrine to the Orange heroes of the Battle of the Somme gave the members of the Greengairs Thistle insight into sacrifice made by loyalist Ulstermen during the World War I. Moved by what they learned about the history of the UVF and the 36th Ulster Division, the Greengairs Thistle quickly became involved in the UVF's contemporary struggle to defend Ulster Protestants from the IRA.

The Greengairs Thistle's involvement with the UVF was not related to the paramilitary wing of the organization but with the Loyalist Prisoners Welfare Association (LPWA). This intimate engagement between the band and the LPWA was made possible through the close personal connections made with UVF members during the their yearly trips to Belfast during the

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[72] *Greengairs Thistle 30 Year Anniversary Programme*, 1997, 8.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid., 9

marching season and at Glasgow at Rangers football matches. Many band members became pen pals with UVF prisoners and some members even made periodic visits to Long Kesh prison for friendly visits.[75] In 1985 the Greengairs Thistle were presented with the "Battle Honor" standard of the 14th Battalion Royal Irish Rifles by the UVF for their work with the LPWA and were later presented with similar UVF and 36th Ulster Division standards, all three of which they still carry on parade.[76]

In 1987, the Greengairs Thistle changed their uniform to a design similar to that of the 36th Ulster Division.[77] The new uniform included brown wool pants and a brown wool jacket and hat with a green belt and green gaiters.[78] This was a major deviation from traditional loyalist flute band uniforms in Scotland, which commonly included red, orange, white or blue marching band attire. Just before the Greengairs Thistle took delivery of the replica uniforms, the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland summoned the band to appear before a parading committee at the Grand Orange Lodge meeting in Glasgow. The Orange committee determined that the Greengairs Thistle would not be allowed to wear their 36th Ulster Division uniforms during Orange Order parades in Scotland because they were associated with a modern paramilitary organization, the UVF.[79] The Greengairs Thistle refused to change their uniform and was subsequently banned from participating in Scottish Loyal Order parades until they made changes to their uniforms that conformed to Orange Order parading standards.[80] Members of the band who were also members of the Orange Order were expelled from the brotherhood for life.[81] The Greengairs Thistle still functioned as a loyalist Blood and Thunder flute band but because of their uniforms and UVF

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[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid., 11.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.

related standards they were relegated to marching in Northern Ireland where parading regulations were less strict. Today, one of the band's favorite songs to play while on parade is an original score called "Thistle" which recounts the epic battle between the Orange Order in Scotland and the Greengairs Thistle Flute Band over what kind of loyalism could be celebrated at Scottish Orange Order parades (Appendix A).

From the 1970s until 1989, the Scottish First Flute Band Association (SFFBA) was responsible for registering bands before they could participate in Orange Order parades. The SFFBA "enforced its own rules on lodge payments and band behavior in a period when loyalist bands were growing fast in Scotland."[82] By the end of the 1980s, a rift had grown between the Orange Order and the SFFBA because of its failure to properly regulate the decorum of loyalist bands. In 1989, the Orange Order officially dissolved its relationship with the SFFBA and gave the four county Grand Lodges the authority to tightly regulate the increasingly aggressive paramilitary influence that had gained popularity in the lowlands of Scotland during the 1980s. On September 1, 1989, the Orange Order in Scotland determined that the use of "YCV" and other symbols that could be interpreted as having paramilitary meaning were to be banned from marches involving the loyalist brotherhood.[83] They also moved to ban the playing of a host of "provocative" songs with overt sectarian or paramilitary connotations. Most notably among these was "The YCV Brigade," played to the tune of the traditional Irish folksong, "The Wild Colonial Boy," about an Irish Robin Hood-like character in Australia named Jim Duggan (see Appendix A). The Orange Order's official position regarding loyalist music was that "any tunes with paramilitary connotations was discouraged."[84] Bands with blatant paramilitary allegiances like the YCV and the Greengairs Thistle suffered as a result of the dissolution of the Orange

[82] "Boys of the Boyne," *Scotland on Sunday* (Glasgow), 1 July 1990. 27.
[83] Ibid, 28.
[84] Ibid.

Order's relationship with the SFFBA. According to the Scottish Orange Order, loyalist flute bands such as these, "had a paramilitary style and manner" that ran counter to Orange Order parading protocol thereby excluding them from participation on Orange ritual events.[85]

Members of the Young Cowdenbeath Volunteers who were simultaneously Orangemen withdrew their memberships in protest. They were followed by a number of other younger Orangemen who had also become frustrated and disillusioned with the Orange Order's unwillingness to publicly support the loyalist paramilitary effort in Ulster. Decisions regarding parade decorum alienated ultra-loyalists who increasingly viewed the hierarchy of the Scottish Orange Order as "sell-outs." Many of these disgruntled loyalists gravitated to Apprentice Boys of Derry Clubs who were not as strict about their guidelines for hiring bands and were much more public about their sympathies towards the loyalist paramilitary movement. According to *Scotland on Sunday*, in the wake of the Orange Order's decision to sever ties with the SFFBA, the number of Apprentice Boys of Derry clubs in the Scottish lowlands grew significantly.[86] Costello maintains that the Orange Order had lost sight of why the organization existed in the first place. For dedicated loyalists like Costello, the Orange Order was established as a bulwark against the ever-present danger of Catholic insurrection in Britain. These loyalists understood that Protestant control of Northern Ireland was tenuous and that in order for their "kith and kin" in Ulster to maintain their position within the United Kingdom, all loyalists should support the defense of that province against Republican terrorism. Costello argues that by the early 1990s, the Orange Order in Scotland had lost much of their "grassroots support." In the end, the attrition from the Order over its leadership's revision of parading decorum was relatively insignificant. Devoted loyalist bandsmen found it difficult to part with the custom of parading in

[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.

the Orange Order's official ritual parades. They were well aware that severing all ties with the Orange Order equaled virtual exclusion from participation in the annual Battle of the Boyne and other official Orange parades. For many loyalists this was analogous to banning a Christian from participating in Christmas or Easter. Their loyalist identities were inextricably linked to Orange ritualism. Although flute bands continued to flirt with the boundaries of acceptable decorum while on parade in Scotland, most chose to comply with the new Orange Order parading standards (see Appendix B for an example of an Orange Order contract for band participation in an Orange parade).

Contemporary loyalist Blood and Thunder flute bands in Scotland are the legacy of a long history of sustained Orange ritual practice that placed a heavy emphasis on military-style music as a primary agent of cultural diffusion. They are part of an Ulster-oriented lived musical folk tradition charged with sonically conveying the triumphs and tragedies of the loyalist story annually at Orange Order ritual events. Using established Orange ritual loyalist flute bands were able to influence the loyalist narrative through the songs they chose to play and how they chose to play them. They were also able to add their ideological and political voice to Orange Order ritual celebrations through their various contributions to the overall folk collage on display at loyalist gatherings. The fact that so many young working-class loyalists in Scotland increasingly turned to Blood and Thunder bands instead of the local Orange lodge as their primary mode of expressing their loyalist identity illustrates the steady decline in the power and overall importance of the Orange Order as the arbiter of loyalist popular culture during the final three decades of the twentieth century. The growing number of independent band parades held apart from official Orange Order's events demonstrates that popular interest in the custom of ritually parading to flute and drum music remains pervasive among loyalists. One decade into the

twenty-first century, the position of Blood and Thunder bands as one of the primary cultural arbiters of popular loyalism in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland remains intact.



Figure 15. Orangemen and the Cambuslang Volunteers Flute Band - 7 July 2007. Note the emblem on the Cambuslang Volunteers FB's bannerette looks remarkably similar to the UVF crest.



Figure 16. Lambeg drummer in Ballymena, Northern Ireland – 30 June 2009.



Figure 17. Bass drum player for the Greenock Young Defenders FB. Note the orange lilies attached to top of the drum.



Figure 18. A simple loyalist folk collage in Kinning Park during the Twelfth of July 2007.



Figure 19. The Black Skull FB - 16 June 2007.



Figure 20. The Whiterock FB on parade in Belfast during the Twelfth of July 2007.



Figure 21. “Loyalist swagger”



Figure 22. “Like father like son.” A loyalist family on parade in Port Glasgow 30 June 2007.



Figure 23. The Sons of the Somme Flute Band on parade in Glasgow -1 July 2007.



Figure 24. A young loyalist dressed in a Rangers kit prepares for his future as a drummer in a flute band.



Figure 25. A loyalist flute band alliance banner in Govan before the Rangers vs. Chelsea "Blues Brothers" match – 28 July 2007.

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth century a distinct and identifiable civil religion of loyalism took root in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland. It was a quintessentially Ulster-Irish phenomenon imported into the lowlands by successive waves Protestant Irish immigrants primarily from the north of Ireland during the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century. Loyalist civil religion gradually spread to other sectors of the lowland Protestant working-class population via the popular cultural vessels of the Orange Order, Glasgow Rangers Football Club, loyalist street gangs and paramilitary groups and loyalist flute bands. The civil religion of loyalism was composed of an understood collection of meaningful symbols, stories and, most importantly, rituals that bound members of the ethno-tribal group together. Like traditional supernatural religions, loyalist civil religion evoked a sense of commitment to an understood worldview and expressed an ultimate sense of worth, identity and destiny to the "community of believers." Loyalist civil religion possessed "well-defined elements – mythology, symbolism, theology, values and institutions – which combined to make a religion" similar to that of the religion of the "Lost Cause" in the old Confederate South.[1] Durkheim argued that all civil religious groups had a spiritual dimension at their core and that members of such groups often regarded the cultural artifacts, ideas and even the collective body of the civil religious community of believers itself as sacred.[2]

Loyalist civil religion in lowland Scotland was a lived folk tradition that grew out of a shared socio-cultural and historical experience. By the twentieth century, loyalist civil religion was comprised of a distinct structure of institutions including the Orange Order, Glasgow

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[1] Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980), 14.
[2] Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 37.

Rangers Football Club, loyalist street gangs and paramilitaries and loyalist flute bands. The elements that informed each of these loyalist groups were not unrelated, but part of a multidimensional and interactive civil religious movement. Each institutional framework of loyalism appealed to a wide range of viewpoints within the loyalist community but they all rallied around the same general "cause" and participated in the same ritual gatherings. Loyalism was also intergenerational. If a young loyalist did not support the strict orthodoxy of the Orange Order, they could choose to demonstrate their loyalist devotion by joining a more loyalist extremist flute band, street gang, hooligan firm or even a paramilitary group.

Although each institutional framework of loyalism functioned autonomously and their approach to celebrating their ethno-tribal identity sometimes varied, they all recognized and revered the basic symbols and tenets of loyalism. Each institutional framework of loyalism appropriated the same emblem of devotion: the Protestant hero, William III. William III was the symbolic anchor on which lowland loyalists justified their existence and actions. Loyalists revered William III as a man who was prepared to fight and die in defense of the Reformed Faith against the "devious" forces of Rome. The Protestant hero was viewed as the "Great Deliverer" and Providence's answer to the Roman Catholic tyranny of James II.[3] William III's overwhelming victory over James' Jacobite army at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 secured the Protestant ascendancy and the "civil and religious liberties" (which included the right to march down the "king's highway") that were considered worthy of maintaining and defending at any cost. Thus the loyalist cause can be seen as the defense and preservation of the Williamite legacy against the very real specter of Roman Catholic oppression. Loyalists regularly celebrated William III's achievements through public ritual commemorations that served as the glue that bonded members of the loyalist community into a collective civil religious group.

[3] Kevin Haddick-Flynn, *Orangeism: The Making of a Tradition* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1999), 13.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, loyalists in lowland Scotland thought of themselves as contemporary defenders of the Williamite legacy. "King Billy's" image appeared on a wide range of cultural artifacts including Orange Order bannerettes, Rangers scarves, flags, t-shirts and flute band drums. Jarman argues that loyalist symbols like that of William III retained their power over time because of their ambiguity, which allowed for them to "convey different things to different people."[4] Traditional Orangemen viewed the symbol of William III as the embodiment of the victory of liberty and Protestantism over the Roman Catholic absolutism of James Stuart in Britain during the Glorious Revolution. For loyalist paramilitaries, street gangs and many Rangers supporters, William III represented a more aggressive variant of militant loyalism that stressed ongoing physical confrontation with the Irish Catholic enemy. According to Jarman, this ambiguity was part of the importance of symbolic images like that of William III in the ritual process.[5] The symbol of William III was at the heart of loyalism. For all loyalist civil religious groups, William of Orange represented the symbolic beginning of their enduring "cause." A colorful Orange Order bannerette with a portrait of William III triumphantly crossing the Boyne River on his white steed with his outstretched sword above his head or the slogans, "Remember 1690" or "No Surrender," emblazoned on a Rangers supporter's scarf, was not entirely about the past. It was a timeless civil religious emblem that urged loyalist unity to meet perceived threats to all those things that constituted the loyalist civil religious tradition both in their contemporary lives and in the future.

This work argues that the endurance of loyalist civil religion in Scotland over the past two centuries was contingent on the identity group's regular observance of traditional loyalist rituals, namely Orange parades. For loyalists, the concept of "tradition" implied "a sense of

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[4] Neil Jarman, *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Berg, 1997), 255.
[5] Ibid, 256.

permanence, an unchanging deep-rooted custom, a continuity between what is done today and what was done by their forefathers."[6] The fact that the symbols associated with the loyalist civil religious tradition in lowland Scotland have not changed very much over time confirms a sense of unchanging permanence and destiny which was critical to the longevity of the loyalist identity group. Regular ritual commemorations of past events and heroes guided contemporary loyalist agendas and actions. Through the folk collage of symbols and songs and other folk displays at loyalist ritual events, the history and contemporary goals of loyalism were relayed to future generations of potential loyalists. The recurrent celebration of past military heroes, battles and blood sacrifices in the name of the loyalist cause helped to legitimize and sustain loyalist culture in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland, even after the civil religion of loyalism developed into a civil religion of a "Lost Cause."

Over the course the twentieth century, Scottish society became much more diverse and secularized and accordingly there was little popular tolerance outside of the loyalist community for loyalists' exclusively Protestant ideology. From the 1970s forward, Scottish government and law enforcement officials made a concerted effort to curb aggressively sectarian public displays of loyalist culture. This push to end overt sectarian expression in the lowlands was a direct reaction to "the Troubles" in Northern Ireland. Most Scots in the southwestern lowlands did not want a mini version of "the Troubles" on the streets of Glasgow. Many Glaswegians believed the explosive sectarian battles between Rangers and Celtic supporters at Old Firm matches were proof positive that the potential for street-level sectarian conflict was a very real possibility in the urban lowlands of Scotland. Rangers and their legions of loyalist fans became the main targets of this anti-sectarian clampdown. In Glasgow and the rest of lowland Scotland, Rangers were considered the symbolic hub of Ulster loyalist sentiment. The football club was popularly

[6] Ibid., 252.

associated with loyalist sectarianism because of its “Protestants only” hiring policy and open association with Orangeism. Ibrox Park was the point at which all loyalist institutions in lowland Scotland regularly converged to recommit themselves to “the cause,” especially during “the Troubles.” For most supporters, Rangers was not just a football club, but represented a loyalist way of life.

Following a string of violent sectarian hooligan incidents involving Rangers supporters during the 1970s and 1980s, Rangers officials were forced to dismantle many of the various trappings of the Ulster loyalist tradition that had long informed the club’s ethos. The signing of the club’s first official Roman Catholic player, Maurice Johnston, in 1989 formally ended Rangers’ longstanding sectarian hiring policy. This move was followed by efforts to ban select loyalist songs and symbolic displays unrelated to football from Ibrox. Supporters caught singing sectarian songs or engaging in any other behavior perceived to be racist or sectarian faced banishment from the club and heavy fines. Threats of fines and banishment from European competition, however, failed to totally eliminate the deeply entrenched loyalist culture which permeated the ranks of devout followers of Rangers FC into the first decade of the twenty-first century.

Efforts to disassociate Rangers from loyalism have been a failure thus far. The singing of so-called “sectarian” or “ aggressively offensive” songs like the “Famine Song,” “The Sash My Father Wore” and “The Billy Boys” have been heard at matches as recently as 2009, and loyalist symbols like the Red Hand of Ulster, the Union Jack and William of Orange are still ubiquitous features of Rangers fan regalia and gameday pageantry (Appendix A). Regardless of the fact that club officials have publicly distanced Rangers from its loyalist roots by attempting to forcibly censor the celebration of loyalist culture among the Ibrox faithful, the club still

maintains its status as a potent symbol of popular loyalism in lowland Scotland and Ulster. This is evidenced by the fact that Rangers jerseys, jackets and baseball caps continue to be worn as badges of loyalist identity by onlookers and marchers alike at Orange Order and independent loyalist flute band parades.[7] Contemporary loyalist Rangers supporters continue to celebrate a bygone ideal that is no longer attainable in modern Scotland.

The case of Rangers FC is just one example of how outside agents successfully forced loyalists in lowland Scotland to reconsider how they celebrated their cultural identity in public. Loyalist popular display was heavily censored by a host of authorities including the government, the police forces, the Rangers leadership, the SFA and UEFA. This incremental dilution of the articulation of loyalist culture had a profound affect on loyalist civil religion, particularly within the realm of public ritual display. It seemed as if loyalist culture was being systematically dismantled. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, traditional Orange parades in Scotland were intentionally rerouted to avoid sectarian conflict zones; the type of regalia, symbols and songs that were allowed at Orange parades were heavily regulated; and paramilitary organizations in Scotland were systematically eradicated. State funding for Catholic schools was still the subject of scorn at Orange Order demonstrations but loyalists had little, if any, political muscle to successfully contest the issue. Loyalists were also unable to stave off the rising tide of Scottish nationalism; the Scottish National Party (SNP), led by Scottish First Minister Alexander Salmond, has been the majority party in the Scottish Parliament since 2007. The current SNP platform includes a program for the eventual independence of Scotland from the United Kingdom, a policy move that the ultra-British loyalists vehemently oppose. By the end of the twentieth century, loyalist civil religion in southwestern Scotland's urban belt had evolved into a living folk culture that centered on a loyalist cause that no longer had practical application in

[7] Orangemen and loyalist bandsmen often wear a Rangers jersey under their marching regalia.

modern Scottish society. Despite this new reality, loyalists in Scotland still believed that their culture, ideas and values were still worthy of remembrance and celebration. Like Wilson's Southerners, loyalists in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland were resigned to celebrating a civil religion of a moral and just, but ultimately lost, cause. Despite these setbacks, loyalists continued to structure their lives around the ideological concepts and traditional rituals of loyalism.

In September 2006, Glasgow's Gallery of Modern Art in conjunction with the Glasgow City Council, launched an eighteen-month program of art exhibitions, workshops, lectures and outreach projects entitled, *Blind Faith: Contemporary Art and Human Rights*. The focus of this series of programs and art exhibitions was to "raise awareness and understanding of sectarianism and the related issues of identity, nation and territorialism" in lowland Scottish society.[8] *Blind Faith* was a response to the Scottish Executive's public recognition that sectarianism continued to be a major force in lowland Scotland. In 2006, First Minister Jack McConnell stated "the tide of public opinion is turning against the bigoted few, and we must let the bigots and the bullies know that sectarian behavior now has no place in today's society."[9] The sectarian expression that concerned McConnell in 2006 was primarily that of the ninety-minute variety. Football matches involving the Old Firm were still occasions for overt and sometimes aggressive sectarian expression during the first decade of the twenty-first century, but sectarian songs, chants and violence were much less prevalent because of a successful coordinated crackdown on sectarianism and antisocial behavior by the Rangers and Celtic leadership, the SFA, the Strathclyde police, the Scottish government and UEFA. The *Blind Faith* initiative was aimed at

[8] Blind Faith: Contemporary Art and Human Rights, 2007 program, Gallery of Modern Art (GoMA), Glasgow, 2007.
[9] *Blind Faith: Contemporary Art and Human Rights*, leaflet for Roderick Buchanan's *Histrionics* exhibition), Gallery of Modern Art (GoMA), Glasgow, 2007.

fostering a degree of understanding of each side of the sectarian divide in an effort to eradicate the remaining vestiges of sectarianism in lowland life.

One of the more informative exhibits associated with the *Blind Faith* program was a work entitled *Perfectly Wholesome*. *Perfectly Wholesome* included a series of six televisions suspended from the ceiling in the round. Each of the six televisions featured a filmed interview of an individual considered to be intimately familiar with the sectarian divide in lowland Scotland. The individuals featured in the *Perfectly Wholesome* exhibit included: Councilor Irene Graham; Councilor Robert MacBean; the national organizer from Cairde Na h'Eireann[10] Jim Slaven; the Chief Constable of the Strathclyde Police Department Kevin Smith; Councilor James Todd and, most importantly, the Grand Master of the Orange Order in Scotland, Ian Wilson. The format of *Perfectly Wholesome* was modeled on a committee room meeting format where views were presented, listened to and offered up for discussion. Films of the individual interviews were presented on a loop as if it were a roundtable discussion with the Glasgow Councilors acting as the interviewers. The questions asked by the interviewers focused on public perceptions of parades and their function in modern Scotland.

The questions answered by Grand Master Ian Wilson offered a great deal of insight into the state of lowland Scottish loyalist culture in the first decade of the twenty-first century. When asked if the popular perception of the Orange Order as an anti-Catholic institution was true, Wilson responded:

> The Order would never say it was anti-Catholic. The Order would say it's a Protestant … we are a Protestant fraternity. You cannot join the Orange Order unless you can subscribe to the Bible being your sole rule of faith. Now, that automatically excludes all sort of religious outlooks to be honest. Famously it

[10] A branch of Sinn Fein in Scotland.

> excludes Roman Catholics because they couldn't subscribe to that view … that as opposed to be being anti-Catholic. The difficulty is that there is always this mirror image, there's always this shadow.[11]

Wilson added that the Orange Order was, "sometimes tarred because of their proximity to the ongoing conflict in Northern Ireland and the various problems that have been perceived over there."[12]

Wilson was also asked how he would like the Orange Order in Scotland to be perceived by in the twenty-first century. He responded:

> I would like to be perceived as an organization that is within the Christian mainstream … as an organization that performs a more than useful social service through our halls and very powerful social life. I'd also like to be perceived as an organization that does an amazing amount of charity work. These are all aspects of the Order that people really know very little about.[13]

When the interviewer inquired as to why Grand Master Wilson believed the Orange Order was necessary in the twenty-first century and what loyalist principles still needed to be "defended, promoted and protected," he replied:

> I think there was a time the Order, probably about a century ago when the Order was saying, 'We are the People.' 'We stand for Queen and Country.' 'We are the people who defend the Protestant faith against all comers.' I think the Order has moved on as society has moved on. We are living in an increasingly secular society where if people have any religious inclinations at all it tends to be relatively … you

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[11] *Perfectly Wholesome* exhibit transcript, *Blind Faith: Contemporary Art and Human Rights*, Gallery of Modern Art (GoMA), Glasgow, 2007.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.

know … low key. It tends to be family background. It tends to be "Oh yes that's the church I once used to go to," kind of thing.

I don't know that the Order sees itself too much in the twenty-first century as necessarily defending a position. I think the Order has got certain principles, certain values, which I would certainly defend as being wholesome and perfectly good for people to hold. The whole idea of a fraternity of people binding together and enjoying one another's company and fellowship, the social side of the Order, the charity side of the Order are all good things and I think to be honest that in itself is enough justification for the Order to continue.

As long as an organization is perceived to have relevance for the people that belong to it, it will be sustained. The more difficult argument for me is to make you appreciate why it should be relevant to you. I don't know that it should necessarily relevant to you. I think society's got to be big enough to appreciate and accept that there will be organizations and societies and movements that we are not that particularly attracted to.[14]

Given its political, societal and cultural limitations in modern lowland Scotland, loyalist identity remains a strong cultural feature of urban working-class life. Despite internal differentiation and institutional divergences among the individual components of the larger loyalist civil religious group, there remains a centrality of common identity that continues to bind them together. Loyalism provides a cultural and political identity for many working-class lowland people. The endurance of the civil religion of loyalism in lowland Scotland is assured because loyalist outings like Orange Order meetings, band practice, loyalist parades and Rangers matches still provide meaningful social outlets and structure to the lives of numerous working-

[14] Ibid.

class lowland Protestants. The loyalist social network that remains in place also continues to provide a setting for the transmission of ideology and identity to future generations of loyalists.

The civil religion of loyalism currently functions as a folk preservation network that strives to maintain its distinct identity and cultural traditions through public ritual displays, membership in the Orange Order, participation loyalist flute bands or support of Rangers FC. Loyalist civil religion will endure in the southwestern lowlands of Scotland, but likely only as a small subculture in an increasingly pluralist society. As Steve Bruce explains, popular loyalism will probably be relegated to "small isolated communities, separated from the main [lowland Scottish] culture."[15] However, as long as supporting Rangers and loyalist identity remain intertwined, there will be no shortage of working-class lowland Scots willing to become devotees of loyalist civil religious culture in the future.

[15] Steve Bruce, *No Pope of Rome: Anti-Catholicism in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1985), 247.

Picture Credits

Figure 1. Crude sectarian loyalist graffiti left on the wall of the bathroom of The District Pub in Govan following the Rangers vs. Chelsea match - 28 July 2007. © R. Michael Booker Jr.

Figure 2. The intersection of loyalist civil religious institutions: Orange Order Rangers supporters from County Antrim, Northern Ireland visiting the Rangers Megastore at Ibrox Stadium in Govan – 7 July 2007. © R. Michael Booker Jr.

Figure 3. Orange Order bannerette depicting a New Testament scene. © R. Michael Booker Jr.

Figure 4. Orange Order bannerette featuring representation of William III crossing the River Boyne. © R. Michael Booker Jr.

Figure 5. . Glasgow Orange and Purple, District 12, Glasgow Grand Lodge Church Parade - 1 July 2007. © R. Michael Booker Jr.

Figure 6. The Orange Order on Parade in Port Glasgow – 30 June 2007. © R. Michael Booker Jr.

Figure 7. Orange Order color party carrying (from left to right) the Union Jack, the Orange Order flag, the Northern Ireland national flag and the Scottish Saltire – Port Glasgow, 30 June 2007. © R. Michael Booker Jr.

Figure 8. A traditional loyalist accordion band at the Battle of the Boyne parade in Glasgow – 7 July 2007. © R. Michael Booker Jr.

Figure 9. Kinning Park during the summer marching season. © R. Michael Booker Jr.

Figure 10. Glasgow Rangers Football Club mural in Belfast. © R. Michael Booker Jr.

Figure 11. Loyalist Rangers supporters from South Belfast at Falkirk vs. Rangers - 21 July 2007.

Figure 12. Paul Gascoigne (Gazza) pantomiming the playing of an Orange flute after scoring a goal for Rangers. © All Sport.

Figure 13. Portrait of Queen Elizabeth II placed by Graeme Souness in the Rangers locker room at Ibrox Stadium. © R. Michael Booker Jr.

Figure 14. Loyalist Mural in East Belfast that celebrates the cultural connection

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Figure 15. Orangemen and the Cambuslang Volunteers Flute Band -7 July 2007. © R. Michael Booker Jr.

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Figure 24. A young loyalist dressed in a Rangers kit prepares for his future as a drummer in a flute band. © R. Michael Booker Jr.

Figure 25. A loyalist flute band alliance banner in Govan before the Rangers vs. Chelsea "Blues Brothers" match – 28 July 2007. © R. Michael Booker Jr.

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Appendix

Appendix A. Loyalist/Orange Songs

"The Sash My Father Wore"

Sure I'm an Ulster Orangeman, from Erin's isle I came,
To see my British brethren all of honor and of fame,
And to tell them of my forefathers who fought in days of yore,
That I might have the right to wear, the sash my father wore!

Chorus –
It is old but it is beautiful, and its colors they are fine
It was worn at Derry, Aughrim, Enniskillen and the Boyne.
My father wore it as a youth in bygone days of yore,
And on the Twelfth I love to wear the sash my father wore.

For those brave men who crossed the Boyne have not fought or died in vain
Our Unity, Religion, Laws, and Freedom to maintain,
If the call should come we'll follow the drum, and cross that river once more
That tomorrow's Ulsterman may wear the sash my father wore!

And when some day, across the sea to Antrim's shore you come,
We'll welcome you in royal style, to the sound of flute and drum
And Ulster's hills shall echo still, from Rathlin to Dromore
As we sing again the loyal strain of the sash my father wore!

"The Sash My Father Wore"
(Richard Hayward version)

Sure I'm an Ulster Orangeman from Erin's Isle I came
To see my Glasgow brethren all of honor and of fame
And to tell them of my forefathers who fought in days of yore
All on the twelfth day of July in the sash my father wore.

Chorus –
It's ould but it's beautiful it's the best you ever seen
Been worn for more nor ninety years in that little Isle of Green
From my Orange and purple forefather it descended with galore
It's a terror to them paypish boys the sash me father wore.

So here I am in Glasgow town youse boys and girls to see
And I hope that in good Orange style you all will welcome me
A 'True Blue' blade that's just arrived from that dear Ulster's shore
All on the twelfth day of July in the sash my father wore.

And when I'm going to leave yeeze all "good luck" till youse I'll say
And as I cross the raging sea my orange flute I'll play
Returning to my native town, to ould Belfast once more
To be welcomed back by Orangemen in the Sash my father wore.

“The Green Grassy Slopes of the Boyne”

Air – “Three Cheers for the Red, White and Blue”
Some folks sing of mountains and valleys
Where wildflowers abundantly grow,
And some of the foam-crested billows
That surge in the waters below
But I’m going to sing of a river
And I hope in the chorus you’ll join,
Of the deeds that were done by King William
On the green grassy slopes of the Boyne.

Chorus –
Then the Orangemen remember King William
And your father who with him did join,
And fought for our glorious deliverance
On the green grassy slopes of the Boyne

On the banks of that beautiful river
The bones of our forefather lie,
Awaiting the sound of the trumpet
That calls them to glory on high;
In our hearts we will cherish their memories
And in one common brotherhood will join,
And praise God who sent us King William
To the green grassy slopes of the Boyne

Then Orangemen be loyal and steady
No matter whate’er may betide,
There’s nothing can make us discouraged
So long as we’ve God for our guide
And if ever our services are needed

I hope like true brethren you will join,
And fight like our fathers before us
On the green grassy slopes of the Boyne.

“Boyne Water”

July the first, of a morning clear, one thousand six hundred and ninety,
King William did his men prepare of thousands he had thirty.
To fight King James and all his foes, encamped near the Boyne Water;
He little feared, though two to one, their multitude to scatter.
King William called his officers, saying: "Gentlemen, mind your station,
And let your valor here be shown before this Irish nation;
My brazen walls let no man break, and your subtle foes you’ll scatter,
Be sure you show them good English play as you go over the water."
Both foot and horse they marched on, intending them to batter,
But the brave Duke Schomberg he was shot as he crossed over the water.
When that King William did observe the brave Duke Schomberg falling,
He reined his horse with a heavy heart, on the Enniskillenes calling:
"What will you do for me, brave boys?
See yonder men retreating?
Our enemies encouraged are, and English drums are beating."
He says, "My boys feel no dismay at the losing of one commander,
For God shall be our King this day, and I'll be general under."
Within four yards of our forefront, before a shot was fired,
A sudden snuff they got that day, which little they desired;
For horse and man fell to the ground, and some hung on their saddle:
Others turned up their forked ends, which we call *coup de ladle*.
Prince Eugene’s regiment was the next, on our right hand advanced
Into a field of standing wheat, where Irish horses pranced;
But the brandy ran so in their heads, their senses all did scatter,
They little thought to leave their bones that day at the Boyne Water.
Both men and horse lay on the ground, and many there lay bleeding,
I saw no sickles there that day?
but, sure, there was sharp shearing.
Now, praise God, all true Protestants, and heaven's and earth's Creator,

For the deliverance he sent our enemies to scatter.
The Church's foes will pine away, like churlish-hearted Nabal,
For our deliverer came this day like the great Zorobabal.
So praise God, all true Protestants, and I will say no further,
But had the papists gained that day, there would have been open murder.
Although King James and many more were ne'er that way inclined,
It was not in their power to stop what the rabble they designed.

“Rule, Britannia”

When Britain at heaven’s command
Arose from out the azure main,
This was the charter of the land,
And the guardian angels sung the strain:

Chorus –
Rule, Britannia – Britannia rule the waves,
Britons never shall be slaves.

The nations not so blest as thee
Must in their turn to tyrants fall,
While thou shall flourish great and free,
The dread and envy of them all

Still more majestic shalt thou rise,
More dreadful from each foreign stroke,
As the loud blast which tears the skies
Serves but to root thy native oak.

“Croppies Lie Down”

We soldiers of Erin, so proud of the name.
We'll raise on the rebels and Frenchmen our fame;
We'll fight to the last in the honest old cause,
And guard our religion, our freedom and laws;
We'll fight for our country, our King and his crown,
And make all the traitors and croppies lie down.
Down, down, croppies lie down.

The rebels so bold, when they've none to oppose,
To houses and haystacks are terrible foes;
They murder poor parsons and likewise their wives,
At the sight of a soldier they run for their lives;
Whenever we march over country and town,
In ditches and cellars the croppies lie down.
Down, down, croppies lie down.

In Dublin the traitors were ready to rise,
And murder was seen in their lowering eyes;
With poison, the cowards, they aimed to succeed,
And thousands were doomed by the assassins to bleed;
But the yeoman advanced, of rebels the dread,
And each croppy soon hid his dastardly head;
Down, down, croppies lie down.

United in blood to the country's disgrace,
They secretly shoot those they dare not to face;
But whenever we catch the sly rogues in the field,
A handful of soldiers makes hundreds to yield;
The cowards collect but to raise our renown,

For as soon as we fire the croppies lie down.
Down, down, croppies lie down.
While thus in this war so unmanly they wage,
On women, dear women, they turn their damn'd rage;
We'll fly to protect the dear creatures from harm,
They'll be sure to find safety when clasped in our arms;
On love in a soldier no maiden will frown,
But bless the brave troops that made croppies lie down.
Down, down, croppies lie down.
Should France e'er attempt, by fraud or by guile,
Her forces to land on Erin's green isle,
We'll show that they n'er can make free soldiers slaves,
They shall only possess our green fields for their graves;
Our country's applauses our triumphs will crown,
Whilst with their French brothers the croppies lie down.
Down, down, croppies lie down.

When wars and when dangers again shall be o'er,
And peace with her blessings revisit our shore;
When arms we relinquish, no longer to roam,
With pride will our families welcome us home:
We'll drink in full bumpers past troubles to drown;
A health to the lads that made croppies lie down.
Down, down, croppies lie down

Oh, croppies ye'd better be quiet and still,
Ye shan't have your liberty, do what ye will;
As long as salt water is formed in the deep,
A foot on the necks of the croppy we'll keep;
And drink, as in bumpers past troubles we drown,
A health to the lads that made croppies lie down;

Down, down, croppies lie down.

“The Billy Boys”

Hullo, hullo, we are the Billy Boys
Hullo, hullo, you’ll know us by our noise!
We’re up to our knees in Fenian Blood,
Surrender or you’ll die!
For we are the Bridgeton Billy Boys.

Wolverhampton Town

I'd been in exile for some years,
And my eyes filled up with tears,
When The Rangers came to Wolverhampton Town.
So I took a trip along,
Just to hear some famous songs,
When The Rangers came to Wolverhampton Town.
I stood there all alone,
While the boys all down from home,
Sang of Rangers, that team of great renown.
And a sight I'd never seen,
When they sang “God Save the Queen,”
When the Rangers came to Wolverhampton Town.
There's not a team like the Glasgow Rangers,
One of the famous songs they sung,
And a sight I'd never seen,
When they sang “God Save the Queen,”
When the Rangers came to Wolverhampton Town
Now on the field below,
The boys put on a show,
The like they've never seen at Molineux.
And the football it was grand,
From McMillan, Scott and Brand,
When the Rangers came to Wolverhampton Town.
Now the League flag must come nearer,
With men like Bobby Shearer,
The way he played at Wolverhampton Town.
And Wolves forever after, Will sing of Jimmy Baxter,
For on his head they placed a noble crown.

Now I knew it had to happen, I heard a mighty roar,
The famous Glasgow Rangers - They had scored!
And the sky was white and blue, Wolverhampton shook right through,
The royal rampant Rangers had come through.

“I was Born Under a Union Jack”
(Sung to the tune of Lee Marvin’s song “Wandering Star”)

I was born Under a Union Jack,

I was Born Under a Union Jack,

Do you know where Hell is?

Hell is on the Falls,

Heaven’s in the Shankill and we’ll guard old Derry’s Walls.

I was born under the Union Jack…

“The Famine Song”
(Sung to the tune of “Sloop John “B”” by the Beach Boys)

I often wonder where they would have been
If we hadn’t taken them in
Fed them and washed them, thousands in Glasgow alone
From Ireland they came
Brought us nothing but trouble and shame
Well the famine’s over, why don’t you go home?

Now Athenry Mike was a thief
And Large John he was fully briefed
And that wee traitor from Castlemilk
Turned his back on his own
They’ve all their papists in Rome
They have U2 and Bono
Well the Famine’s over, why don’t you go home?

Now they raped and fondled their kids
Thant’s what those perverts from the dark side did
And they swept it under the carpet and Large John he hid
Their evil seeds have been sown
Cause they’re not of our own
Well the famine’s over, why don’t you go home?

Now Timmy don’t take it from me
Cause if you don’t know your history
You’ve persecuted thousands of people
In Ireland alone
You turned on lights, and fuelled U-boats by night.
That’s how you repay us? It’s time to go home.

“Follow, Follow” (official version)

Though the straits be broad and narrow, we'll follow we will,
Follow we will, follow we will.
Though the straits be broad and narrow, we'll follow we will,
We will follow in the footsteps of our team. [God bless them]

Follow, follow, we will follow Rangers,
Everywhere, anywhere,
We will follow on,
To Dundee, Hamilton, Aberdeen and back again,
If they go to Dublin we will follow on.

For there's not a team like the Glasgow Rangers,
No not one, and there never shall be one,
Celtic know all about their troubles,
We will fight till the day is done.
For there's not a team like the Glasgow Rangers,
No not one, and there never shall be one!

“Follow, Follow”
Fan Modified Chorus (the different lyrics are bold)

Follow, follow, we will follow Rangers,
Up the Falls, Derry’s Walls,
We will follow on,
To Dundee, Hamilton, **fuck the Pope and the Vatican,**
If they go to Dublin we will follow on.

“God Save the Queen”

God save our gracious Queen,
Long live our noble Queen,
God save the Queen:
Send her victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us:
God save the Queen.
O Lord, our God, arise,
Scatter her enemies,
And make them fall.
Confound their politics,
Frustrate their knavish tricks,
On Thee our hopes we fix,
God save us all.
Thy choicest gifts in store,
On her be pleased to pour;
Long may she reign:
May she defend our laws,
And ever give us cause
To sing with heart and voice
God save the Queen

“YCV Brigade”
(Played to the melody of the Irish folksong: “The Wild Colonial Boy”)

Oh father why are you so sad this 1st of July morn,
When Ulster men are proud and glad of the land where they were born,
Oh, son I see in memory of days that used to be,
When being just a lad like you, I joined the YCV
In the hills and glens the call to arms were heard by one and all,
And from the glens came brave young men to answer Ulster’s call,
T'was long ago we faced the foe,
The YCV and me,
And by my side they fought and died that Ulster might be free.
So, now my son I’ve told you why on July morn I sighed,
For I recall the comradeship on dark old day's gone by,
I recall the men that fought in the glen with rifle and grenade,
Oh may, heaven keep the men that sleep in the YCV Brigade.
Oh may, heaven keep the men that sleep in the YCV Brigade!

“Hands Across the Water”

Just across the Irish Sea
Stirs a heart of Loyalty
Raised in Honour and in dignity
Drives a will to keep us British free
Not alone are we on this journey.

For in a land just across the sea
Is a hand that reaches out in friendship
And a bond that has lasted centuries.

And it's hands across the water
Reaching out for you and me
For Queen, for Ulster and for Scotland
Helps to keep our loyal people free
Let the cry be "No Surrender!"
Let no-one doubt this Loyalty
Reaching out to the Brave Red Hand of Ulster,
Is the hand across the sea.

“Three Scottish Soldiers”

Three Boys came to Belfast, their country to serve
and suffer a fate, which no man should deserve.
For they were off duty, and out for the day
when all three fell victims, of the IRA.
Their sleeping in heavenly peace, their sleeping in heavenly peace.

Their young lives were over, their duty was done,
only god knows when that day had begun.
That these Scottish soldiers, would each lose their life
For being here in Belfast to fight on our side.
Their sleeping in heavenly peace, their sleeping in heavenly peace.

The three lay together, in that dark country road still friends by day,
they stood y their cause.
For serving our country with honour and pride, let’s be grateful Belfast
they stood on our side.
Their sleeping in heavenly peace, their sleeping in heavenly peace.

To the people of Scotland, my god what a blow!
They can’t understand, who could sink so low.
They think here in Belfast there’s nothing but scorn,
For Queen’s colours, these boys had worn.
If only they knew, how we cried when we learned how these boys had died.
We must stand firm in Ulster, we must make it plain,
That these Scottish soldiers, had not died in vain.
We must show the whole country, that Ulster is true.
That good the people here love the red, white and blue!
Let’s never forget what it cost, and make sure our Ulster is not lost.

“The Wild Colonial Boy”
(Irish Version)

There was a wild colonial boy, Jack Duggan was his name.
He was born and raised in Ireland, in a place called Castlemaine.
He was his father's only son, his mother's pride and joy.
And dearly did his parents love the wild colonial boy.
At the early age of sixteen years, he left his native home.
And to Australia's sunny shore, he was inclined to roam.
He robbed the rich, he helped the poor, he shot James MacEvoy.
A terror to Australia was the wild colonial boy.
One morning on the prairie, as Jack he rode along.
A listening to the mocking bird, a-singing a cheerful song.
Up stepped a band of troopers: Kelly, Davis and Fitzroy.
They all set out to capture him, the wild colonial boy.
Surrender now, Jack Duggan, for you see we're three to one.
Surrender in the Queen's high name, you are a plundering son.
Jack drew two pistols from his belt, he proudly waved them high.
I'll fight, but not surrender, said the wild colonial boy.
He fired a shot at Kelly, which brought him to the ground.
And turning round to Davis, he received a fatal wound.
A bullet pierced his proud young heart, from the pistol of Fitzroy.
And that was how they captured him, the wild colonial boy.

“Build My Gallows”

I am a Loyal Ulster man
They say this day that I must hang
Cause I fought the IRA
They say that I must pay
Well they say this day that I must hang.

So build my gallows build them high
That I might see before I die
The Antrim glen and the hills of County Down
And I'll see again the lights of home.
Well I am a Loyal Ulster man
They say this day that I must hang
I fought those evil men
And I'd do it all again
They say this day that I must hang.

So build my gallows build them high
That I might see before I die
The Antrim glen and the hills of County Down
And I'll see again the lights of home.
I am a Loyal Ulster man
They say this day that I must hang
Well I fought that evil band
And I freed my native land
They say this day that I must hang.
So build my gallows build them high
That I might see before I die
The Antrim glen, the hills of County Down
And I'll see again the lights of home.

The Antrim glen, the hills of County Down
And I'll see again the lights of home.

“Thistle”

Well the drums roll, the cymbals clash the flutes begin to play
We hail from Greengairs village just north of Airdrie
Our own ones they deserted us, so alone now we must
To fight for God & Ulster as the Greengairs Thistle band.

T'was in the year of 87 the Thistle we caused a storm
We choose to wear the uniform the troops wore at the Somme
This was unacceptable to our Orange peers
Because it was the uniform of the Ulster Volunteers.

Well we wouldn't change the uniform for that we got a ban
No more would the Thistle walk with the Orangeman
They told us drop your standards of that there was no fear
For there the battle honours of the Ulster Volunteers.

So now you've heard some history of the Greengairs Thistle band
Not many people fond of us for they don't understand
Our only aim was to support the Ulster Volunteers
It's something that's being going on for more than 20 years.

So next time when you see us just give a little wave
To the band that carry the colours of the Long Kesh Volunteers
And when the people ask you "Who is that gallant band?"
Tell them that's the Greengairs Thistle, they’re the best in the land!

Appendix B. Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland Band Contract of Engagement, 2005-2010

Clause 1

All bands shall by engaged by a Private [local] Lodge, District Lodge, County Grand Lodge or Grand Lodge of Scotland before they can take part in any parade under the auspices of the Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland and shall be under the jurisdiction of these bodies, singularly or jointly, for the full term of the engagements notified.

All Scottish flute and accordion bands so engaged must belong to a band association recognized by the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Clause 2

No band shall have on parade any member of the Orange Institution who, following the results of disciplinary procedure has been suspended for an offence (other than non-payment of duties) or expelled.

No band shall have on parade former members of a band which has been debarred from taking part in parades with the Orange Institution by the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Clause 3

All band members must maintain uniformity of dress, reflecting the dignity of the Orange Institution. This will be defined as full dress uniform including cap, or Highland dress. Bass drummers only may dispense with the cap and jacket of a full dress uniform and may substitute a single colored jersey or shirt.

Dispensation to vary the foregoing uniform can only be given by the County Grand Lodge of association to which the band belongs or by Grand Lodge of Scotland.
The alternative uniform will be subject to inspection before a decision is made.

Clause 4

Only one adult drum major will be permitted on parade.

Clause 5

No Lambeg drums shall be permitted as part of a band's ensemble. Application for the use of a Lambeg drum, as a single instrument accompanied by one or two “fifes” can be made by lodges or District Lodges wishing to hire these directly to their County Grand Lodge, who will consider the application in light of the circumstances pertaining to the parade applied for. An application rejected by the County Grand Lodge is final and without appeal. Grand Lodge of Scotland may also consider applications for parades organized at that level.

Clause 6

A maximum of three flags can be displayed, one of which must be the Union flag. Bands from within the United Kingdom can additionally display a further two, from the Saltire, Saint George [England] and Northern Ireland flags. Bands from outside the United Kingdom may display the flag of their own country, provided the total number of flags does not exceed three. Bands may also display a bannerette denoting the band name only.

Clause 7

Bands must comply with the provisions of Terrorism Act 2000. No paramilitary symbolism or connotation will be displayed on uniforms, drums, flags or bannerettes. This includes a chosen name giving the initials of a proscribed paramilitary organization or YCV.

Clause 8

Bands will employ regulation step without deviation while on parade. The numbers in each rank of a Band will be determined in accordance with the numbers in the Band but cannot exceed the number laid down in any Local Authority conditions relating to parades/processions.

Bands will maintain the predetermined numbers in their ranks at all times during parades, except in cases of emergency.

In respect of bass drums, double drumming (two players on one drum) or twin drumming (two bass drums) is prohibited.

Shouting or singing on parade is expressly forbidden.

Clause 9

Traditional Orange airs should form the greater part of a band's repertoire while taking part in Orange parades. These can be augmented with marches and hymns.

Clause 10

Bands must not play music or indulge in drumming in the field during public meetings associated with the annual Boyne celebrations or at any rally where a public meeting forms part of the proceedings.

Clause 11

No alcohol is allowed into a field where annual Boyne celebrations or rallies take place. Under no circumstances should alcohol be consumed in ranks during a parade.

It is strongly recommended that band members refrain from drinking alcohol at all from early morning until the conclusion of evening parades. Any complaint against, or behavior by, individual band members which relate to alcohol will have repercussions on the band as a whole.

Clause 12

No deacon poles, batons or canes shall be carried by band personnel.

Clause 13

A new band in their inaugural year must be sponsored by a Private or District Lodge and must actively participate in parades with that lodge. Sponsorship by a Private Lodge is initially

subject to the approval of the District Lodge under whose warrant the Private Lodge operates. All sponsoring of new bands is subject to the ultimate approval of the County Grand Lodge which governs the Private or District Lodge involved in the sponsorship.

A band, while under sponsorship, may take part in other parades held under the jurisdiction of the Orange Institution, where the sponsoring Lodge, or representatives of the trustees of the sponsoring lodge, also participate.

At the conclusion of all engagements undertaken by a band in their inaugural year, the sponsoring lodge are required to submit a report on the band to their County Grand Lodge, with a copy to their District Lodge if applicable. Should the band concerned be based within the boundaries of another County Grand Lodge, then a copy of the report should be furnished to that County Grand Lodge, by the County Grand Lodge which initially received it.

Clause 14

Bands must strictly adhere to the conditions relating to parades/processions as laid down by local authorities. No member of a band should approach a police officer directly. Should any approach to the police be deemed necessary, this must be done through an officer of the lodge hiring the band, or through officers of District, County Grand or Grand Lodge.

Clause 15

A minimum of two thirds of the declared band personnel must be on parade before the fee for an engagement is paid. Non-playing personnel will not be accepted as part of the band.

Clause 16

The band secretary must read the terms and conditions of the band contract to a full attendance of band members prior to each parade.

Failure to do so does not absolve the band, or its members, from the consequences of an

infringement of the conditions of the contract.

Clause 17

The fees for all engagements are those agreed between the respective Band Associations and the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland. These hold from January 2004 for a period of three years and are as follows:

Date of Engagement

- Junior and Juvenile Rally – £30
- Junior and Juvenile Church Parade – £20
- Adult Church Parades – £100
- Adult Boyne Celebrations – £350
- All other parades by negotiation.

Meals - Provision of meals to be agreed between the hiring lodge and the band. Where no meal is provided a sum of money per playing member of the band, including the drum major, may be allocated.

Agreement

Name and number of hiring lodge -

. . . . . .

Name of band -

. . . . . .

Number of playing personnel in band - . . . . . .

. . . . . .

Name and address of band secretary -

. . . . . .

Acknowledgement

I agree to the conditions as stipulated in the band contract and, in the event of any violation of these conditions, accept that the band will be dealt with at the discretion of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland, normally, but not confined to, the procedure agreed with the band associations.

I understand, however, that for persistent contravention of the conditions of the band contract, or behavior of a manner likely to bring discredit to the Orange Order, while on parade, the Master of the lodge organizing the parade, be this Private Lodge, District Lodge, County Grand Lodge or the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland, is empowered to have the band removed from the parade.

Signature of band secretary (on behalf of band) -

. . . . . .

Signature of secretary of jurisdiction engaging band -

. . . . . .

Other signatures where applicable -

. . . . . .

In the event of a new band being engaged in their inaugural year by a private lodge, the band contract should be countersigned by the District and County Grand Secretary. The County Grand Secretary should countersign the contract where a district engages a band in this category.

District and Private Lodge Secretaries

Three copies of the band contract should be signed, a copy to be retained by the lodge engaging the band. A copy retained by the band and a copy furnished to the County Grand Secretary or Grand Secretary should the parade involved come under the jurisdiction of Grand

Orange Lodge of Scotland.

Bands from outwith Scotland are required to sign a Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland contract, furnish a photograph of their uniform, equipment and standards and forward a letter of approval from a private or district lodge of that area prior to taking part in the parade.

Vitae

R. Michael Booker Jr. was born in Birmingham, Alabama in 1974. He earned his Bachelor of Arts degree in History from Auburn University in 1997 and Master of Arts degree in History from the University of Colorado, Colorado Springs in 2001. Michael Booker is married to Jennifer Y. Booker and currently resides in Knoxville, Tennessee.