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THE LOYAL ORANGE INSTITUTION IN SCOTLAND 1799 TO 1900

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University of Glasgow,
Faculty of Social Sciences,
Department of Sociology.
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DEDICATION

To Thomas McFarland

Acknowledgements

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

DGM	Deputy Grand Master.
DS	District Secretary.
GC	Glasgow Courier.
GCA	Glasgow Conservative Association.
GCOA	Glasgow Conservative Operatives Association.
GH	Glasgow Herald.
GN	Glasgow News.
GS	Grand Secretary.
GT	Greenock Telegraph.
GWMEA	Glasgow Working Man's Evangelistic Association.
HDGM	Honorary Deputy Grand Master.
HSGM	Honorary Substitute Grand Master.
INL	Irish National League.
LOI	Loyal Orange Institution.
LOL	Loyal Orange Lodge.
LU	Liberal Unionist.
MWCGM	Most Worshipful County Grand Master.
MWGM	Most Worshipful Grand Master.
NBDM	North British Daily Mail.
OAS	Orange Association of Scotland.
OI of GB	Orange Institution of Great Britain.
PCA	Paisley Conservative Association.
SPA	Scottish Protestant Alliance.
SRA	Strathclyde Regional Archives.
SRO	Scottish Records Office.

SRS Scottish Reformation Society.
WDC Western Divisional Council.
WPGM Worshipful Past Grand Master.
WSPA West of Scotlana Protestant Association.

Abstract

The thesis has a number of general aims, which range around conceptualising the Loyal Orange Institution [LOI] and laying it open for a fruitful theoretical approach. There is first in Section One, a demarcation of the object of study, drawing a rigorous line between the LOI and a much more indefinite body of militant Protestant and anti-Catholic sentiment. Following on from this, the causal regress is shifted beyond a commonsense attribution of 'sectarianism', and the conspiratorial or functionalist emphases which tend to dominate the existing literature.

Generally more appropriate, in analysing Orangeism's progress in 19th century Scotland, is a conception of ideology which is structural and objective. Yet care is also taken here not to erase all instances of social control in the Movement's history. These, it is suggested, can be viewed as arising from basic inequalities of power in capitalism, in turn the result of economic inequalities and control of the state apparatus.

A further difficulty with the more 'sophisticated' Marxist approach is also raised. For, if this is a better fit with Orangeism's political and ideological content; in its embracing of endemic fractionalisation of the proletariat, it does seem to abandon a characteristic Marxist class analysis in favour of a neo-Weberian one.

It is agreed that this indicated the need for a new Marxist approach to sectionalism. The construction of such an approach, however, requires concrete historical work rather than more speculative theorising. Accordingly it is the former which is the concern of this thesis, though it does raise a number of themes which are important for further theoretical consumption. Section Two, for example, suggests the necessity of rethinking the relation between sectarianism and sectionalism in the workplace. Related to this must also be a reconsideration of the 'labour aristocracy' concept, and the explanatory value of 'marginal privilege' in connection with Orangeism. The Section further emphasises the need for a phenomenological dimension in any new theory of working class sectionalism, a sensitivity to self-perceptions being particularly crucial in understanding the sources of motivation for Orangeism and the internal divisions which characterised it.

An important substantive problem also structures this, and Section Three dealing with Orange political practice - namely how to account for the LOI's absolute strength, yet relative weakness in Scotland. The predicates for the former, it is argued, are found in a sympathetic ideological climate, and in the impact of successive home rule and Disestablishment crises. Above all, though, it is suggested that the real backbone of LOI support in 19th century Scotland was formed by Ulster Protestant migrants. In Orange relations with the churches and political parties, however, this 'Ulster factor' could

prove a double-edged sword. For while the migrants themselves were largely integrated into Scottish society, Orangeism itself was widely perceived as an extension of Irish 'party' quarrels.

Coupled with a reputation for violence and drunkenness, this factor interacted in turn with broader cultural and political, as well as economic, features of 19th century Scotland. Notably these included schisms in the Scottish churches, the precarious position of the Conservative party here, and the focus of political decision-making outside the country. These points indicate, finally, the importance of an awareness of the specificity of social formations in any new approach to sectionalism.

SECTION 1

THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

CHAPTER 1

WHAT IS ORANGEISM?

The Orange Institution has been a major form of working class mobilisation in the 19th century, yet has been marginalised in most accounts of class relations here. This is unfortunate since it provides an excellent basis for intervening in certain pivotal debates in sociology. Notably then, this thesis is concerned with competing theories of ideology, and approaches to working class sectionalism.

However, before any discussion can take place on these lines, the first task in this work must be to conceptualise Orangeism precisely, marking an analytic distinction between the Loyal Orange Institution (L.O.I.) and associated bodies such as the Royal Black Preceptory (R.B.P.), and more diffuse manifestations of militant Protestantism to which an 'Orange' epithet is often confusingly applied. To this end the former's structures and ideology in 19th century Scotland will be examined and a typological presentation offered, drawing on some perspectives from the sociology of religion.

Organisational and Degree Structures

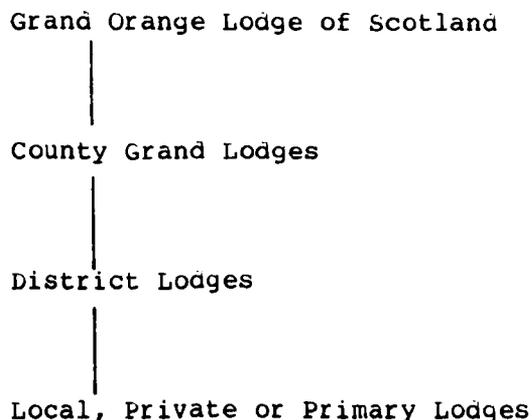
At the outset one must be unequivocal on the relation between Orangeism and Freemasonry, one which is frequently misconceived in 'commonsense' and anecdotal accounts. Freemasonry does represent one of the most important precursors of Orangeism in terms of organisation and symbolism. 'Borrowings' from the older body, as Sibbet indicates, were notably employed in the Order's formative years.¹ This seems particularly probable in Scotland given the strength of

operative masonry there in the 18th century, a form which has certainly made a large contribution to the practices of modern speculative masonry. ²

There was, however, no organisational link whatever between the two bodies in Scotland and the limited overlap of personnel will be indicated subsequently. Rather, one more fruitful point of reference with the Masonic Society is the hierarchical system of lodges characterising the Scottish L.O.I. from its reconstitution in the mid 1830's. There were, for example, four types of Orange Lodge: the Local, sometimes referred to as the Private or Primary Lodge; the District, covering an area like Bridgeton or Paisley; the County Grand Lodge, such as Ayrshire; and the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland. ³

Again like Freemasonry a certain democratic input was present in this structure. Thus every Orangeman joined firstly his local lodge whose officebearers, Worthy Master (W.M.), Secretary etc., were open to annual election. In turn the members of the District Lodge were drawn from the Private Lodges in the area, and the Grand Lodge consisted of officers drawn from the Districts and Counties. Meeting twice yearly, this latter body provided policy direction for the movement, organised and co-ordinated the major 12th of July demonstration and November soiree each year and acted as a final court of appeal on disciplinary matters. As in the local lodges its officers, including that of Most Worshipful Grand Master (M.W.G.M.) were open to annual election, though often this could become a formality. George McLeod was M.W.G.M. for five years and C.I. Paton from 1874 till his death in 1889. ⁴

Fig. 1: L.O.I Administrative Structure



In the basic structure of the Local lodges, which had an average of 30-40 members, the majority of business seems to have been dominated by scripture readings and routine administrative work, minutes and correspondence, and with the applications of new members. Indeed three accounts from very different stages of Orange history describe meetings which follow this familiar format. ⁵

As well as its fairly straightforward organisational structure though, the L.O.I, again similar to Freemasonry, also had a structure of 'degrees', and 'degree work' which played a vital part in the regular lodge meeting. In this way the new entrant was first initiated into the ritual of the Orange degree and the scriptural knowledge and biblical allegory and symbolism associated with this rank. After six months good conduct he would move into the Purple Marksman's degree, having been initiated into the meaning of another set of signs and allegories. This was originally introduced around the 1798 Rebellion in Ireland when the persecution of the republican United Irishmen drove many former members and associates into the Orange Order for protection, and a means of excluding those of dubious

political affiliations from Orangeism's inner secrets seemed indispensable.

Based on 'Gideon's Chosen Few' in the Old Testament, the initiation rituals associated with these degrees, though possibly involving some test of courage in the past, were more usually pedestrian versions of original masonic degrees. ⁶

Such then are the basic structural characteristics of the 19th century L.O.I. However, also to be considered are the associated institutions which unlike Free Masonry are decisively linked by membership and ideology to the L.O.I and thus can be grouped under the term Orangeism. Of these, most central to our 19th century Scottish theme is the Imperial Black Chapter of the British Commonwealth or the Royal Black Preceptory. Orders like the Royal Arch Purple and the Apprentice Boys of Derry were still mainly confined to Ulster at this time and Juvenile and Ladies Lodges had not significantly developed. ⁷

Known colloquially as 'the sedate order' as opposed to the 'rag-tag' rank and file Orange Institution, the R.B.P. appealed to a more discerning interest in ceremony and ritual rather than public procession. For although sharing the same roots as the Purple degree, it displayed much more of an esoteric and allegorical emphasis - described by Roberts as a 'system of Byzantine splendour'. ⁸ Though technically a separate body with its headquarters in Belfast, one could not become a member of a Black Preceptory (lodge) without first being an Orangeman. Again this organisation included a complex degree and rank system, and on joining every member was able to go through a series of ten degrees based on an elaborate interpretation of the scriptures. (The function of this in helping to construct an identity

for the average Orangeman is discussed in Chapter 5).

Fig. 2: Degree Structure of L.O.I. and R.B.P.

<u>Royal Black Perceptory</u>	Ten Degrees	Red Cross Link and Chain Crimson Arrow Star and Garter Royal Gold Royal Green Royal White Apron and Blue Royal Mark Royal Scarlet.
<u>Loyal Orange Institution</u>	Two Degrees	Purple Marksman's Orange.

Ideology

To complement this description of Orangeism's organisational features, there should be a brief account of the distinctive ideology - in the simple sense of a system of ideas - which sustained it, along with some initial thoughts on how this was successfully transmitted.

No single authoritative source exists for the Orange world view and as well as Orange public utterances of the period, four key texts have been employed: one of the L.O.I.'s first chaplains Rev. Robert Gault's "Popery, the Man of Sin and the Son of Iniquity" (1853); "Mariolatry.." (1864) by the Grand Secretary of the Order, Thomas Macklin; "The Protestant" magazine 1873-4 published by Orangeman H.A. Long; and "A Catechism of the Principles of Protestantism" (1879) written by M.W.G.M., Chalmers I. Paton. These texts were available to the average Orangemen. Familiarity with the 'Catechism', in fact, became a prerequisite for passing to the Purple degree.

One useful way to approach a clearer codification of the material contained here is to follow Roberts in assessing in turn the positive

and negative moments in the L.O.I.s ideology - militant Protestantism and anti-Roman Catholicism.

As regards the former, the traditional Reformation concepts of Biblical authority and the sole mediatorship of Christ were central, with particular importance being attached to a fundamentalist interpretation of the Scriptures. Thus, reasoned Paton, Protestantism is 'pure Scriptural Christianity...the very religion brought by Our Lord Jesus Christ and by His Apostles....The Bible alone is the Protestant rule of faith from which nothing can be taken away and nothing added. Absolute and supreme authority belongs to the Bible because it is the Word of God. The whole Word of God is contained in the Scriptures...which are the very Word of God and nothing else and we have no other revelation of the Truth or the Word of God.' ⁹

Co-existing with these traditional evangelical sentiments was also an awareness of the liberating potential of Protestantism. Thus one of this religion's first principles was described in 1854 in an address to the Greenock Orangemen as, "The right of private judgement" with "God alone as Lord of conscience". ¹⁰ The point was given particular emphasis by Paton: "Protestants hold that every man is entitled - nay bound - to think for himself in matters of religion, to enquire for himself into the meaning of scriptures, the doctrines to be believed". ¹¹

Although at this point there may seem little to distinguish Orangeism from wider evangelical tendencies, in fact the L.O.I.s framework of belief contains a very specific combination of both Lutheran and Calvinist strains, emphasising respectively, faith, the scriptures and an Apostolic church, and individual acceptance of the

work ethic and salvation by divine grace. Crucially this in turn gave the Order a basis for claiming a superior ecumenical stance, as George McLeod explained, "we have in our ranks episcopalians and presbyterians of various denominations and we never allow the little schisms between these parties to be an obstacle in our way".¹²

Whereas in the contemporary Order, as Bruce notes, this 'ecumenicalism' has produced a highly generalised and non-controversial position on ecclesiastical issues, in the 19th century it was accompanied by very definite views on church government and the church/state relationship, with the Order holding that "the establishment of the Church of Scotland was consistent with the National religion of God and the Church of God and the religion taught in the Holy Scriptures and that its disestablishment would be a great national sin and national calamity".¹³

In addition the ability to appeal to all Protestants set the L.O.I, it believed, above the various competing denominations with its own members "adoring the Gospel, walking by faith, fighting the good fight of faith and rejoicing in hope: not mere controversialists but humble and devout followers of Christ". In contrast with the supineness of 'nominal protestants' and assaults from within the fortress of evangelical Christianity, indicted by Gault, the Order was quite simply "the foremost organisation for Protestantism" or "Protestantism in action".¹⁴ Indeed the language and symbolism of Orangeism here was frequently drawn from the Old Testament books of Exodus, the Prophets and Ruth and were quite coherent with casting the Orangemen in the role of 'the chosen few' or even, 'the Children of Israel'.¹⁵ (For the effects of such strident claims on relations with the Scottish churches

see Chapter 7).

The religious and ecclesiastical principles of Orangeism also brought it, however, into the political arena, for the primary safeguards for 'the Protestant Religion' in Britain were seen as lying precisely in 'the Protestant Crown and Constitution', as established in the Revolutionary settlement of 1689. In practice, in the 19th century this promoted Orange support for the Conservative party as the best guardians of these institutions. "They go in for a National church, national creed...as well as individual Christianity...".¹⁶ Again it is important to note that in this alliance the L.O.I. was viewed by its members as the superior organisation, for its 'true Christianity' set it above political as well as ecclesiastical party.

A following section, moreover, will examine in detail how 'loyal' support for the Conservatives was also basically conditional on the party retaining its 'Protestant' reputation in Orange eyes. In this chapter though, the subversive potential of this 'Protestants First' principle can also be illustrated by the rather surprising instance of Orange monarchism.

In this way although the monarch received extremes of veneration and loyalty, this was largely dependent on his or her retaining the 'true faith' and a proper respect for Civil and Religious Liberty. For implicit here, as Roberts suggests, was Huguenot belief inspired by the neo-Calvanist Beza, and propagated in 16th century Scotland by Andrew Melville, that there is a right of necessary and lawful resistance to injustice and tyranny.¹⁷ It was such a position, as Roberts again notes, that provided the specific justification for U.V.F. involvement before W.W.I. but was also most strongly voiced in

the 19th century by H.A. Long against no less a figure than Queen Victoria. "We have been often grieved", he stated, "to see our Queen travelling on the Sabbath. Should Her Majesty so far forget herself as to do so again, we may see a blessed strike - men refusing to toil unnecessarily on the Lord's day. A lesson of this sort from the million to the ten would be the proper thing. Our operatives have often struck against capital; let them strike against sin in high places". 18

The same sense of 'absolute values' can also be identified in Orangeism's anti-Catholicism; though in keeping with the Grand Lodge's quest for a respectable status for the L.O.I. as a religious organisation rather than a fighting society. It was on Roman Catholicism as a system not on its individual practitioners that the official Orange attack was concentrated. Again C.I. Paton emphasised the position when he used the term 'deadly foe', "he did not speak of papists but of Popery. We ought to have no unkindly feelings towards the poor benighted members of the Church of Rome, but we cannot reject popery with too intense detestation". 19

In essence this official ideology stated that Popery differed from Protestantism in its role of faith, which was basically unscriptural. "Instead the tradition of the Church is granted equal authority with the Holy Scriptures in all that relates to faith and religious practice". 20 This element of human invention "substituted for the spirit and truth of God's worship..." has three most evil consequences: first, it results in theological errors such as papal supremacy and infallibility and various sacramental practices; secondly, it produces superstition, exemplified in saint worship and

the adoration of relicts; finally, it engenders cruelty as demonstrated historically by the Church's intolerant and persecuting spirit, and its great wealth as contrasted with its exploitation of poor Roman Catholics - again a certain 'democratic' element enters the critique here.

In turn, moreover, these elements of error, superstition and cruelty produced among believers another three-fold harvest not only of immorality and disloyalty but of pauperism. At this point indeed the Orange world view approaches a 'sociology' of religious affiliation, with some resemblance to an extremely crude version of Weber's thesis in 'The Protestant Ethic'. Paton voices the point particularly well, "These differences [between the 'private judgement' of Protestantism and Roman Catholic spiritual authoritarianism] have great effects not only on the whole religious life of those who receive them, but extending beyond it and appearing even in the intellectual development of those subject to their influences; Protestant communities being characterised by general intelligence, pursuit of knowledge, activity, industry and enterprise, Popery by apathy, indolence and supineness, so that while Protestant communities are generally flourishing, the condition of Popish communities is generally the reverse. The Protestant doctrine of the right of personal judgement facilitates the mind to activity, whilst the Popish doctrine lays an arrest on the very exercise of the intellectual faculties and reduces man to a state where something of a mental torpor locks securely chains which bind the soul".²¹

The geographical evidence provided here was plentiful, pointing, for example, to the economic contrasts between Holland and Spain, or New England and Mexico. For Rev. Gault, however, it was above all Ireland which "affords a lamentable illustration of the baneful effects of

Popery...where it was fatal to temperance and prosperity...a weight which hinders the progress of all to whom it is allowed". 22

There is less in Orangeism's 'No Popery' than in the Order's 'positive Protestantism' to distinguish it from other anti-Catholic groups of the 19th century, such as the West of Scotland Protestant Association, but it is particularly remarkable for the extremely formulaic and stylised nature of its rhetoric. This feature indeed permits its final setting out in diagrammatic form for the sake of clarity.

Fig. 3: Breakdown of 'No Popery' charges against Roman Catholicism

Usurpation of scriptural basis of religion, replaced by human invention and 'will worship'

<u>THEOLOGICAL ERROR</u>	↓ <u>SUPERSTITION</u>	<u>CRUELTY</u>
Supremacy & Infallibility of Pope and priests	Idolatory	Human Rights
Indulgences	worship of Saints and Virgin Mary	Wealth of Church
Transubstantiation and Sacrifice of the Mass	Miracles	Exploitation of Poor
Spurious antiquity of the Church	Holy Places	Jesuit conduct
* Bible Access	Relicts	Persecution, historical instances: Waldenses Albigensians, 30 years war, St. Bartholomew's Eve,
Auricular Confession	Monks	Evocation of Edict of Nantes, Spanish
Purgatory	Nuns	Inquisition, Covenanters
Extreme Unction 23	24	25

↓
SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Immorality 26

Disloyalty 27

Pauperism 28

(Geographical Evidence: Britain, Holland, France, Spain, Ireland)

* The Orangemen believed the Roman Catholic laity were denied access to the Scriptures.

At this point it must be emphasised that it is not possible to reconstruct with any degree of accuracy how the mass of such material was understood and articulated by ordinary rank and file Orangemen (particularly the more arcane fulminations on the Waldensian and Albigensian martyrs). Nevertheless, the official Orange ideology does appear vital for the repertoire of images and explanations ordinary members could draw on in their relations with Roman Catholics in the community and the workplace; although in its reproduction here 'No Popery' did tend to be reduced to hostility towards 'the individual erring Roman Catholic', a fact much bemoaned by leading Orangemen such as Robert Stewart. "I am sorry to say the principles of a good many Orangemen consist of blind hatred to Roman Catholics. This should not be, Roman Catholics are still our brothers, the principles which bind him are the enemy". ³⁰

Several other features of the Grand Lodge's 'No Popery' platform also promoted its successful transmission among the Orange rank and file. First, while there is a certain constant quality about elements of the ideology, this does not mean that it was wholly static and unchallenged by actual experience. ³¹ For particularly significant is the way in which interpretations of the 'papal threat' which animated 'No Popery' decisively shifted around mid-century from a millennial to a conspiracy emphasis, in accordance with political and ecclesiastical developments in the United Kingdom and on the Continent.

As Best points out, until Biblical criticism freed them in the late 19th century, Christians had to make something out of the Biblical prophetic books, since it was orthodox belief that the whole of the word was spiritually meaningful. One point which seemed clear to many

of them was that the downfall of the Pope was prophesied and therefore was a necessary overture to Christ's second coming. ³²

Not surprisingly this was a view enthusiastically embraced in early Orangeism. Gault, for example, writing in the early 1850's was in no doubt. Rome was Babylon and the Pope "the man of sin..." of Second Thessalonians ii 3 (hence his book's title). Popery's rise was predicted in Daniel xxii 24-6 but its ruin was decreed by Paul's epistle to Timothy iv 1-3 and in the Book of Revelation. "The fall of Babylon", Gault confidently predicted, "will be...the termination of the long night of Romish error, superstition and crime, and will be the dawning of the millennial day when the earth shall enjoy a grand and universal jubilee (Revelations xx, 1-4)". ³³

A further example of this train of thought is offered in a most bizarre tract from H.A. Long, 'Mene: the Numeration of Babylon Mystical' written in 1865. By an extremely obscure computation of Biblical numbers Long predicted the fall of the papacy in 1866. "Strictly speaking", he explained, "the Pope is merely a torso, a subsection, a mere hinder part of the Antichrist destined soon to be swept off his pedestal. His toe will go when the ten toes go...". He continued in strains reminiscent of Blake. "The mighty eagle will soon uplift the symbolic millstone and cast it into the Tyrian sea. The rising tidal cry will o'er top the Cottian Alps...on will roll the swelling sound across plains baptized with the blood of the gentle Albigenian maids and brave Huguenot men. Give cheer ye sons of Hamilton! Each man sworn to a life of war against Rome. Ye Orangemen shout aloud! For Erin Victrix lifts her shamrock from the dust of ages and now embraces her twin sisters Anglia and Scotia!". ³⁴

Although such auguries seem to have been most strongly represented among the educated Victorian bourgeoisie (Long explained that a former tract on 'transubstantiation' was intended for 'the working man' while 'Mene' was 'for thinking men only'), it is interesting to speculate here whether this rhetoric contains an echo of Thompson's 'chiliasm of the hopeless'.³⁵ For such emotional apocalyptic optimism may also have appealed to the average lodge member of the early 19th century, many of whom, it will be suggested, were agricultural workers, only recently uprooted from their native province of Ulster and brought to a rapidly industrialising West of Scotland.

At any rate, with greater certainty one can trace the impact of real historical developments upon this millennialism. In this way events in Italy mid-century with the nationalist uprisings and curbing of Pope Pius IX's temporal powers seemed to confirm that the fulfilment of Gault and Long's prophecies was imminent. (A silver collection was raised for Garibaldi at a soiree addressed by the former).³⁶ However, the driving of the Pontiff from the Papal states did not, of course, produce the Roman Catholic Church's demise and as 1866 passed without the apocalypse such views must have appeared increasingly suspect.

From the late 1860's, though, as the Papacy actually entered a more aggressive 'ultramontane' phase with the promulgation of the Syllabus of Errors and the Doctrine of Papal Infallibility, millennialism became supplanted in the Orange ideology by conspiracy theory. This will be given detailed consideration when analysing its contribution to Orange political practice, but basically it stated that Popery was again on the march with a proud and usurping spirit. Emanating from the Pope

in Rome but under the particular direction of the Jesuits, a plan had been forged to destroy Protestantism in Britain by undermining it in Crown and Constitution. To this end Gladstone and the Liberal party, Secularists, Unitarians and Voluntaryists (those opposed to church/state links) were being actively employed. At a Grand Lodge meeting in 1877, for example, it was resolved that "while the government and the mass of professing Protestants in this country seem utterly blind to this (popery on the offensive), the attempt being made to disestablish churches in the destruction of the acts of parliament which established the Reformation and the Glorious Revolution...may justly excite attention insomuch as such a movement...will pave the way for the complete trump of Popery....The late increase of Popery in influential quarters (Lord Beaconsfield had recently attended the Duke of Norfolk's wedding at Brompton Oratory) mean proof that the dangers in question are far from visionary".³⁷ In particular, in Scotland these dangers were threatened by the restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the late 1870's, which the Rev. Robert Thompson explained was "merely the working engine, with the Pope and Cardinals for the propagation of their ends, the wirepullers were the Jesuits, and they work the world".³⁸

Thus, while apocalyptic fervour may have assisted the first Orangemen, this all-embracing theory of Jesuitical conspiracy surely proved more appropriate to later generations, many of whom were now arriving from Ulster in less straitened circumstances, already experienced in industrial work, in textiles and shipbuilding. For them it provided a 'total' world view - complemented, it will be suggested, by the lodges' 'total' material provisions - able to

encompass not only inter-communal conflict but major religio-political developments such as the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, Scottish Disestablishment agitation and, above all, threats of Irish Home Rule.

As a final point in analysing the reproduction of the Orange ideology among the mass of members, it should also be noted that Grand Lodge figures communicated this not only by scriptural exegesis but by ridicule and an emphasis on items of a salacious and pathological interest in Roman Catholicism. At such level, again the distinction between Catholicism as a system and individual Roman Catholics in the attack often became blurred.

An excellent example here is Macklin's tract on mariolatory (undue veneration of the Virgin Mary). This work was occasioned by a disastrous fire in a Chapel in Santiago in Spain, at the height of a Mass for the festival of the Virgin attended by thousands of female worshippers. The author eagerly invokes "the charred remains and human cinders...of more than 2500 devotees, suffering in the worship of the Queen of Mercy. Rome...reeking with the blood of the human holocaust, the whole burnt offering of maiden innocence and blooming life".

Of even greater fascination, though, was the role of the of the priesthood and convents in Roman Catholicism. The sexual morals of the 'celibate' priest were particularly suspect, Protestants preferring, as Best suggests, "that the clergy face and tower triumphant over the lusts of the flesh...rather than simply be unconscious of them".³⁹ Thus from auricular confession not only moral corruption but physical seduction might result - a point which

C.I. Paton could not bring himself to dwell upon, for the sake of decency. Frequently underlying such sentiments, again suggests Best, was a danger perceived towards fathers, husbands and Protestant women, with the priest seen as embodying a "particularly Latin form of wickedness" or as Irish and particularly "virile". Since the ideal Victorian woman was considered weak, pliable and submissive, she was easy prey. ⁴⁰

The latter stress is also present in Orange attitudes towards nuns; as Gault comments, "women bring all the softness and grace of the female character to win victories for the anti-Christ and his vanguard". There was, moreover, no scriptural basis for nunneries "Christ enjoined on his followers self denial but he never enjoined them to sacrifice their purest and best affections". Besides, Gault hinted darkly, "immorality may be no stranger among the inmates". ⁴¹

The vogue for 'anti conventualism' in the wider militant Protestant movement, when it peaked in the 1840's-60's, indeed produced a vast amount of literature ranging from 'The Captive Life...' by 'A Clergyman's Widow' to 'Geraldine, the Demon Nun' and other penny dreadfuls displaying a sadistic interest in "nun punishments". ⁴²

The L.O.I. did not apparently enter this market but glancing back at the material above, and particularly at the work of Gault and Long, it is difficult to avoid the suggestion that a semiological reading of some 19th century texts would be extremely rewarding. Consistently in 'The Man of Sin...', for example, the former identifies with Protestantism 'truth', 'faith', 'light' and 'liberty'; and with Popery 'the harlot', 'the scarlet woman', 'the holy serpent', 'the viper', 'degeneracy', 'darkness', and the sensuality of worship 'seducing'

Protestants into 'Popish places of worship'. 43

Some of the 'poetry' published in 'The Protestant' too resembles some of the more unpleasant imagery of Wesleyan hymns identified by Thompson.

"A church that's soaked in martyrs' blood,
Raised many a burning pyre,
Is surely of Satanic mould,
Impure, Unholy, Vile. 44

or witness an example quoted by Cleary,

"Scarlet church of all uncleanness,
Sink thou to the deep abyss,
To the orgies of obscenity,
Where the hell-bound furies hiss.
Where thy father Satan's eye,
May hail thee blood-stained Papacy".

Harlot, cause the midnight rambles,
Prowling for the life of saints,
Henceforth sit in hellish shambles,
When the scent of murder taints.
Every gust that passeth by -
Ogre, ghoul of Papacy". 45

To sum up, this section has presented the essentials of the categories of 'True Protestantism' and 'No Popery' which will be used throughout the thesis. The very specific reproduction of this ideology received among the Orange rank and file will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 8, looking particularly at internal struggles over the definition of being 'a good Protestant'.

For the remainder of this chapter, however, having dealt with Orangeism's structure and ideology in a fairly descriptive fashion, it is useful to attempt a typological approach. In further aiding conceptualisation and clarification, this again highlights the movement's ideological complexity and avoids the naive attribution of an ideal type.

Typologies

Following on from Weber's contribution, many typologies of religious organisations have been presented with various degrees of elaboration, albeit remaining within the general sect/church paradigm - the former defined as a non-hierarchical and voluntary association of persons qualified by their religion, the latter and formal and compulsory association for the administration of grace. The difficulty, however, in finding an acceptable 'fit' for Orangeism within any of these typologies is firstly, as noted above, that it had an interdenominational character and membership. Secondly, as the historical overview will indicate, it has also assumed a number of different roles and emphases in accordance with different historical exigencies, and these often continued to co-exist within it as contradictory and ambiguous tendencies in practice and doctrine. In this way, as Roberts suggests, many of the characteristics and attributes of the various points of any typology can appear together.⁴⁶ Nor indeed in the attributes which did change over the years was there any overall movement towards a purer type, keeping in mind the dynamic component of religious institutions identified in Niebuhr's thesis on sect development.

To amplify these points one may consider some of the criteria used in delineating the ideal type in typologies. Taking one of Weber's criteria of church and sect, that of qualifications of membership, those of the L.O.I. mentioned in the Laws and Ordinances are officially rigorous and sect-like, notably in their emphasis on exclusivity. However, as Roberts again indicates, there were times

especially in the 1886-1920 period of the Home Rule crisis when membership was open to almost any Protestant, a practical test of membership being whether the candidate was a communicant of one of the Protestant churches. Since those churches own membership qualifications were not always of a sectarian type, then logically neither could the Order's and indeed there has always been a strong familial and generational motivation to join.

Nor does the movement's ideology provide a definite response in this context. For while on the one hand its backing for the state support of the churches and enthusiasm for the Establishment principle as the bulwark of 'National religion' leaned towards the church paradigm, its anti-Catholicism was grounded in more sectarian types, particularly in the juxtaposition of Protestants' 'private judgement' with the authoritarian/compulsory element of Roman Catholicism.

In fact, Orangeism would seem to exhibit a specific combination of both church and sect attributes. Indeed its odd balance of these opposing tendencies may assist in understanding some of its dynamics and successes, for as Yinger indicates, if the church type dominates compromise can lead to rigidity, whereas if the sect type is dominant, initial drive is burned out in a struggle against superior forces.

Before moving on, one should also stress that neither is it possible, in the absence of a crisp and well-defined answer from a Weberian typology, to switch to Simmel and simply label the movement a 'secret society'. As regards its system of oaths, its symbolism and practices of concealment, this attribution satisfies Fr. Cleary who proceeds to rank Orangeism with other diverse secret societies such as, "...the Illuminat:, the Sons of Satan, the know-Nothings, the

Communists, the International, the Nihilists" and last but not least, "the bomb-throwing Anarchists, poisonous fungi and wood leeches hug the deep shade of the lonely forest".⁴⁷

Cleary's picturesque rhetoric aside, however, one must be mindful above all of Simmel's injunction that the protection of a 'secret society' is absolute but temporary.⁴⁸ The problem here is that while Orangeism displays in abundance the more superficial of Simmel's criteria, such as degrees of initiation and signs of recognition, in the movement towards expansion and elaboration these elements tended to become more marginal to the Order's everyday functioning.⁴⁹ It is perhaps then more correct to speak of Orangeism, for the largest part of its history, as a semi-secret society or simply a society with secrets rather than a formal oath bound body, though this was its original form.

In conclusion, the considerations in the sections above point to a number of potential sources of tension within Orangeism which militate against a historically monolithic structure. The first stems from its admixture of church and sectarian elements, for despite its positive contribution, noted above, this may also produce friction between the former's hierarchical and sacerdotal tendencies and the latter's ideals of open mobility and equality, which can entail a certain ethos of democracy. The second, though, lies within the movement's ideology, focusing around those conservative and radical elements of theology, between Lutheran piety and respect for authority and the neo-Calvinist conception of lawful resistance to tyranny. Finally, one should also note the more basic potential for disjuncture within the structure/ideology couplet itself. If, for example, in

any particular period organisationally Orangeism had assumed a particularly hierarchical and authoritarian form, this is no reason to rule out a priori the existence of an ideology capable even of a measure of militant populism. This seems to have been strongly evident in Belfast in the early 20th century, for example, a point neglected by Gibbon who infers that "because of their partly Masonic character...and their ideological fusion with church and chapel structure, their politics and values were in no sense open to democratic contestation." 50

CHAPTER 1

Notes

1. R. Sibbet, 'Orangeism in Ireland and Throughout the Empire' (1939), Chapter xxiv.
2. Operative masonry is that body of knowledge, legends and practices directly related to the actual craft of 'mason'. In the second half of the 18th century freemasonry became modified in character into the speculative form it assumes today, a 'peculiar system of morality' veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbolic masonic tools. Knoop and Jones, 'A Short History of Freemasonry' (1940).
3. See Glasgow News, 20/12/1873; 23/9/75; 18/12/75; 22/12/77 for some examples of the latter's meetings. The September 1875 meeting was to commemorate the battle of the Diamond, 21st September, 1795.
4. See bibliographical index, Appendix G.
5. For a very early example see 'The Orange Institution, A Slight Sketch', a promotional pamphlet of 1813 - actually containing recruitment advertisements. It describes the order of business:
 1. Lodge to open with a prayer (members standing).
 2. General Rules to be read.
 3. Members proposed
 4. Representations from committee.
 5. Names of members called over.
 6. Members balloted for.
 7. Members made.
 8. Lodge closed with prayer (members standing).

Compare this with the Glasgow News' description of an ordinary lodge meeting in the 1870's, Campsie LOL No. 105 at the Tontine Hall, Glasgow, "The lodge was opened in due form, a portion of scripture read, minutes of the last meeting read and approved by the secretary. The roll was called and well responded to, 3 new members initiated into the First Order and 3 admitted by certificate. Other business was gone through and the lodge closed in the usual manner", Glasgow News, 6/11/73.

T. Gray in 'The Orange Order' (1976) also cites the more elaborate breakdown in procedure set out in the 1897 'Laws and Ordinances' which he suggests remains substantially similar today.

1. The Chair is taken.
2. The Deputy chair taken.
3. A Tyler (doorman) is appointed.
4. A steward is appointed.
5. Opening prayer is read (brethren standing).
6. Scripture reading.
7. Minutes.
- *8. General Qualifications read.
9. Preliminary correspondence.
10. Dues.
11. Appeals relating to elections.
12. Election of officers (where applicable).
13. Other correspondence.
14. Business arising.
- *15. Election of candidates.
16. Admission of candidates.
- +17. Appeals.
- +18. Reports from inferior lodges.
19. General Business.
- +20. Names of candidates for next meeting.
21. Closing prayer.

* At local lodges only; + at higher lodges.

6. Cleary in 'The Orange Society' (1898) suggests examples of bizarre rituals and offers the case of Joseph Rankine of Airbles initiation to the purpose degree of Motherwell Lodge when he was blindfolded and tossed in a blanket so violently he broke his neck, April 27th 1895. However, the actual texts of the rituals offered by Cleary himself seem much nearer the truth. These were confirmed as largely accurate in conversations with contemporary Orangemen, though apparently kneeling does not take place in the Scottish ceremonial. See also Appendix A for the text of a ritual from the Linen Hall Library collection, Belfast.
7. See Chapter 6, note 10, of this thesis.
8. 'The Orange Order: a Religious Institution' in British Journal of Sociology XXI (1971), p.272.
9. 'Catechism of the principles of Protestantism' (1879), pp.1-2.
10. 'Address to the Orangemen of Greenock' (1854), Linen Hall Pamphlets.
11. Op cit (1879), see particularly section III.
12. GN, 13/7/1874.
13. No Pope of Rome (1985), Chapter 6. Petition signed by Grand Lodge and sent to Lord Beaconsfield, GN 10/5/82.
14. GN, 19/12/1874. Gault, 'The Man of Sin and the Son of Iniquity' (1854), Introduction, p.7.
15. GN 14/11/1874.
16. George McLeod letter, GN 28/7/1874.
17. Roberts, op cit, (1971), p.276. For Melville T. McCrie Life of Andrew Melville: containing illustrations of the ecclesiastical and a literary history of Scotland in latter part of 16th century and beginning of 17th century (1824).
18. 'The Protestant', 16/12/1873. See Cleary for 'expose' of conditional loyalty.
19. GN, 29/11/1881.
20. GN, 23/9/1875.
21. C.I. Paton, op cit, (1879), p.1.
22. Op cit, (1853), pp.370ff.
23. For examples in the text, The Pope, etc, Gault, p.326, p.305, The Protestant, p.121; Indulgencies, Gault, p.301; Mass, Macklin

- passim; Gault, Chapter VI, p.261; Long, Transubstantiation tract first of Glasgow Green Tracts (1864), Antiquity, Gault, pp.11-13, pp.29-204; Bible, The Protestant, p.377; Gault, p.223; Confession, Gault, p.338, The Protestant, 16/12/73, p.12; Purgatory, Gault, p.280.
24. Idolatry, Gault, p.242; Saints, Gault, p.286; Virgin Mary, Macklin passim; The Protestant, p.137; Gault, p.299; Miracles, The Protestant, pp.9.17; Monks and Nuns, Gault, pp.334-6, 'A Monastery in Mayo'.
 25. Human Rights, Gault, vi-vii; Wealth, Macklin, The Protestant, p.129 (vestments); Jesuits, Historical examples, for example, Gault, p.370-1, Ciocci - Prisoner of the Jesuits; Popery 'the work of Satan to recover lost ground', pp.29-204, a very comprehensive treatment ranging from medieval period to covenanters and 17th and 18th century massacres of Protestants in Ireland.
 26. Immorality, The Protestant, p.329; Gault, p.82-4 (evil Popes and flagellants).
 27. Disloyalty, The Protestant, p.105.
 28. Pauperism, Gault, p.371, p.376; The Protestant, p.265.
 29. Geographical evidence, Gault, p.370ff and his history of popery cited above, Part IV and Part V 'The present State of Popery' which presents a statistical account i) Ireland; ii) Great Britain; iii) France; iv) Peninsula; v) Holland; vi) Italy; vii) Germany; viii) Russia and Turkey; ix) Asia; x) Africa; xi) America; xii) Australia.
 30. GN, 29/11/81.
 31. The continuity of themes into modern militant Protestant literature is remarkable, see Bruce op cit (1985), he notes the 'Wake Up Scotland' series by the Scottish Protestant League 1924-29 including 'The abominable confession'; 'Why priests don't wed'; 'Liguori the Filthy (the famous casuist also attacked in Macklin's pamphlet).
 32. See Best, op cit, (1967), p.119.
 33. Gault, op cit, (1853), Preface.
 34. H.A. Long, Mene: The numeration of Babylon Mystical 1865, 'Therefore I will number to you the sword'. For a comparison see William Blake's, 'The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, p.107; 'William Blake', Bronowski (ed) (1978).
 35. E.P. Thompson, 'Making of the English Working Class', Chapter 11, p.411ff. There is though less of an emphasis on material promise for the future in the Orange case.

36. Glasgow Herald, 2/11/1864.
37. GN, 24/11/1877. As a politically expedient convert to Anglicanism, Disraeli (Beaconsfield) was most unlikely to become a Roman Catholic.
38. GH, 24/12/1872. Macklin, op cit, (1864), p.308. See Sentinel 6/2/64 for details of the tragedy. The church was lit with candles and liquid gas which ignited round the altar. The Jesuit priest grabbed the chalice and vestments and blocked the sacristy door, the only escape route.
39. Best, op cit (1967).
40. Ibid. For attitudes towards Irish, see L.P. Curtis, Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature (1971).
41. op cit, (1853), pp.334-6.
42. Best, op cit, (1967), pp.125-37. For further examples see Louis James, Fiction for the Working Man, Chapter 5, 'The Tale of Terror'.
43. Gault (1853), p.362. He uses the example of Nottingham Cathedral.
44. The Protestant carries many such examples, see issues 1-6. E.P. Thompson, op cit, Chapter 11.
45. Cleary, op cit, (1897), p.153.
46. Roberts, op cit, (1971), p.280.
47. Cleary, op cit, (1897), p.103.
48. Wolff (ed), 'The Sociology of George Simmel' (1950), pp.330-75.
49. It might be argued though that they remain more central in the RBP which has more of a 'masonic' character. This body seems to have been motivated more than the L.O.I. by Simmels 'aristocratic motive' of honorific self-conscious separation.
50. The Dialectic of Religion and Class in Ulster, NLR 55, (1969), p.26.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Moving on from the basic enquiry 'What is Orangeism?' we must discuss some of the theoretical issues raised by this complex movement. Rapidly it also becomes necessary to move beyond overtures from the sociology of religion, for while at best remaining within its paradigm of knowledge can assist in some fruitful conceptual clarification, at worst a rather stylised and esoteric debate between Weberian and Durkheimian perspectives - meaning and ritual in the Orange Institution - may result.

Although not at this latter extreme, Roberts, for example, is fairly representative of the 'religious' approach, restricting himself to an interrogation of the Order's self-definition as a religious institution.¹ Here the conclusion is a fairly instructive one pointing to its sociologically hybrid nature, a manifest religiosity complementing deep political themes. Essentially, however, the limited range of such analyses simply fail to confront a central point in the L.O.I's historical development in Scotland, namely that it was a major form of working class mobilisation. In fact this would imply that a far more honest and profitable strategy to search for the heart of Orangeism's impact is founded on a dialogue with the debates on working class sectionalism and the existence of 'contradictory' class allegiances, rather than the intricacies of classification which occupy Roberts.

Holding this terrain, though, brings its own difficulties, and another major imperative which dominates the subsequent sections is

precisely to cut through what may be termed the 'mythology' of Orangeism and the working class. Here much of the imagery is of the L.O.I. as a skilled workers' movement 'naturally' allied to the Tory party and where explanatory attributions of 'bigotry' and 'sectarianism', or at best 'marginal privilege', usually suffice. In advance of thorough-going empirical work this is actually rooted in the wealth of anecdotal material, which not surprisingly surrounds so emotive a subject.² Significantly though, some of the anecdotal commonplaces seem also to have crept into the academic literature, again assisting spirited polemics against Orangeism but much more problematic for open-minded research.

In this general situation, it is useful in the remainder of this chapter to offer a critical review of the existing literature, not only to draw out the distinctiveness of one's own position, but also to illustrate how this has evolved, largely through acquaintance with empirical material.

The paucity of secondary sources on Scottish Orangeism is noted in the bibliography but basically the relevant texts fall into two categories: first, those dealing with the movement itself, which are largely concerned with its manifestations in Ireland; and secondly, those dealing with class relations, particularly in Scotland, which may cover the Institution, though their major focus of interest lies elsewhere.

Orangeism in Ireland: Traditional Marxist Approaches

As regards the first category, this again subdivides into two major schools of thought. In the first of these, the traditional

Marxist position, the phenomenon of Orangeism is associated with the issue of Ulster's 'profoundly awkward class' - working class loyalists - and posits as valid analytic tools a series of variations on the theme of false consciousness and master-class strategy. The corollary here is an overwhelming focus on the politically integrative function of Orangeism, often standing in place of its actual political and ideological content.

Now, while to cite such rather anachronistic theories on almost any other aspect of 19th century labour history could be dismissed as the setting up of a 'straw man' for easy demolition, in this particular instance it is vital to stress that they have been the prevailing orthodoxy and still have enormous currency.

Testament indeed to the marginalisation of Orangeism and related developments in British Marxist theory, it is possible in fact to trace an important line of continuity, stretching from James Connolly to the more recent interventions of Farrell and de Paor.

Perceiving real differences in the material conditions of the Protestant and Roman Catholic working class in Ulster, Connolly, for example, still attributed the main responsibility for the conservative ideology and political practice dominant among the former to the Protestant ruling class, "The fault lies not with the generation of toilers but with those pastors and masters who deceived it and enslaved it in the past":³ the L.O.I. here representing a prime mechanism through which the ruling class manipulated religious divisions to prevent the development of a strong labour movement.

In this diagnosis the main ideological currents among Protestant workers are further defined a priori as problems and obstacles, in

Connolly's formulation, 'atavistic survivals' impeding the development of a 'correct' working class consciousness. Consequently the actual complexities of forces within the Protestant community are reduced to a series of devices to protect and legitimise bourgeois power.

Although in his later work he is more sensitive to the Ulster bourgeoisie's progressive cross-sectarian role in the United Irishmen's movement in the 1798 Rebellion, and to the historical basis and independent strength of Protestant ideology, this sits uneasily with the more basic notion of bourgeois manipulation which has tended to guide subsequent analyses.

In this way, in a contemporary account of the origins of 'the Troubles' De Paor writes, "In Ulster where industrialisation was more advanced than in any other part of the country a development of social revolutionary movements might have been expected...but the working class of Ulster was divided and the division was fostered and maintained by the middle and upper classes. Especially after the revival of Orangeism, the workers tended to organise in Orange lodges or in the opposing clubs of the corresponding Catholic organisation".⁴

Similarly in Farrell's account of the 44 hour strike in 1919 and criticism of the reformism of the General Strike Committee, a further consequence of this approach is amplified.⁵ Here as a result of his tendency to treat the ideology of Orangeism as a simple instrument to divert the attention of workers from their real interests - compounded by his conception of too close a correspondence between economics and politics - every economic conflict seems to hold out the possibility of workers "seeing through" the ideology in question and

becoming involved in a conflict with more far reaching political and social implications. As Patterson notes, such a view can be convincingly refuted by the real history of late 19th century Labour Unionism - the fusing of class antagonism and militant loyalism in Protestant labour movement ideology and practice. ⁶

The pervasiveness of the traditional position is further emphasised in the ease with which it has been applied to Orangeism's development in Scotland. Thus, Young suggests that the early Orange lodges here in the 1820's and 30's were employed by Tory aristocratic figures as a divisive political force to "dish the working class radicals and split the nascent working class movement for reform...", so that the institution assisted the authorities in maintaining the status quo "whether out of conviction or bribery". This might be dismissed as in keeping with Young's rather idiosyncratic account of "the rousing of the Scottish working class", but his views on Orangeism as a creature of aristocratic patronage are cited in Clarke and Dickson's thorough and detailed account of class relations and class consciousness in Paisley from 1770 to 1850. ⁷

Moreover, it should be indicated here that the conspiracy, manipulation construct also originally influenced this thesis. It was hoped, using Ulster as a reference point, to illustrate how Orangeism "contributed to a pattern of vertical alignments cutting across class solidarity, maintaining the imperial link, defending the privileges of the Protestant working class and further proving its worth to the bourgeoisie by alienating this fraction from its Catholic counterpart". Directly, however, this was overtaken by two decisive sets of objections.

First doubts grew through a closer examination of debates on ideology. At the outset here the more positive conceptions of ideology contained in Lukacs or Goldmann's "Weltanschauung" were now set aside and a stand was taken on the side of an eminently negative definition, that is ideology as an account of the world characterised by its fundamental falsity. Within this latter definition, though, a further problem was encountered: was ideology to be considered as psychologistic, existential and subjective or as structural and epistemological, relying crucially on objective factors?

It was the former view, in fact, which was found to underpin the Connolly paradigm - the bourgeoisie employing 'Orange' falsehoods to win over the working class and obscure their real condition. This view, with precedents in the classic enlightenment view of ideology, has three major elements: first it calls into question the cognitive validity of ideas affected by ideology; second, it posits ideology as false consciousness or necessary deception, which somehow distorts people's understanding of social reality; third, it accords in the actual production of this deception a central role to classes and individuals.

In contrast to this, in the objective conception ideology appeared firstly as a deception induced by the contradictory character of social reality itself, brought about by restricted productive forces and the division of labour. By attempting to solve in consciousness those contradictions which are not overcome in practice, ideology necessarily negates and conceals them. In Poulantzas' words, "It has the basic function of hiding the real contradictions and reconstituting them on imaginary level as a relative coherent

discourse which serves as the horizon of the subjects experience".⁸
Secondly, and following on from this, ideology here is not viewed simply as the product of any single class but as impregnating the basic structure of bourgeois society, arising from the 'limited material mode of reality of this society'.

For Mepham there is no doubt that the roots of the former view, typified as the 'ideology of ideology' are to be found in Marx's German Ideology.⁹ In the discussion of the epistemology of mystification here, he argues, Marx has not yet achieved a clear theoretical position on the origin of ideology, as suggested by the proliferation of unsuccessful metaphors he employs. The 'camera obscura' passage is, for instance, open to various interpretations including even a positivist one, likewise the 'reflections' usage suggest no element of either truth or practical effectiveness.

Mepham instead turns to Capital as the source of Marx's mature theory of ideology. Whereas the 'ideology of ideology' consists of ideology and reality in terms of two elements and a relation between them (or one element reality and its property of creating another element an idea) this theory is dialectical, a theory of totality. In brief, three theses again comprise it: first ideology is structured discourse, directly or indirectly based in or generated by a set of mutually interdependent categories. One cannot understand ideological concepts as standing in some one to one relation with non-ideological or non-distorted concepts or facts; second, the relation between ideology and reality is the cognitive relation, that is mystification has its basis in the perception of the apparently intelligible order of social reality by a process of misrecognition.

(The implication being here that ideology does not arise from the intention to deceive others, or from self deception, or from the tainting of cognition by values such as class interests); third, ideology arises from the opacity of reality, where this opacity is the fact that the forms reality assumes conceal the real relations which produce these appearances.

On balance Mepham's approach did seem an advance. It provides, for instance, a basis for rejecting the simple reduction of the structure and effectivity of ideological discourse to its generative sources in the class organisation of the production of knowledge.

To pursue the analysis further, however, one must be mindful that one's subject matter, as one of the more 'elaborate forms of discourse', is a great deal more equivocal than the categories Mepham deals with such as the wage form. It is particularly important, but difficult to explain, how ideology in our case might function in offering intelligibility to the ordinary Orangeman and how it comes to be embodied in an effective, predominately proletarian organisation.

In beginning to tackle this it was indeed useful to shift the line of argument behind Mepham and start from a more basic consideration of Marx's own theory of consciousness. ¹⁰

Marx's early work here is the basis from which he refuted the credibility and validity of Hegel's philosophy and the German Ideology in general. Principally this arises from Marx's denial of not only the Hegelian notion of the primacy of the ideal in consciousness, but also the logically prior assumption as to the material/ideal dichotomy, from which the domination of one entity leads automatically to the subordination of the other. The basic point then is not a

simple reversal of priority 'standing Hegel on his head' but an argument against the a priori separation of experience and consciousness.

The implications are twofold and particularly significant. First, if consciousness is one aspect of human practice, this practice, the basic premise of Marx's materialism, must irreducibly involve consciousness. In turn social being/consciousness, as Sayer suggests, must be understood as an internal relation of entailment rather than an external causal one; thus a dialectical notion of totality is invoked rather than a simple causal hypothesis of a positivist type. ¹¹

Secondly, one confronts the problem that if we infer this internal link between people's actions and and consciousness of the world, we also make the vital implication that all consciousness including ideology must possess a measure of practical adequacy - it must allow people to make sense of their material conditions. To argue the contrary would be again to posit the material/ideal dichotomy.

Finally, this theory of consciousness again indicated the inadequacy of an exclusive reliance on accounts of ideology in terms of alleged faults in perception on the part of the knowing subject, which lies at the heart of the Connolly false consciousness problematic. Indeed, it also emphasised the mileage in the contrasting explanation of ideology. If, as suggested previously, ideological accounts of the world are false then falsity must be explained precisely in terms of the nature of experience which is capable of nurturing such illusions, illusions assumed, of course, to be practically adequate in possessing a sufficient degree of

credibility to explain and render intelligible surrounding reality.

Debate at this level, however, is not conclusive in itself and sometimes the minutiae of the various positions can resemble theoretical "shadow-boxing" - the necessity of structural essence over the contingency of mystification or spontaneous generation versus over-determination. Nor is it intended to replace the false consciousness problematic with a structural theory of ideology as a new universal truth. There is a real danger seen, for example, in Mepham's formulation that 'the bourgeoisie do not create ideas, bourgeois society does' of completely under-estimating the power that has been exercised in certain historical situations both in terms of the production of ideas and their dissemination - a power rooted in the base structural inequality of capitalist society. For the bulk of Orange history, though, it is the structural approach which has the most efficacy.

Again, here we must return to the basic injunction to proceed empirically. Thus there may indeed have been attempts at outright manipulation of Orangeism - most notably around the 1798 and 1802 rebellions in Ireland when the gentry first assumed a decisive role in its organisation - but this must not be extended as a simple truism in advance of detailed historical work. When this is undertaken the reality is very different from original expectations, for it becomes apparent, particularly considering the L.O.I's political practice and its relationship to the churches, that the Scottish bourgeoisie was consistently unable to overcome their initial prejudices towards the L.O.I's militant populism and were consequently unwilling to capitalise on the movement's protestations of loyalty to the Crown and

Constitution. Besides such direct bourgeois involvement, it will be argued, would have seriously undermined the L.O.I's basis of legitimacy.

Orangeism in Ireland: Modern Marxist Approaches

In reconsidering the traditional Marxist views of increasing assistance was Patterson's work on intra-Protestant conflicts and Independent Orangeism in Belfast in the late 19th century and early 20th century. Representing the second school of thought on Orangeism in Ireland, moreover, this appeared to resolve many of the problems raised by the original position of the thesis.

Thus Patterson rejects the position that Orangeism is the product of the ideological hegemony of a ruling class - or more correctly ruling class bloc - and instead draws on Poulantzas' analysis of the relatively independent role of political and ideological factors, in this case creating a working class fractionalised along religious lines. At the same time, his empirical examinations of successive splits within the Unionist, Protestant bloc and the account of the fluctuating relations between Independent Orangeism and labour ideologies permit him to reinterpret the conventional wisdom on the Belfast working class to show it less than fully pliable in the hands of Unionist politicians.

Orangeism, Patterson claims for instance, worked precisely because it fulfilled the conditions for practical adequacy being "rooted in the conditions of existence of the Protestant working class...therefore was simply not 'on tap' for the bourgeoisie".¹² In these conditions Orange ideology could even provide a means by

which "certain limited forms of class conflict could be expressed", albeit assuming a specifically sectarian form, often over the assertion of the Orangemen's right to demonstrate and exert a measure of local control.

Patterson's contribution here is of considerable merit and applicability. To take a couple of examples from the subsequent chapters; there is his stress on the 'practical adequacy' of Orangeism for its rank and file members, with a focus on the material and ideological provisions underpinning Orange allegiance. Even more instructive is the interrogation of the concept of sectarianism - itself, as suggested, often posited in commonsense accounts as an 'explanation' for Orangeism - and the reinterpretation of the relationship between this and sectionalism. In the case of Belfast, Patterson argues the rapid expansion of a highly concentrated industrial proletariat in shipyards, engineering works and linen mills actually produced new and durable channels for the transmission of a sectarian ideology. Discrimination was certainly systematic in Belfast but the traditional explanation of its causes must be inverted. Skilled workers tended to be Orangemen but sectarianism was also highly dependent on their prior status as craft workers. In this way sectional and sectarian consciousness complemented and fed each other, defensive control of recruitment and wage differentials proving the ideal bearers of discriminatory practices.

Yet parallel with the considerations on the structural theory of ideology, recognising these contributions is not to suggest that Patterson's position should become another exclusive orthodoxy in the study of Orangeism. Rather like the supersession of formerly

dominant evolutionist perspectives by Frank and dependency theory, while the 'relative autonomy' approach marks a general advance on that of Connolly etc., it also raises problems in its own right

These operate at various levels. There is, for example, in Patterson's work a retention of the labour aristocracy concept, inherited from the traditional Marxist problematic, and theoretical and empirical objections to this are raised below in Chapter 5. Secondly, while political dissent within Orangeism is now well documented for Belfast, there is also a temptation to pursue a potentially fruitless search for similar behaviour, indicative of political and ideological autonomy, to make Scotland 'fit' the general analysis. Again then prior assumptions can be dangerously distorting. Thirdly, there is also a tendency in the neo-Marxist type of approach - already noted in Mepham, though less evident in Patterson's detailed historical work - that in avoiding attributions of conspiracy we almost completely erase notions of social control arising from the inequality of power in capitalism, in turn the result of economic inequalities and control of the state apparatus. Here even the 'pivotal and commanding' concept of hegemony which is usually invoked on these occasions becomes something of an incantation to slither round problems of control.

At this point two responses were open to the thesis. First, one course strongly suggested by the empirical material was simply to use the concept of hegemony in a more realistic and pragmatic way. Hegemony then is made to refer to certain periods under study in the 19th century when diverse and often potentially 'subversive' political practices were subordinated and controlled; but the point in using the

term is to enlarge the whole notion of domination and not to set coercion and consent in hermetically sealed compartments.

Although in most cases, for instance, 'control' is not appropriate to analyse the activities of the L.O.I. or R.B.P. as a whole, particularly as regards their political practice, one should also stress that most Orangemen belonged to the industrial working class and in that capacity forms of social control could have been applied through, for example, the provision of company housing or company education for their children.

Attempts at giving the following chapters theoretical direction could quite conceivably end here with the 'toughening up' of the relative autonomy position. The second option here and a rather more candid one is, however, to give reign to some further serious and 'heterodox' doubts which have arisen in this context.

These may be expressed as follows. It becomes apparent that a 'classic' or 'manifesto' Marxist approach simply does not square with the history of Orangeism. The application of this problematic, as indicated in Farrell's treatment of the involvement of Protestant workers in industrial action, in fact displays elements of economism and teleology and would lead to the portrayal of the Institution as of monolithic and unchanging manipulative significance, when the extent of its function of political integration has actually been historically variable, with a compelling reciprocity of control and consent.

However, when one attempts to bring a more sophisticated Marxist analysis, as sketched above, to bear on Orangeism's actual political and ideological content, again a dilemma arises. For if this is a

better 'fit', is it in its rejection of the basic unity of the proletariat in favour of 'heterogeneity' and endemic fractionalisation abandoning, albeit unconsciously, the distinctive features of Marxist class analysis?

This is, despite of course its lingering insistence on principal definition by location in the productive process and 'the lonely hour of the last instance', or protestations that Marxism 'is about changing realities and there can be no eternal truths'. In such a guise indeed there seems little to distinguish Marxism from Weberian sociology, one recent account of hegemony and social structure is indeed remarkable for its single-minded attempt to rid the former concept of a class dimension.¹³ This point is acknowledged by Bloomfield, though her comments clearly fail to confront the challenge, "...the recognition of phenomena to which Weber drew attention does not imply commitment to his conceptualisation of them - they could combine to a more complex and flexible understanding of Marxist concepts of class struggle".¹⁴

Class Relations Studies: Implications for Orangeism

Nor are these difficulties resolved in turning to the second group of texts, noted at the outset, those bearing on Orangeism, though with a focus of broader class analysis. In fact, the general situation above is mirrored in this material, a point illustrated in the strongly contrasting contributions of Smith and Penn.

The object of Smith's thesis, for example, is a study of the development of class consciousness in Glasgow and Liverpool, using Gramsci's concepts of 'social organism' and 'commonsense thought'.

Gramsci, she argues, is particularly fruitful here since he adds an understanding of the relation between social being and consciousness, base and superstructure as an 'organic totality' rather than Lukacs' 'essential totality' or Althusser's 'unitary totality'.¹⁵

Smith then applies the organic totality approach to the cities' different social structures, with respect to 'natural social organisms' including, for example, industrial structures; 'voluntary social organisms' among which she situates the L.O.I.; and the commonsense thought held by Glasgow and Liverpool working men. As regards the latter, while in Liverpool, Smith suggests, the 'commonsense' was Tory democrat and militant Protestant in a casual workers' city, where right-wing Labourism and revolutionary syndicalism developed; in Glasgow, the 'skilled workers' city', the commonsense was a Liberal one, with militant Protestantism and Orangeism marginalised and a radical ILP and societies of revolutionary socialism prominent.

Despite this theoretical basis, in practice Smith's analysis displays some elements more commonly associated with the 'manifesto' Marxist position, most notably the strict retention of the labour aristocracy concept.¹⁶

A similar emphasis is also present when she deals specifically with Orangeism. Four reasons are cited as to the limitations on the movement in Glasgow, including the failure of an Orange/Tory caucus to develop.¹⁷ There was, for example, the 'overwhelming Liberal commonsense for whom the enemy was the landlord and the despot not the Irish'; consequently the predominant societies of the working class were friendly societies, Co-operatives and Trade Unions dominated by

labour aristocrats, leaving little room for Orange mobilisation; thirdly, the city's economy was based on a skilled workforce, whose ticket to employment was their individual apprenticeships, and who could see themselves as tradesmen first and Protestants second; finally, the city's economy was expanding from the 1880's onwards.

Various difficulties arise with this analysis once it is put to a detailed empirical test (which is, of course, beyond the mandate of Smith's research). First, on a substantive level, while the general stress on Orangeism's relative weakness in Scotland is correct, Smith is rather dismissive on its absolute strength, and in particular underestimates the real extent of Orangeism's involvement with the West of Scotland Conservatives. Secondly, and more seriously though, in her consideration of the role of the 'Liberal commonsense', is the positing of an unproductive Labour movement/Orange dichotomy. This neglects the real complexity of the relationship which instead appears as a unilinear process whereby the innate progress of the former wins over, or at least neutralises, potential supporters from the latter. Despite her explicit Gramscian starting point, Smith's approach here again seems close to the more orthodox view of a working class possessed of universal and almost 'pre-given' characteristics of solidarity and internationalism in the face of capitalist relations - confusing, perhaps, structural potential with the facts of working class history.

In particular this view overlooks the fact that the motive forces of class and sectarianism have not always been totally opposed to each other in practice. This is strongly suggested, for example, in Patterson's identification, noted above, of a certain partial or

limited class consciousness, precisely among those who were still stalwart Orangemen: but one must also indicate the likely extent to which Orangeism could itself influence labour movement sentiments, either directly through Orange membership in key Trade Unions and Trades Council, or indirectly by fear of an Orange backlash in some electoral districts.

Following on here, one may also conjecture whether it was always the attraction of the 'liberal beehive' which held Scottish skilled and supervisory workers aloof from Orangeism; their self definition as tradesmen first, suggested by Smith, may also have meant that Freemasonry and the Volunteer Movement were more socially congenial than the populist L.O.I.

Finally, however, there is a tendency with Smith's general account of the L.O.I.'s relative weakness to rest too firmly on 'economic' factors. The West of Scotland's industrial prosperity may indeed have circumscribed its agitational role, particularly in the workplace, but such broad factors seem insufficient in themselves to explain the precise nature of Orangeism's limited impact on Scotland's political structure or its religious institutions, compared with its other major concentrations in Ulster, Canada and Liverpool. For this, it will be suggested, an important dimension should be a sensitivity to Scotland's cultural and political peculiarities vis-a-vis Ulster, etc. This is particular highlighted when considering relations between the L.O.I. and the Scottish churches; notable here being the extent to which the Order, as an import from Ulster in personnel as well as in institutional terms, experienced considerable disjuncture when faced with the intricacy of Scottish

ecclesiastical schisms and her frequently alien forms of worship and church government.

It is precisely towards the practical problems raised by traditional Marxist emphases that Penn's analysis addresses itself. In considering the internal division of the manual working class in Britain around the axis of skill, and its possible translation into equivalent 'social boundaries' in the non-economic sphere, his basic assumptions on the validity of the Labour aristocracy concept and a naturally united proletariat were those which originally underpinned this thesis; yet also similar seems the way in which these assumptions were repeatedly challenged by the reality of market and work relations and their social manifestations in Penn's test case of Rochdale.

At the heart of the Marxist model of class, Penn argues, is the question of why capitalism has not been overthrown. This is because of the 'teleological' assumptions within Marx's works, that modern social development necessarily follows a progressive movement towards socialism through the agency of the industrial proletariat which embodies the fundamental contradiction within the capitalist system between capital and labour. In particular, the main implication here, he suggests, is a focus on the obstacles to revolutionary class consciousness and the construction of a second level of theory as a 'safety net', introducing historical contingencies such as the development of a labour aristocracy which are said to block the more basic and organic line of development.

For Penn the central objection here is that such analyses 'put the cart before the horse' assuming that the working class existed in some positive fashion without empirical investigation. The solution here

involves a move into Weberian sociology drawing on Giddens' concept of class 'structuration'.

In this Giddens emphasises the role of relative mobility chances in the structuration or boundedness of class divisions, focused in the market place and in the division of labour. In this way a class structure becomes more rigid, thereby exhibiting a high degree of classness to the extent that mobility across and within generations is restricted.

The central image of a class system with a set of economic divisions that may or may not be translated into social boundaries, as Penn points out, derives from Weber's comments that an economic class may or may not be translated into class conflict and class consciousness in a Marxist sense, and that social structuration is often associated with value systems distinct from the economic class structure of capitalism and which are embodied in status groups. In short, the important point in this tradition, argues Penn, is that "...it makes many issues in class investigation the object of empirical and therefore scientific study".¹⁸

Although Penn does not deal with Orangeism directly, in the first place his detailed historical material does offer two substantive insights. In pointing out, for example, that the central feature of skilled manual work is some form of social exclusion, he argues that, despite appearances, this does not refer to those exclusive devices which are intended to restrict entry into an occupation by means of particularistic ascriptive criteria. Historically these have been features of skilled work in the cases of printing and metalwork which were investigated by Penn, however, "simply restricting entry into

occupations to men of the same family or religion cannot suffice to maintain skill".¹⁹ More crucial to maintaining this were, in fact, exclusive controls over the operation and utilisation of machinery.

These would again seem to corroborate Patterson's view that Orangemen's discriminatory practice was most frequently dependent on their prior status as skilled workers in trades with rules such as those indicated by Penn for the Rochdale Association of Powerloom Overlookers; in this case excluding other workers from manning automatic weaving equipment. Here Orange-inspired anti-Catholicism could determine the specific language of craft control but could not, by itself, sustain it.

Penn is also valuable in his reconsideration of labour aristocracy theory. He argues not only that the evidence of the persistence of a skilled divide in the cotton and engineering industries does not follow the cadences of 'homogenisation' and 'sectionalisation' suggested in the theory, but also that the rhythms of marital endogamy do not reflect the underlying economic class structure. At least then, as measured for the available data for Rochdale, "the clear bifurcation of the working class in the economic sphere has not been translated into a parallel or isomorphic set of social boundaries".²⁰

In this way Penn challenges the view that images and identities from the workplace must necessarily be translated into the community, unchallenged by the wider self-definitions possible here, and renders the question of sectional self-identification a subject for further empirical investigation. This becomes particularly important in examining internal politics and the rough/respectable differentiation

in Orangeism. The latter, it will be suggested, actually cut across workplace hierarchies and indeed the Order itself, or more commonly the 'sedate' Black preceptories could themselves be used to build an alternative identity to that determined by skill and pay.

Ultimately, however, Penn's commitment to a Weberian perspective must be confronted. This might seem a valid strategy for the present thesis, given the dilemma sketched above in Marxist theory between, on the one hand, traditional accounts where Orangeism is seen as a dependent variable and product of false consciousness, operating in the political and ideological structures of 19th century Scotland as a diversion from the real material struggles of the working class; and, on the other, more sophisticated approaches which eschew 'the naive assumption of [working class] unity as normality', and view Orangeism within the context of the totality of the social formation in question, determined only in the last instance by the mode of production. Whereas the former, as suggested, does not bear sustained empirical scrutiny, the latter seems already shading towards a quasi-Weberianism despite retaining a Marxist vocabulary.

Yet accepting a full Weberian position raises decisive difficulties. The nature of the Weberian causal regress means the heterogeneity of the proletariat, its 'contradictory' class allegiances are simply not a problem here. Now while this might seem a relief given some of the tortuous debates on these subjects, one must also question whether this more restricted problematic is really equipped to deal adequately with the phenomenon of Orangeism - which does seem to require asking questions about the dynamics of Orange allegiance; how, for example, is one to make sense of the support of

many working class Orangemen for that version of the dominant ideology embodied in the Conservative party? If such questions are suppressed it does not seem a great advance from the sociology of religion perspectives whose limited range was criticised at the outset of this chapter.

Given, therefore, the problems with existing Marxist approaches and doubts over an easy 'escape route' with Weber, if the analysis is not to retreat to a completely relativistic position, obviously there is a need to build some new theoretical approach to internal structural and ideological divisions within the working class.

One can suggest that this should retain a Marxist basis. For while Penn rigidly counterposes Weber's emphasis on the 'indeterminate and empirical' against Marxism's 'determinism and teleology' this is not supported by all interpretations of the latter's method. (There is indeed a tendency in Penn's argument to misrepresent his opponents, thus facilitating criticism, often of a rather positivistic cast).

Essentially what is being introduced here is a conception of Marxism which is basically opposed to that underpinning the traditional economic thesis and its Althusserian variants. Rather than a body of substantive theory this views the distinctiveness of Marx's contribution in terms of the methodology implicit in his analysis, which is above all 'open exploratory and empirical'.²¹ In this way one may employ his classic analytical conceptions of the endemic structural inequality of capitalism, and its central conflicts between capital and labour and the competition between capitals, the interaction of which renders the system dynamic; one may also introduce the hypothesis that behind the 'heterogeneity' and

'complexity' that result from the variety of experiences in the capitalist order there is a proletariat. In accordance with Marx's method this hypothesis itself must be empirically testable, and in fact there are historical cases where sectionalism has been prevented from completely eroding class-based movements - as E.P. Thompson suggests in his analysis of British Jacobinism and Chartism.

To take a practical example of how classical Marxist concepts are employed in the thesis, we shall see in the following historical account how developments in the process of capital accumulation and in the mode of production in Ulster, firstly played a vital role in the take-off of Irish Orangeism, and, secondly, promoted labour migration to Scotland. It was precisely this latter phenomenon which assisted the diffusion of Orange lodges there as rallying points for migrants, thus intensifying sectionalism and sectarianism in the Scottish social formation.

In conclusion, any detailed attempt at a new Marxist theory of sectionalism is certainly beyond the scope of this thesis - indeed one of the major lessons from much of the preceding discussion is precisely the need for concrete historical work rather than another grand overarching theory. The subject of Orangeism in Scotland, however, raises a number of major themes for further theoretical consumption, some of which were introduced above.

First, for example, one should re-emphasise that the false consciousness, social control problematic is not as appropriate for Orangeism as is often assumed in secondary sources, and for most of the movement's history it is more fruitful to employ a model grounded in an objective conception of ideology and an extended notion of class

power and domination, a basis for which is contained in the idea of hegemony. Yet in avoiding generalised conspiracy notions one must still remain sensitive to the attempts at coercion and control which have impinged at certain points - usually unsuccessfully in the progress of Scottish Orangeism.

Secondly, it becomes necessary to rethink the relation in sectarianism and sectionalism in the workplace, important in 'commonsense' perceptions of the Order. Related to this must also be a reconsideration of the relevance of the labour aristocracy concept and the explanatory value of 'marginal privilege' in connection with Orangeism.

Thirdly, the absolute strength of the L.O.I. and R.B.P. will be examined and also their relative weakness in comparison with Ulster and other major Orange importations in Canada and Liverpool. Not only are these important historical points, but the latter also lays stress on the unfortunate interaction between certain intrinsic characteristics of the L.O.I. as an 'Ulster body', with the cultural and political, as well as major economic features of Scottish society.

Finally, and perhaps most important, for any new approach to working class sectionalism, one must concur with Penn on the need for "a phenomenological input into class analysis".²² Penn has in mind here the battle for skill in the workshop, but sensitivity to 'meanings' and 'self perceptions' seems also indispensable in understanding both the attraction of the Institution to the average Orangeman and the internal tensions which beset it, with its attempts to achieve 'respectable' status in Scotland.

CHAPTER 2

Notes

1. Op cit (1971), pp.269-283.
2. Belton, 'Bulletin of Scottish Politics', No. 2 (1981), for example, points to the 'utopian function' Ireland has performed for the British left - the Irish threatening "an apocalyptic alternative: insurgent republicans attacking the heart of the physical power of the British state on the one hand; ugly, overtly reactionary Protestants led by a seemingly mad demagogue on the other", p.188.
3. 'North East Ulster' in 'Ireland on the Dissecting Table', Connolly on Ulster Cork Workers Club (1975). For later approach, 'Forward', 3/5/1913.
4. Divided Ulster, p.61.
5. The Orange State, p.81.
6. Class Conflict and Sectarianism (1981). For a succinct account of the phenomenon, see also Belton's review in Bulletin of Scottish Politics, No. 2, 1981, pp.188-192.
7. 'The Rousing of the Scottish Working Class (1979), p.80, Capital and Class in Scotland (1982), p.25.
8. Political Power and Social Classes (1973), p.60.
9. 'The Theory of Ideology in Capital' in Issues in Marxist Philosophy Vol. 3, Mephram and Ruben (ed) (1979), pp.141-175.
10. Ibid, p.165ff.
11. This also involves a less dismissive attitude towards the 'German Ideology' as simply 'a work of the break', for while recognising the way in which its unfortunate imagery has produced confusion, the nucleus of thought on the social production of consciousness is contained here - later refined in the concrete study of capitalist relations in Grundrisse and Capital.
12. Patterson, op cit, (1981), p.85.
13. E. Laclau and C. Mouffe, Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Strategy (1985).
14. Marxism Today, October 1978, Judith Bloomfield 'A Discussion of Marxist Writing on Class', pp.328-332.
15. Commonsense and Working Class consciousness: some aspects of Glasgow and Liverpool Labour Movements in the early years of the 20th century, Ph.D. thesis 1981, Introduction.

16. Ibid, Chapter 3, for full discussion of the concept and its application.
17. Ibid, p.183.
18. R. Penn, *Skilled Workers in the Class Structure* (1985), see particularly Chapter 8.
19. Ibid, p.129.
20. Ibid, p.186. Penn particularly tends to oversimplify Foster's position on endogamy, which does not reduce class to relations of production.
21. See D. Sayer, 'Method and Dogma in Historical Materialism', *Sociological Review*, (1975) and *Marx's Method* (1979), particularly Chapters 1, 5, 9.
22. R. Penn, *op cit*, (1985), p.187.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW: 'THE LODGE OF DIAMOND IN ARMAGH. THE SPLENDID BEHUNG WITH CORPSES OF PAPISHES'

This overview will examine Orangeism's main course of development outside Scotland. 'A concrete analysis of a concrete situation',¹ it offers an illustration of the inappropriateness of a single static model of class relations to understand the movement's history and further indicates the intimacy of control and consent here.

Some practical difficulties can also be met in the account. First, it is important for the sake of clarity, since despite the stable and enduring elements discussed in Chapter 1, for an appreciable period of its history Orangeism displayed a Protean character. In other words, it has met the obstructions raised by attempts at proscription by confusingly changing form and title - albeit choosing from a rather unimaginative repertoire - 'Royal Orange Institution', 'Loyal and Benevolent Orange Institution', 'Loyal Orange Association' and 'Brunswick Clubs'.

Secondly, the L.O.I's own interpretation of its history also obfuscates the real chronology of the movement. This may take the form of an obsessive and exclusive focus on the 'Glorious, Pious and Immortal Memory of William, Prince of Orange'. (It is, as Cleary suggests, as if the clock of time stopped short at 1690.)² More commonly though in more sophisticated accounts the intention is rather to couple this fascination with noble forbears to more recent events. Thus at all costs continuity is stressed in Orange practice and ideology stemming from what is recognised as the Order's 'fons et

origo' in the 'Glorious Revolution and the Dawn of Civil and Religious Liberty'.³ In these circumstances the alternative periodisation of Orangeism's origin and stages of development set out below must serve as a useful corrective.

Precedents and Rise 1688-1795

There is, of course, a sense in which the rather opaque official account of Orange history is not totally spurious. For obviously without the events of 1688-90 there would have been no 'Orange' precedents to build the movement around. It should be emphasised though, that this in no way supports the popular notion that the Orange Institution in its present form can be traced directly and unproblematically from the battle of the Boyne. For above all the problem here is the tendency in various accounts to conflate two facets of Orangeism; on the one hand, a diffuse 'Orange tradition' dating from the late 17th century, and on the other the objective circumstances surrounding its rise in the late 18th century - it being the latter which in fact determined how the tradition was drawn upon, with elements of the older ideology being appropriated selectively often to give a meaning to actions in the present.

To pursue this vital distinction between the two inputs, the Orange tradition, which assigned to the repression of Roman Catholics the role of a moral imperative, found concrete expression in various clubs established in the early 18th century to propagate and celebrate the Protestant ascendancy. Prominent examples were the 'Royal Boyne Society', the 'Aldermen of Skinner's Alley' and the 'Apprentice Boys of Derry', like many 18th century clubs often displaying an interclass

mix and certain democratic or fraternal spirit. Similarly, some Masonic lodges in Belfast and Londonderry bore the prefix 'Orange' and there existed, too, in the British army's Forth Regiment of Foot 'the Society of the Blue and Orange', founded in 1727 and in operation till its absorption into the Orange Institution in 1822. In all these cases 'Orange' denotes 'merely a formal Protestant patriotism',⁴ which was also widespread in many less institutionalised ways, or as Brown expresses it in rather sentimental terms, "In most places where Protestants were found Orange lilies and Sweet William grew side by side in their gardens. It all symbolised pride of ancestry and religion and a certain unity of heart and mind".⁵

Such strong antecedent conditions may assist in understanding the comparative ease of Orangeism's reception in Ireland, but they are by no means sufficient to explain the actual inception of the Order. Indeed, the Orange tradition had itself become set in a perceptible decline in the middle decades of the 18th century and by the 1790's stood in need of a revival.

Instead one must turn to the second major input, namely the agrarian conflicts between Protestant and Roman Catholic peasants in the border counties of Ulster. Basic to these was a land-population ratio which resulted in chronic land hunger and a system of land tenure inhospitable to improvement.⁶ In the 1760's and 70's such circumstances promoted profound economic rivalries which found expression in agrarian secret societies, usually regional and non-political such as the 'Oakboys' and 'Whiteboys'.

Although directed primarily against landlords and despite the special efforts of bourgeois radicals and dissenting clergymen, these

were a potential source of sectarian conflict. This potential was fully realised in the following generation particularly in Armagh in the 1790's, largely through Catholic involvement in the Volunteer movement which left them illegally in possession of arms; also through the extension of the franchise in the Relief Acts which equalised land rights and appeared to threaten Protestant living standards. To maintain their status, in Senior's words, as a 'plebian aristocracy', the latter group undertook daybreak raids to disarm Catholic peasants (hence the 'Peep o' Day Boys' soubriquet they assumed). In the face of superior Protestant strength the Catholic bands 'Defenders' grew into a more formally organised federated society. The subsequent history of both groups, as Cleary notes, was 'a hopeless tangle of provocation, outrage and retaliation'.⁷

Against this background the decisive conflict came on 21st September 1795 at the Diamond hamlet in County Armagh, the day being known afterwards in the district as 'running' Monday.⁸ Immediately after this battle in which Protestants repulsed a Defender force greatly superior in numbers, the first embryonic Orange lodge was founded. A fairly elaborate ritual and system of secret signs and passwords, based loosely on the Freemason tradition and the models of earlier Protestant defensive associations, was devised the same day at the Loughgall Inn of James Sloan, who became the movement's first titular head, responsible for the issue of warrants to establish other lodges. Despite the high cost of one or possibly two Irish guineas, these were eagerly sought in the aftermath of victory, particularly in Armagh, Antrim and the Lagan valley. The new movement, while appealing to the Orange tradition appeared also to offer the

possibility of greater stability and more thorough organisation than its immediate precursor, James Wilson's 'Orange Boys' founded in 1793.

Around such basic facts of what even the Protestant historian, Killen, terms as Orangeism's 'ominous beginning'⁹ much intense, and rather circular, debate has arisen over issues such as the numbering of warrants, Orangeism's aggressive/defensive emphasis and the Orangemen/Peep o' Day Boys link.¹⁰ Penetrating the elaborate layer of official Orange mythology, though, two major points must be made on the Orange 'Hegira', as Cleary describes the Diamond episode.¹¹

First, the initial organisation of Orangeism was a spontaneous popular phenomenon accomplished with virtually no aid from the gentry - the exception being a few notable families such as the Verners and Blackers. While Chambers Encyclopedia's description of the Institution as being the product of 'a rude and illiterate mob'¹² is rather overstating the point, its founders, as suggested, do seem to have been small to medium tenant proprietors in fear of their livelihood. The issue of gentry control indeed proved a divisive one from the outset. One faction among the original lodges represented by James Wilson drew on the Presbyterian ideology of independent action wished to restrict this to a minimum, another which tended to dominate, did wish formal gentry leadership and links with the established Church of Ireland. At this stage though, as Senior suggests, the gentry reserved judgement, some hoping at least to obstruct the anti-landlord tendencies of the Peep o' Day Boys - with other elements hoping more positively that Orangeism might prove useful if made 'respectable' enough to allow co-operation.

Secondly, it is important to emphasise that when set against the

general tide of religious toleration and penetration of Enlightenment ideas in the 18th century Orangeism was something of an anachronism even at its moment of birth. Given such a paradox the rapid growth and energy of this movement of the 'lower orders' - by 1796 the Orangemen numbered several thousand organised in at least ninety lodges - must have appeared puzzling to bourgeois radicals in the North, supporters of the Rights of Man and 'a brotherhood of affection' between Protestant and Roman Catholic.

Early Development in Ireland 1795-1825

Problems encountered by the Weberian causal regress in dealing with Orangeism and the efficacy of Marx's analytical tools, employed in a historically specific way, were sketched in Chapter 2. These points are indeed underlined by the earlier success of the Order, for this, as suggested, is understood most fruitfully in the context of changes in the process of capital accumulation and mode of production in the north of Ireland.

The origins of Orangeism among the Protestant peasantry was noted above, but its ranks were also swelled subsequently by a new class of journeyman weavers who owed their emergence precisely to developments in productive forces and relations. Thus by the second half of the 19th century linen manufacture had become almost universal in South and Mid Ulster, and particularly in Armagh this was accompanied by a rapid slump in small scale rural commodity production.¹³ This process led in turn to the virtual eradication of independent weavers, artisans, and small farmers, and the growth of a new class of weaver employers in the linen mills. The declining status and loss of

autonomy felt by this emergent class did not produce a situation of class conflict though, for, as Gibbon indicates, "the pace of local industrial and peasant differentiation was sufficiently rapid in removing most sources of social and political independence from the countryside, while at the same time it was sufficiently slow to prevent the new classes of employers assuming strategic position." 14

Instead the new Protestant proletariat expressed their resentment of this decline precisely through a renewed determination to defend their status within the Protestant ascendancy, demanding the preservation of traditional barriers to Roman Catholic social mobility in the labour market. Here the organised Orange lodges were able to assume a vital function in the intimidation of Catholic weavers. During the period 1795-6 large numbers of Roman Catholic families were driven out of Armagh (the 'Armagh Outrages') and mill owners or linen manufacturers who employed them were also attacked. 15

The development of the new mode of production, in fact, as Gibbon again points out, reinforced the hegemony of the landlord class in these areas..."it ensured that landlords who stood largely outside the linen trade would find themselves cast in the role of tribune, of potential champions and courts of appeal to a population suffering for the first time the vicissitudes of submission to free market relations. This tendency was supported by the structural difficulties standing in the way of new proletarians developing their own leadership, constituted by the fragmentation of centres of production". 16

This general situation was clearly very favourable for patrician involvement in a populist movement such as Orangeism and, in fact, its

opening years, perhaps more than any other time, lend themselves to the orthodox Marxist approach of James Connolly. Initially, as indicated, the gentry did hold aloof, alienated perhaps by the early anti-landlord taint of the lodges and their involvement in the violent outbreaks in Armagh. As Sibbet elliptically expresses it, "some forgetful of the dignity and genius acknowledged by the Divine Head of the Church when he selected the poor fishermen to be heads of his kingdom - affected to look down on a system which had such lowly origin".¹⁷

Quite rapidly, however, such prejudices were overtaken by expediency as the ability of the Protestant ruling class to hold its huge tracts of land and extract the maximum rent from it, appeared threatened by the revolutionary republicanism of the United Irishmen, the underground militia force organised by Protestants and Catholics, influenced by the example of the French Revolution.

In these circumstances the lodges gained increasing recognition from the gentry as useful channels for directing the energies of the Protestant peasantry and nascent proletariat, and as a means of keeping them under some measure of control. As early as 12th July 1777 a directing body, The Grand Lodge of Ulster, had been established at Portadown, this and the creation of a gentleman's lodge in Dublin, to which many of the Southern landowners including Beresford parliamentary faction were admitted, greatly enhanced Orangeism's prestige. Subsequently, its gentlemen leaders thought it advisable to bring activities more into the open and regulate the rapidly growing membership by moving the Grand Lodge to Dublin, thus establishing a real national organisation on 8th March 1798.

This move was vindicated by the United Irishmen's revolt in the same year, when under pressure the government actually entered into a de facto alliance with the lodges by arming bands of Orangemen and making no attempt to suppress Orange societies in the armed forces. In the revolt they indeed played a vital role as the predominant influence in the yeomanry and military, in effect turning these corps into a useful counter-revolutionary force, and acting as loyal irregular auxiliaries in the standing army. ¹⁸

As is to be emphasised throughout the thesis, however, the exemplar of 1798 gentry manipulation of Orangeism as a popular instrument against radical insurgency cannot be effectively extended to cover the broad sweep of Orange history. Indeed even the immediate decades following the United Irishmen's rebellion discredit this extension, for here the pattern of Orange progress was extremely uneven: direct gentry involvement and influence in government circles, for example, generally prospered with national conflict and unrest, but when these were not in evidence decline, schisms and attempts at reorganisation by the plebeian lodges rapidly ensued. ¹⁹

Senior deals with these years in detail but to be brief, in 1802 with the relaxation of the revolution threat the Orangemen's favoured position in Irish politics began to be eroded, and the lodges shifted in emphasis from fighting societies to social and benefit clubs. This decline was not arrested till a further rebellion led by Robert Emmet and the renewal of the war with France, which again enabled Orangeism to be an 'energetic goad' in Ireland until 1815.

Similarly after 1817 as famine dampened the seditious ardour of the Roman Catholic peasantry, the lodges were again left without

active opposition and became involved in internal disputes, notably over extra degrees. The Purple Marksman's degree had been added to the original Orange ritual as early as 1796 to give more regularity to lodge meetings, and to exclude improper characters who were then attracted to the lodges by their reputation for patronage and legal protection; but attempts by some sections of the rank and file to introduce further exclusive 'inner circles' in the form of scarlet and black degrees annoyed the gentry who could not see their relevance, though these were eventually tolerated. ²⁰

With such esoteric wrangling the movement remained dormant for several years until some recovery was stimulated by a renewal of agrarian disturbances, a controversial vice regal administration, and the resurgence of O'Connell's Catholic emancipation movement. Yet crucially the intimacy with ruling class and government circles of ten years earlier could not be recaptured.

Two fundamental facts underpinned this decline. First, the ordinary Orangemen could never be completely incorporated into the gentry leadership's strategies, for they had their own unique social practices and definitions and indeed their own objective location in the structure of production relations. This ensured, for example, that even their definitions of the Protestant ascendancy were quite distinct. For the gentry it meant the defence of their own political power and property rights, while for the rank and file the emphasis was on traditional 'No Popery'. The latter in practice meant keeping down local Roman Catholics, and here the regular triumphalist processions by the lodges were felt essential.

Secondly important were developments in the state apparatus, in

particular the creation of a new constabulary force and the introduction of stipendary magistrates, which combined to weaken Orange influence. Restrictive legislation also threatened in the shape of the Unlawful Oaths Act 1823, the Unlawful Associations Act 1825 and repeated bans on Party processions. The loyal militancy of the Orangemen was now much less at a premium as attempts were made increasingly by the government to conciliate rather than coerce the mass of the Irish population.

In these circumstances, the average Orangemen began to lose confidence in the powers of leading members of the Order to offer legal protection via the lodges. This view was reinforced by the dissolution of the Grand Lodge of Ireland in the wake of the 1825 Act, thus, as Senior notes, bringing the first major stage of Orange history to a close.

Great Britain 1795-1825 This section, however, is incomplete without consideration of Orangeism's other major growth point up until 1825, Great Britain.

The principal means by which the Order became established in Britain was military, through the exchange of Irish and English militia units in 1798 and the founding of lodges in British regiments in Ireland. It was very much an NCO's movement with the first lodges little more than ex-servicemen's clubs. Though gradually they came to include civilians, unlike Ireland they continued to function mainly as Protestant friendly societies initially with very little active part in politics. ²¹

The first instance of an authorised lodge travelling to England was in 1798 when Col Stanley of the first regiment of Lancashire

militia carried warrant No. 220 to Manchester, where a civilian lodge was subsequently founded. In 1799 Silvester's Salford Volunteers returned with warrant No. 1128 and after that various regiments brought warrants to Oldham, Bury, Rochdale and Wigan. Liverpool also became a stronghold, though Manchester remained the main centre with the Grand Lodge of Great Britain being established there in 1808. ²²

Although well rooted in the northern industrial areas by the mid 1820's, the number of lodges at no time, however, exceeded 300, 30 of which were military. Since the maximum meeting under a warrant was seldom more than 30 it is unlikely, as Senior suggests, there were more than six thousand in the 270 civilian lodges; by this calculation there could only have been around 500 members in 15 lodges in London, for example, hence contemporary estimates of 15,000 accepted by Cleary seem a great exaggeration.

Again the factors behind this very weak condition are important for discussion in subsequent chapters. It becomes clear, for example, that Orangeism could simply not thrive in Britain except where large Irish Protestant populations existed. Senior suggests that, in fact, the largest party of men joining the early English lodges were from this group, those who had enlisted in English militia regiments or had come to England for work. Constituting a minority within a minority they wished to distance themselves from the Catholic Irish by forming societies in which the co-religionist indigenous population might join. Also vital was a rough equivalent of the sort of economic competition which had prevailed in Armagh in the 1790's - this was found, for example, in Liverpool, a commercial and distributive centre where casual labour predominated. ²³

In the absence of these material conditions, however, in other areas such as London and the south the Order appeared an alien and exotic import. Furthermore, despite Orangemen's involvement in measures against real or imagined conspiracies such as the 1812 Luddite agitation, there was nothing on the scale of the United Irishmen worthy of political exploitation nor was there Orange influence in the yeomanry. On a more practical level the Order could not confer the same benefits in the form of patronage and immunity from the law as it had in late 18th century Ireland.

'Conspiracy' 1825-36

In Orangeism's next major phase it is once more advisable to treat the Irish and British movements together, as they were closely intertwined in practice.

The dissolution of the Irish Grand Lodge in 1825 broke the dynamic link between the militant Protestantism of the Ulster peasantry and weavers and the politically expedient anti-Catholicism of the upper classes, and for the next three years despite O'Connell's revival of the Catholic Associations its development was much curtailed.

Instead, experiments in compromise and attempts to avoid proscription were pioneered in the form of a benevolent society but the 'Loyal and Benevolent Orange Institution of Ireland' or the more politically orientated 'Brunswick Clubs' proved uninspiring and raised limited support from the average Orangeman. In 1828, though, the Grand Lodge of Ireland was again reconstituted and the movement received something of a reviving stimulus from the twin threats of Catholic emancipation and Church Disestablishment in 1830-4.

The British organisation's fortunes also saw an improvement and here again attempts were made to employ the lodges as a means of social control. For despite the Orangemen's lack of numbers on the mainland, their potential - already proved in Ireland - for forming a broad-based popular movement sympathetic to the causes of entrenched conservatism, opposition to parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation, attracted the Ultra-Tory faction including the Dukes of York and Cumberland. Their flirtation with Orangeism gave it great prestige, while the machinations of Nixon, the first Orange general secretary, succeeded in keeping it within the law. The foundation of a 'gentlemen's lodge' in London, moreover, had made promising contacts and the office of Grand Master was left vacant in the hope it might be filled by royalty.

On entering the 1830's events in the British lodges became even more dramatic, as the role of 'travelling organiser' was entrusted to an eccentric half-pay officer, William Blenerhasset Fairman, who in 1832 and 33 embarked on extensive tours of the Midlands, northern England and Scotland. The basic intention here was to reorganise the rank and file lodges on more disciplined and dignified lines, as befitted the nucleus for a new right-wing party, and also to rally substantial support from the gentry and Conservative bourgeoisie for the British Order, as sections of the Irish gentry had rallied to Orangeism in 1797-8.

The full reproduction of this classic control model, however, was again confronted by practical obstacles. The British landed classes, for example, were still not threatened by anything like the Defender movement and had no equivalent of Armagh peasantry to press Orange

leadership upon them. Even if rural lodges of tenants had been established their effectiveness against a parliamentary reform movement which was urban based is doubtful. The existing strength of Orangeism was in the Northern cities, but here its rank and file had no interest in opposing reform and indeed many, as Cassirer suggests, were probably strongly in favour, for, as already indicated, their No Popery was not without a certain 'democratic' element, particularly in its critique of 'Papal Monarchism' and defense of private judgement.

24

Once again then the ordinary Orangemen were not malleable material for its leadership's political aspirations. Not surprisingly then Fairman's tour met with indifferent success, his only solid achievement being the creation of two gentlemen's lodges in Yorkshire and Glasgow.

Much greater reversals were impending though. The new Whig administration was not itself prepared to make Orangeism a political issue but the absence of an absolute parliamentary majority made it sensitive to radical and Irish pressure and forced its hand. When the radical MPs Hume and Finn again raised the question of a parliamentary investigation the demand was therefore granted in the Spring of 1825, and a select committee of 27 members including 8 Orangemen was established - subsequently submitting four huge reports on the Irish and British movements.

The material in the Irish reports established the already common knowledge that Orangemen controlled the yeomanry and had lodges in the army, enjoyed a measure of legal immunity and were frequently involved in civil disturbances. The British report under Hume's personal

direction presented a summary suggesting that the lodges, whose strength it greatly over-estimated, were involved in a dangerous conspiracy to stage a coup d'etat. In fact, as Senior suggests, this threat had little substance outside Fairman's flamboyant oratory and vivid imagination, and was probably as realistic as Bro. Nucella's scheme in 1832 to establish an Orange lodge in Rome; but the very fact that a Royal Duke was head of a society with illegal military lodges was sufficient to ensure parliament could not let it subside. In these circumstances, Cumberland dissolved the British Grand Lodge in February 1836, the Irish version following suit in April. The second major phase of Orange history was thus brought to a close.

Ebb Tide and Recovery 1836-1885

Cleary's typically florid assertion that the movement 'fell like another temple of Dagon' requires considerable qualification.²⁵ For although the Grand Lodge edifice did collapse, the plebeian lodges showed remarkable resilience and continued to meet and parade without the leadership's direction, the 'Northern Whig' even reporting that County Antrim on 12th July 1836 'even in the heyday of Orangeism seldom if ever exhibited a stronger muster of the degraded faction'.

Besides, the Order was positively prospering in the colonies where the modes of introduction had again been military and the membership largely Protestant Irish immigrants. Canada, where the first lodge was founded in 1825, proved the most active and energetic colonial offshoot under the tuition of the Irishman, Ogle R. Gowan. By 1851 the Institution had become so popular that they were invited to be present at the turning of the first sod of the Northern Railroad, and

on the 12th of July the following year the largest procession ever seen in Toronto took place with over 10,000 Orangemen. ²⁶

Similar developments though to a lesser extent in the U.S.A., New Zealand and Australia where the first lodge was established in 1833. In these cases Orangeism again succeeded as an active irritant in party quarrels, particularly around the 12th of July. ²⁷

By the 1850's and 60's in Ireland the preconditions for a further impressive expansion in the Order had been established. Important again here were developments in the mode of production, with the industrialisation of the North East.

Only in Ulster did free trade with Britain lead to industrial expansion and prosperity. It was the introduction of the textiles industry to Ireland that first caused Belfast to develop into an industrial city, and during the first half of the 19th century its population increased five-fold reaching 100,000 by 1850. Also in the 1850's it acquired its second major industry, iron shipbuilding, and on the basis of its success a host of smaller industrial concerns were created producing steam engines, ropes, etc. Now local capital was reinvested, supplemented by Scottish and English capital, and as Gibbon notes its concentration and centralisation became a dominant feature in the late 19th century. ²⁸

Many members of the new industrial labour force were migrants from the agricultural offices and the Orange lodges provided a familiar rallying point for them in unfamiliar surroundings. Also since the process of industrialisation in Ulster had little impact in the other provinces, many Roman Catholics were compelled to come to Belfast to find employment as an alternative to immigration. This resulted in

an extremely volatile situation of inter-communal competition for housing and jobs and there were severe outbreaks of sectarian violence particularly in the 1860's. Though as Bell noted, by World War I Belfast was one of the most prosperous cities in Britain, where wages were keeping pace with mainland cities and there was little unemployment. ²⁹

And yet at this point the Orange Institution did not reach its full potential in growth. For although the movement was a vital means by which the effective dominance of the Conservative ruling class was constructed in Belfast, the traditional ideology of Protestant ascendancy which it imported into areas like the Shankhill and Sandy Row still, as Patterson details, had different meanings for different classes in the Protestant-Unionist bloc. ³⁰

While for the upper classes this remained the defence of the Protestant Constitution and property rights, for the working class it now involved a more 'practical' No Popery advocating the domination of Protestants in the composition of the town council and local work forces.

The implications here were twofold. In the first place, vital in maintaining the ascendancy for the average Orangeman were regular marches and confrontations, yet the reputation thus gained by the Institution for provoking violence and disorder led it into disrepute and crucially alienated middle and upper class support. Secondly, attempts by Belfast Conservatives to enforce the Party Processions Act to curb this disorder and the willingness of the L.O.I's gentry leadership to comply provoked not only a renewal of internal Orange conflict, but provoked a major appearance of class divisions in the

Protestant community in the 1868-85 period.

The most prominent dissident Orange group in the 1860's and 70's was the Orange and Protestant Workers' Association led by William Johnstone of Ballykillbeg, the main critic of the Grand Lodges acceptance of the Party Processions Act, and by a small committee, mostly of small businessmen and skilled workers. The OPWA made contact with Belfast Whigs and Liberals but its main strategy to secure Johnstone's election to parliament was to concentrate on the newly enfranchised working class. Though, as Patterson notes, 'the degree of positive identification with working class interests was slight'. Johnstone already had a reputation as a radical because he supported Irish land reform, and now what he did was to emphasise upper class 'manipulation' and 'betrayal' of the 'true blue' rank and file of the Order. ³¹

Johnstone was actually victorious in 1868 over his official Conservative opponent, an industrialist perceived as a timeserver and opportunist by the OPWA and working class Orangemen, but this campaign also indicates the restrictions on the form of class consciousness expressed here. It was, for example, a mobilisation from above and attempts at a class analysis in the OPWA, though significant, were subordinated to a political and ideological pre-occupation with Protestant Ascendancy - typically contrasting the Tory ruling class and patrician Orange leadership's timid defence of this with the Orange rank and file's robust and physical emphasis. In short, class conflict, or class resentment, was employed by 'democratic' Orangemen like Johnstone as a weapon to gain more favourable terms from the Conservatives for the delivery of Orange support, the main bargaining

counter being the increased working class electorate. ³²

Johnstone left the OPWA in 1878 - astutely he had never personally cut himself off from the traditional Orange and Tory leaders. Subsequently the organisation shrunk to a minority status in Belfast Orangeism, drawing on Tory democrat notions of 'the just claims of labour'. ³³ Reorganisation of the city's Conservative Association in 1872 also removed some of the OPWA's grievances, for a closer relationship with the L.O.I. ensued with lodges represented on ward committees. Leading Tories also gave individual lodges increasing financial support.

Such developments tended generally to undermine the L.O.I.'s potential for independent action, but as the following section indicates tension and conflict within the Protestant bloc were still by no means precluded.

Halcyon Days Again 1886-1905

The pattern of uneven development in Ireland, noted above, also promoted Ulster's isolation from the mainstream of Irish political development, which now revolved around the resurgence of Irish nationalism. In 1882 the Home Rule League had come under the inspired leadership of C.S. Parnell and, skilfully utilising the newly extended franchise, winning over the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the South, and taking advantage of the Land League and the Irish population in Britain, he united most Irish Roman Catholics in a demand for the repeal of the Union. A Bill to accomplish this was imminent following the winter election that brought the Liberals to power in 1885.

In the same election this party failed to win a single seat in Ulster and control of the Unionist cause was placed firmly in the hands of the Conservatives. Severe unrest in the South and West with the Land League's campaign drove many Liberals into the Tory camp, though particularly crucial in assisting the strength and cohesion of the Unionism was the active intervention of the Orange Institution. This used its influence, for example, in sponsoring huge meetings and demonstrations such as that at the Ulster Hall in February 1886, which was addressed by Randolph Churchill.³⁴

Above all, this was now a revitalised order, at last transcending its earlier weaknesses and becoming a highly respectable politico-religious mass movement. It retained its proletarian base but was also attracting more applicants from the professional and commercial bourgeoisie, who were joining up just as the gentry had in the 1790's. This group was indeed aware of the significance of the lodges intervention in the United Irishmen's revolt, and now perceived in them the basis of a powerful political and ideological apparatus.
35

Yet despite many analyses to the contrary, Orangeism here was not simply absorbed into Unionism to be manipulated by the Ulster Tories or indeed by the Order's own Grand Lodge.³⁶ First, the Protestant working class who formed the Orange rank and file had its own clear material interest in upholding the Union, particularly the more skilled elements who at the beginning of this century were earning wages well above their Dublin counterparts. Conservative leaders in the 1880's had to focus on this interest and develop an ideology of classic social imperialism as a cornerstone of a united Unionist

movement. Moreover, as Buckland indicates the Home Rule crises of the 1880's, and the 1920's, coincided with economic crises which curtailed the working classes independence and further prompted it to accept the leadership of Conservative employers.³⁷ Secondly, just as class and economic rivalries between landlords and tenant farmers had marked the foundation of the L.O.I, now conflicts between capitalists and Protestant industrial workers were liable to undermine the modern movement.

The most significant instance of class conflict within the L.O.I., and the Unionist bloc generally, was the Independent Orange Order [I.O.O.]. The beginning appeared inauspicious. At a twelfth demonstration in 1902 the County Grand Master of Belfast Col. Saunderson was heckled by Bro. Thomas Sloan, a member of the Belfast Protestant Association - the complaint being that he had voted against the inspection of convent laundries. Sloan was suspended from the L.O.I., and in June 1903 formed the breakaway I.O.O. with the journalist Lindsay Crawford as its Grand Master. The latter declared at its first meeting, "The Prime Minister himself represents a decaying class out of touch with the people, out of touch with the genius of progress, a class which would not be tolerated in any community of thinking men, because it represents the spirit of retrogression and surrender".

In the next few year the I.O.O. enjoyed a steady growth based probably on inter-lodge and district loyalties; its 12th parade in 1864 attracted 6,000.³⁸ During these years Crawford used his paper 'The Irish Protestant' to encourage a complete break with the Orange tradition. He shared Sloan's populism attacking the 'bloated

plutocrats' of the Unionist establishment and supporting the women's suffrage campaign. In an even more radical fashion he moved towards Home Rule,, issuing at Magheramore in July 1905 a new manifesto which berated clericalism, called for compulsory land purchases and demanded a review of Irish finances. There was even a brief alliance with the Belfast Labour Party and the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Considerable caution is necessary, however, to avoid overstating the radical implications of the I.O.O. phenomenon - like Boyle, for example, who interprets the emergence of the Order as the product of class struggle in a very simple and uncomplicated sense.³⁹ One problem in this analysis, as Patterson suggests, is that it conflates the ideology of the I.O.O. with the progressiveness of its Grand Master Crawford, who was indeed eventually expelled from the Order for his Home Rule sympathies, emigrated to Canada and became the trade representative of the Irish Free State there in 1922. The former ideology finds a more correct resonance with the fusion of limited class consciousness and traditional sectarian combativity, that characterised early examples of dissident Orangeism such as the OPWA.

Thus the IOO did not represent a single upward trajectory against bourgeois and gentry dominance, for its origins were also rooted in opposition to the policy of 'constructive Unionism', as practiced by the Conservative administration at Dublin castle (this involved a more conciliatory attitude towards Irish Roman Catholics as regards education and land holding). The 'convents laundry' incident then should be placed in the context of a general critique of compromising upper class politicians whose docility and Romanising proclivities, the I.O.O. believed, resulted from their social integration into the

Westminster and Dublin governing oligarchies and rendered them less able for the defence of Irish Protestantism against party machinations and Papal assaults. This critique was accompanied by a strong 'regionalist consciousness' again drawing on the Orangemen's experience of underdevelopment, which counterposed the industrial North East to the backwardness and, in particular, clerical domination of the South. In fact Patterson indicates "a similarity of the diagnosis of Irish ills, if not the proposed remedy to that put forward in Sir Horace Plunketts 'Ireland in the New Century'".⁴⁰

Despite the juxtaposition of positive and negative emphasis in the I.O.O., however, one must finally concur when even an official Orange historian comments "...it had a vision of large scale dimensions in a small screen world".⁴¹ It had at least created favourable conditions for local labour campaigns and its decline from 1905, following a resolution of the crisis of Unionist politics and the renewal of the Home Rule threat, was an important factor in an increasingly hostile environment for progressive politics in Ulster.

In summing up here, the I.O.O. should not be treated as an uncharacteristic episode in an indifferentiated history of 'manipulation' and 'reaction', for in itself it displays some of Orangeism's most enduring themes. Thus neither was the parent movement in Ireland the simple product of an ideological onslaught from the ruling class nor only significant for its integrative function. At various points, notably during the political crises of the late 18th century and early 19th century the L.O.I. did prove an effective weapon retarding the development of class unity, and gained recognition as such from the Irish gentry. Yet at other times, as in

the 1860's and 70's and early 20th century the very zeal and militancy of the proletarian lodges, in pursuing their own variant of the Orange ideology with a literal definition of Protestant Ascendancy, could bring conflict with the state agencies and disrupt ruling class strategies.

CHAPTER 3

Notes

1. Advocated by Poulantzas, see Political Power and Social Classes (1975), pp.11-33.
2. The Orange Society (1897), p.5.
3. In Sibbet's 'Orangeism in Ireland and throughout the Empire' (1939) no less than the first 14 chapters of the first volume are taken up with an extremely detailed narrative of the Williamite campaigns. Similarly in the most recent official history, M.W. Dewar et al, Orangeism a New Historical Appreciation (1967) the first 80 pages cover the same topic. 'Remember 1690', states the prologue, "is not the motto of a historical cult but reminds Ulster Protestants of present threats to their security".
4. H. Senior, Orangeism in Ireland in Britain 1795-1836 (1966).
5. Dewar, et al (1967), p.101.
6. See Miles, Racism and Migrant Labour (1982), Chapter 6 for a useful summary.
7. Cleary, op cit, (1897), p.52.
8. The event is celebrated in the usual Orange literary style,

'There Blacker, Sloan and Aitken's sons stood true unto the core,
With Sinclair and Dan Winter too, and Verner evermore,
These were the sons that led the van and did true valour show,
At the Battle of the Diamond, boys, a hundred years ago'.

In Dewar, op cit, (1967), p.85.
9. Killen, Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. ii, p.359.
10. Cleary wishes to use Peep o' Day Boys and Orangemen interchangeably. Sibbet's disclaimer of any link is modified even in Dewar and some overlapping membership seems logical.
11. Cleary, op cit, (1897), p.36.
12. Chambers Encyclopedia Ed. 1865, 'Orangeism' article.
13. B. Probert, 'Beyond Orange and Green' (1978), p.26.
14. P. Gibbon, The Origins of Ulster Unionism, (1976), p.32.
15. Probert, op cit, (1978), p.36.
16. Gibbon (1976), p.32.

17. Sibbet, op cit, vol. 2 (1939), p.289.
18. The '98 victory is again celebrated in song.

'Poor croppies ye knew that your sentence was come,
 When you heard the dread sound of the Protestant drum.
 In memory of William we hoisted our flag,
 And soon the bright Orange put down the green rag.
 Down, Down Croppies, Lie Down.

Dewar, et al (1967), p.111.
19. Senior, op cit, (1966), Chapter 5.
20. Ibid for a detailed account.
21. Ibid, Chapter 7.
22. For Liverpool Orangeism's early history, see Waller, Democracy and Sectarianism: a Political and Social History of Liverpool 1868-1939 (1981).
23. Ibid, Chapter 1.
24. See Chapter 1 of this thesis for Orange ideology. For the early history of the English Lodges, Cassirer. The Irish Influence on the Liberal Movement in England 1798-1832, Ph.D., London, 1938.
25. Cleary, op cit, 1897, p.4.
26. H. Senior, 'Orangeism: the Canadian Phase' nd.
27. For Australia, see Cleary, op cit, (1897), pp.6-10, a very partisan account.
28. Gibbon, op cit, (1976), p.16.
29. G. Bell, 'The Protestants of Ulster' (1976), pp.17-23.
30. H. Patterson, Class, Conflict and Sectarianism, Chapter 2, (1981) and 'Independent Orangeism and Class Conflict in Edwardian Belfast', Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy, Vol. 80, C. No. 1, (1980), pp.11-12.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. For an account of Churchill's tour, see Illustrated News January-June 1886.

35. The L.O.I's network of local lodges also provided a ready made framework for recivity and training the UVF in 1912.
36. See Chapter 2 for examples. Also T.A. Jackson, Ireland Her Own (1971).
37. The unity of Ulster Unionism 1886-1929, p.214.
38. Op cit (1980), p.16.
39. J.W. Boyle, 'The Belfast Protestant Association and the Independent Orange Order' in Irish Historical Studies, Vol. xiii (1962), pp.117-52.
40. Patterson, op cit, (1980), pp.18-19.
41. Dewar, et al, op cit, (1967), p.154.

SECTION 2

ORANGEISM IN SCOTLAND

CHAPTER 4

THE EARLY HISTORY OF ORANGEISM IN SCOTLAND 1799-1865

The First Lodges and their Antecedents

Unfortunately, unlike the Irish case, the limited nature and extent of the sources for the early period of Orange history in Scotland till the 1860's, render the interrogation of theoretical issues such as the efficacy of an objective conception of ideology or the relationship between sectarianism and sectionalism, a rather speculative exercise. More practicable initially is a general 'social history' of the opening decades, though this must also include some initial consideration on the class composition and related weakness of the Scottish movement vis à vis Ulster, as background for a more sustained class analysis and an account of Orange political practice in subsequent chapters.

Orangemen as bearers of a distinct tradition have always perceived themselves as participating in a continuous historical process. While in part relevant to an understanding of the survival and periodic revivals of the Institution, in general application, as already noted, this official view obscures more than it clarifies.

This indeed holds true for Scotland; the claim of Lilburn, for example, that Orangeism here is 'as old as the Glorious Revolution' being fairly modest when set aside the contemporary Orange view that the Institution's forbears were no less than the 17th century martyrs of the Covenant. ¹

In the Scottish case the line must be drawn for accuracy's sake

not only between the actual institutional genesis of the L.O.I., and the rather vague and eclectic 'Orange tradition', as in Ireland, but also between these and an indigenous tradition of emotional opposition to 'Popish machinations'.

Although the 'Orange Gazette', an intelligence of Glorious Revolution events daily 'with extraordinary news both at home and abroad', made its appearance in Edinburgh in 1689,² the Orange tradition, drawing on the Revolution and subsequent Williamite campaigns, was much less prominent and relevant in Scotland than in Ireland - the actual site of 'Derry, Aughrim, Inniskillen and the Boyne', where the tradition had had huge symbolic value for the embattled settler community.³

Far more powerful, however, was a much older, undifferentiated form of militant Protestantism which it could be argued owed as much to the course of the Scottish Reformation as it did to the events of 1688-90.⁴ Detailed consideration of the 16th century period is really beyond the scope of this study, but also representative of this ideology and much closer in time to the L.O.I. was the Protestant Association an "ill-defined amalgum of extra-religious and extra parliamentary forces" with the simple, negative aim of repealing the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1778 in England, and withstanding the attempt to extend its provisions to Scotland.⁵

Its first public meetings in Edinburgh in December 1778 resolved to petition parliament and form a committee of correspondence, a subordinate committee being established in the West of Scotland within three weeks. By the following year the Association had blossomed into 85 societies with 12,000 members issuing a mass of pamphlets and

broad­sides. By means of these it helped provoke large scale riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow in July and February 1779. Above all, it was successful, suggests Black, because it acted on the traditional anti-Catholic prejudices of the Scottish people, efficiently mobilising this literate public into direct action - indeed the first Relief Act was not passed in Scotland till 1793. Being a single issue movement, though, once its aim was achieved "it vanished 'as Prospero's phantoms' into thin air".⁶

Such early developments are very significant. Above all they emphasise the need for sensitivity towards Scotland's unique cultural and ideological identity (a point emphasised throughout the thesis) in particular underlining the strength of militant Protestant sentiments here, which despite similar themes and rhetoric were articulated quite independently of Orangeism.

Indeed, it is vital not to confuse the two. The Protestant Association, for example, preceded the foundation of the L.O.I. in Scotland by over twenty years and displayed the characteristics of a modern political pressure group rather than a fighting or convivial society. It is extremely unlikely, moreover, that there was any significant overlap in membership between the two bodies. The Association was broadly based throughout Scotland with branches in Selkirk, Nairn, Jedburgh and the East Coast and attracted a fairly sizeable bourgeois membership, particularly in Glasgow where it represented "groups of substantial social interests and prestige";⁷ the Orange lodges, however, as to be detailed below, were concentrated in the West and were strongly proletarian in character.

Nevertheless two more direct institutional precedents for the

Order did emerge in the 18th century, both drawing on what little of the 'Orange Tradition' there was in Scotland. The first, analogous to the Irish 'Apprentice Boys' and 'Royal Boyne Society', was the Old Revolution Club, a vaguely political society pledged to the defence of Protestant patriotism. The certificate presented on the occasion of the admission to membership of Sir Andrew Agnew in 1747, for example, ran as follows:

"Compared to Sir Andrew Agnew and humbly desired to be admitted to be a member of the Old Revolution Club and having declared the grateful sense he has of the deliverance of the Kingdom from Popery and Slavery by King William and Queen Mary of Glorious Memory and of the further security of our religion by the settlement of the Crown on the illustrious House of Hanover...we do admit him as a member of the said club". (8) (my emphasis).

Besides its basic political orientation, the club also seems to have been given to some rather esoteric flourishes, the seal to the certificate being attached by a blue and buff ribbon and 'sundry mysterious-looking emblems' engraved with the legends 'Tandem bona causa triumphant' and 'mente manueque'.⁹*

This mild degree of mysticism, however, pales in comparison with Orangeism's second precursor in Scotland, the splendidly named 'Imperial Grand Black Lodge of Malta and Parent Black Lodge of the Universe' - also known as 'the Grand Black Lodge of Scotland of the Most Ancient, Illustrious and Knightly Order of the Knights Hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem'.

Founded in Scotland apparently around the middle of the 18th century and claiming to be based on the famous chivalric order, its emphasis was on bizarre ritual rather than constitutional defence. As

* 'Good causes triumph at the last' and 'by hand and by brain'.

regards its class basis, it seems to have had a strong representation from craftsmen and artisans, often 'hedge masons' who had found orthodox Freemasonry too pedestrian or had been refused admission to an official lodge.¹⁰ Despite its peculiarities, though, it had an even greater relevance to the general progress of Orangeism. Spreading to Ireland in the late 18th century a Grand Black Lodge of Ireland was established in 1802, and this became the directing body of the Royal Black Preceptory.¹¹

Such interesting antecedents, though, should not be permitted to obscure the real beginnings of Scottish Orangeism, for this was in fact a quite unplanned offshoot from the Irish body formed in Armagh in 1795. The Institution took at least four years to reach Scotland, the means of transition being the same as for England - the militia regiments who had served in Ireland during the '98 Rebellion and its aftermath.

Senior, following Sibbet, suggests the movement was introduced by the Argyle Fencibles, who had served with distinction at the battle of Ballynahinch.¹² However, since the first lodge was undoubtedly at Maybole in South Ayrshire this is highly implausible.¹³ It is more likely that the Ayrshire and Wigtownshire Militia (a company of which under the title of the Loyal Carrick Volunteers had been formed in Maybole in February 1797)¹⁴ brought back an Orange warrant of authority from the Irish Grand Lodge sometime in 1799, when returning from service in Ireland.¹⁵

As Cloughly suggests, no official records are extant for this very early period. The class composition of the pioneer lodge then is impossible to specify with any degree of certainty. The lack of

records itself may indicate the participants' limitations of literacy, but on the other hand comprehensive minute books, membership records etc of the type observed by McClelland for Ireland may simply have been lost or destroyed. ¹⁶

A rather better indicator is provided by the economic and occupational basis of the early centres of Orangeism. Thus Maybole and towns like Wigtown and Tarbolton were involved mainly in small manufacturing, with the large majority of the former's male population engaged in weaving and shoe-making. ¹⁷ One may infer from this the bulk of the membership of the early Scottish lodges was drawn from the same proletarian class as their Irish contemporaries, though with more emphasis on the artisan and craftsman elements than the peasant proprietor who was already a rarer species in Scotland.

Indeed, it is extremely probable that many of the first Orangemen in Scotland were themselves Protestant Irish migrants, notably represented being that strata of weavers whose independence and prosperity had been undermined by the emergence of the new mode of production in the North East of Ireland. ¹⁸ Immigration to Maybole, for example, began precisely in the 1795-1800 period the settlers being exclusively working class and employed in the traditional trades noted above. ¹⁹

Ulstermen do seem to have been instrumental in setting up lodges in Airdrie, Beith, Kilbirnie, Ardrossan and Port Glasgow - and also in Glasgow according to the Roman Catholic Bishop, Dr. Scott, in 1836. ²⁰

The advent of Orangeism in Scotland though was much less dramatic and auspicious than in Ireland, with no equivalent of the battle of the Diamond and its associated folklore. The Scottish Institution

seems to have arrived without eliciting significant comment from any quarter for, as Senior notes for the North of England, the original lodges seem to have functioned mainly as private ex-servicemens' clubs, with an additional role as benefit societies. The latter were extremely prolific in Scotland in this period. It was probably members of the early Glasgow lodges, for example, at a meeting in King William's tavern on 6th September 1834, who resolved to establish a financial society. The result was the Glasgow Orange Union Funeral Society, originally based around the Calton, Mile End area. ²¹

Like the English example the early growth of the lodges in the 1800-20 period was not prodigious, one large contributory factor here again being the absence of revolutionary threats similar to those occurring in Ireland in 1798, 1802 and again in 1815 and 1817. As indicated, it was these which promoted the patronage of the Irish gentry and state agencies so vital in the parent movement's development.

And yet a diffusion of Orangeism did take place in these early years. The movement first spread South and West, the next lodges being founded in Tarbolton, Wigtown, Girvan and Stranraer. ²² By 1807 a lodge was also in existence in Argyle. It then moved eastwards to Newton Stewart and Dumfries. The next decade saw particularly important developments as Orangeism reached Glasgow and Lanarkshire. A lodge L.O.L. No. 106 was established in Glasgow in June 1813 at the Buckshead Tavern, Trongate, and in 1824 the first lodge was established at Airdrie. ²³

Building on these institutional developments, 1821 marks the

first attempt at a full ceremonial twelfth of July parade. Only three lodges took part on this first occasion, parading through the principal streets of Glasgow. Watched by 'an immense concourse of spectators' they were roughly handled and some had their sashes torn off. "Yet upon the whole", the Courier comments, "the thing went more quietly than expected".²⁴

In 1822 the pattern was repeated. Now seven lodges including those from Paisley and Pollokshaws, assembled to march, contrary to the magistrate's proscription, to Fraser's Hall in King Street. The company met with little opposition during the march since it was unexpected. Once inside the hall, however, they were besieged by a number of "zealous Irish Catholics, most ready to give battle, including one true son of the church armed in Irish style with a pitchfork which he had previously sharpened with much ceremony on the pavement".

Police and even military intervention was required and 127 Orangemen were taken into safekeeping, returning home ignominiously "with their sashes in their pockets".²⁵ A parade was again threatened for the following year but was cancelled and no public Orange processions seem to have taken place in Glasgow till the 1840's.

Hardly portents of the late 19th century mass demonstrations, these early outings have a threefold significance. First they reinforce the sense in which Orangeism in Scotland was an adjunct to already existing bitterness towards Roman Catholics, now particularly focusing on Irish immigrants. This is in some contrast to Liverpool, for example, where this tendency had to some extent been

in abeyance since the mid 18th century and was actively revived by the activities of the Liverpool Orangemen. ²⁶

The Glasgow parades were held at the beginning of the Fair week, the 1822 version taking place on Fair Friday 'the throngest day of the Fair week'. This was fortuitous since the 'piece de resistance' of this holiday ever since the first upswing in Irish migration in the late 18th century had been, as Handley notes, the sport of 'hunting the Barneys'. No Irishman was allowed to approach the Fair with impunity and strays were often rounded up, bludgeoned and kicked by Fair bullies. Finally, this element would root about the Saltmarket, the main Irish quarter, breaking windows and clubbing Irishmen out of their homes and ducking them in the Molendinar burn. ²⁷

Secondly, from coverage of these parades one is given an early indication of bourgeois opinion on the lodges. Thus the Glasgow Courier depreciated all assemblies which 'tend to agitate the public mind and to use party feelings', and expressed the vain hope that, "we shall not again be troubled by processions of this kind". ²⁸ Similarly, a letter in the Chronicle in response to the 1821 walk states that, "with the opinions of the Orangemen the public have nothing to do so long as they keep those opinions to themselves: but what right do the peaceable inhabitants of Glasgow have to be frightened out of their propriety by the wanders through the streets of a set of enthusiasts who...are never against having recourse to the shillelah". ²⁹

Such feelings of outraged and contemptuous neutrality in the face of what was perceived as an 'alien import' of party feeling were to remain constant in the 'respectable' bourgeois view on the Orangemen's

activities throughout the 19th century.

Lastly, and on a more general level, the activities of the Orange lodges are testament indeed to the diversity and contradictory tendencies in working class consciousness and practice in the 1800-30 period - one which is sometimes liable to overly optimistic and unitary interpretations. ³⁰

On the one hand these years certainly did witness a growth of Trade Union activity, political radicalism and even political insurgency, most marked among weavers, cotton spinners and miners in the West of Scotland, possibly influenced by working class Jacobin leadership. Particularly in the years following the French Revolution, radicalism was powerful enough to provoke a crisis for the traditional, paternalistic control structures, accelerating a policy of outright state repression which, as Dickson, notes, represented the only systematic response to unrest till the 1830's. ³¹

Paradoxically, however, co-existing with capabilities for joint action and communal solidarity was a heightening tendency in various respects towards sectional conflict. A tangible demonstration was in the quasi-masonic employment of grips, passwords and initiation rituals employed in the early 19th century Trade Unions, as Campbell notes, to guard against the incursions of 'neutral men'. ³² Even more pervasive, though, was the hostile reaction of various sections of the early Scottish labour movement to Roman Catholic migrants from Ireland. This was based on opposition to their religion as much as economic grievances, though the situation was greatly exacerbated by the serious fall in real wages after 1815 and by the employment of Irish blackleg labour after 1817, particularly in the coalfields. ³³

Anti Roman Catholic sentiments could find expressions even at the height of popular radical agitation. In the autumn of 1816, for example, at a public meeting of 40,000 held at Thrushgrove, near Glasgow, protest ranged from the iniquity of parliamentary representation and government extravagance to the restoration of the Pope and Jesuits in Italy and the Spanish Inquisition. ³⁴

To return more directly to the progress of Orangeism from the 1820's, the emphasis in the early lodges was now broadening beyond their original function as benefit and social societies, as for many their major occupation became increasingly violent provocation and general belligerence towards the Roman Catholic community. In short, the Scottish lodges were beginning to display that same spirit of 'combative sectarianism' which had characterised their Irish counterparts.

Even the indoor celebrations of 'the Twelfth Day' conducted in Glasgow in the 1820's-40's were conducive to faction fighting and serious rioting. In 1829 in the wake of the Catholic Emancipation Bill, for example, the Orangemen had no procession but a body of them met in a Gallowgate tavern, displaying sashes from the window. This irritated a large body of Roman Catholics who had congregated outside to stop the lodge members leaving. Hundreds who had been attending the Fair joined what was now a near riot. There was "every symptom of a severe popular tumult" had not the police broken up the Orange meeting. ³⁵

Nor were these incidents confined to Glasgow. In April 1823 there had been a serious outbreak of fighting at Newton Stewart Fair, ending in a victory for the Orangemen who paraded in triumph through the

streets the following day.³⁶ A similar fracas broke out in Dumfries in 1826 and serious party disturbances were also noted at Dalkeith.³⁷

These incidents, however, should again be kept in proper perspective, for in terms of their frequency and severity they do not approach similar events in Ireland; nor is there any evidence that the indigenous working class's opposition to Irish Catholics was being widely translated into membership of the Lodges.³⁸ In fact, the Institution's progress in its first two to three decades was often uncertain and liable to reversal, with lodges 'going down' particularly after the 1820's.

The less favourable cultural context in Scotland, a strongly generalised 'No Popery' but a weak Orange tradition, has already been noted; some further factors in the Order's relative weakness here compared with Ireland can now be introduced.

First, being a working class movement it seems to have been extremely sensitive to the rigours of the economic situation. For in this period the scarcity of labour and high real wages which had existed from the 18th century began to be reversed. The re-emergence of a surplus on the labour market facilitated capitalist accumulation - precisely by depressing wages.³⁹ In this situation members were less willing or able to pay dues; Freemasons' lodges in the period suffered similar problems.⁴⁰ Some lodges did survive (some, like Glasgow L.O.L. No. 106 and Airdrie L.O.L. No. 19, are still in existence today) a simple explanation being the Orangemen's 'sense of history' noted at the outset. Thus in times of constricted finances

they would tend to gravitate towards the more prestigious 'original foundations' and pay their dues there rather than to the more recent, and hence less well established, lodges. Again there is a contemporary parallel with Freemasonry where the 'Mother Lodge' Kilwinning has been sometimes accused of 'poaching' members from other lodges in North Ayrshire.

Secondly, it is very important to stress the independent attitude maintained towards sectarian disturbances by Scottish magistrates and judiciary, a feature most uncommon in Ireland where protection from legal proceedings was recognised as a major advantage of being an Orangeman. Behind this lay a vital fact for the prosperity of Scottish Orangeism; for if, as suggested above, the proletarian rank and file of the Irish Order had been reproduced in Scotland, indeed often physically transplanted here, its patrician leadership had not. Protestant immigrants were not drawn from the Irish aristocracy, gentry or bourgeoisie, nor had the Scottish lodges succeeded in obtaining support from the indigenous representatives of these classes. Quite simply there is no evidence of any upper class involvement in the Order here in the 1820's.

In these circumstances it was hardly surprising that the deep distrust felt by the state authorities towards popular disturbances generally was also extended to Orange activities.⁴¹ The general attitude is well represented in Sir Archibald Alison, Sheriff of Lanarkshire in the 1830's.⁴² An entrenched Tory, Alison was nevertheless unmoved by the Orangemens' protestations of loyalty, and viewing their processions in a similar light to those of striking cotton spinners and miners he had also experienced, he dealt with them

accordingly. To prevent a Protestant march at Airdrie on 12th July 1834, for example, he moved in personally in front of a squadron of dragoons. He led 28 prisoners back to Glasgow, the ringleaders being later transported. ⁴³

Until the Burgh Police Act (Scotland) 1892 standardising the law relating to public processions, however, magistrates like Alison faced a confusing system of local controls. They depended either on prohibition by means of statutory powers or common law, as employed in Glasgow against Orange processions in the 1820's and 30's, or an imposition of criminal proceedings post factum. ⁴⁴

In this situation, with few magistrates showing Alison's initiative, a great deal in the last instance rested on the efficiency and impartiality of the local police. Again Orange influence was lacking here. Following the 1822 parade in Glasgow, for example, the Courier commended the 'promptitude and zeal' of the superintendent and special commissioners of police who readily gave assistance in checking 'a proceeding which was likely to lead to much riot and bloodshed'. A further serious disturbance in 1831 was also apparently curtailed only by the prompt action of Captain Graham in removing offensive Orange emblems. ⁴⁵

Developments in the 1830's: The Parliamentary Report

At such a level of development Scottish Orangeism needed active stimuli to maintain its momentum. In the early 1830's it was to receive these from the aftermath of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, the 1831-2 Reform agitation and the Church of England disestablishment crisis of 1831-4. Here one can first identify the

laying down of a characteristic pattern of cyclical activity, largely in response to events in Ireland or domestic controversies, particularly in the religious sphere.

This period in Orange history also covers the parliamentary report on the Institution. This gives further information on Orange activity, as well as providing useful documentary evidence which, although soemtimes contradictory, often clarifies the Order's class composition and numerical strength.

Activity

As regards Orange activity, for example, a very serious riot in Girvan in 1831, according to the evidence of Cosmo Innes, the Lord Advocate's Deputy in Scotland, marks 'the beginning of the mischief', thus putting an end to the movement's latest period of quiescence.

⁴⁶ For several years apparently, Orange processions had been kept up 'from the convocation of Irish in the various manufacturing towns in Carrick'. There had been little physical opposition from either the Girvan townspeople or the Roman Catholic party until the Orangemen had taken the liberty of breaking up Reform processions, which were 'largely under the management of the Scots'. ⁴⁷ The local inhabitants - or as one indignant letter writer to the Glasgow Herald expressed it, 'radicals of the reform persuasion under the new deceitful guise of being patriots and friends of the people' ⁴⁸ - resolved to prevent the next Orange procession. On learning of this the Sheriff issued a proclamation, but without effect since at the time appointed a party of some 300 Orangemen and their followers appeared, preceded by a cart of whisky, and were met by a hostile crowd. 100 Scots inhabitants

sworn in as special constables also proved ineffective in checking the Orange advance. The Orangemen eventually levelled their muskets and as firing commenced 'the constables and people scattered and ran like sheep before a collie dog'. The Orangemen entered the town in triumph (with the whisky cart) and were only persuaded to withdraw by the townspeople's procural of a four-pound cannon. ⁴⁹

With reference to an earlier point this incident serves particularly well to indicate the consequences when magistrates and police action was indecisive and ineffective. Girvan and surrounding districts were indeed in a tense and disturbed state for some time afterwards.

The tours in 1833 and 1834 by Colonel Fairman, the representative sent by the British Grand Lodge to build up the Scottish movement, further excited activity of this sort with severe rioting occurring in Airdrie and Port Glasgow in July 1834. ⁵⁰ In Airdrie Orangemen seem to have rather misinterpreted the text preached to them by the parish minister, Dr. Begg, on their 12th parade, 1st John, V and XXI 'Little children keep yourself from idols', a week later attacking and looting a local Catholic chapel. ⁵¹

Strength

As for the numerical strength and organisation behind such activity, however, it is wise to treat with extreme caution Fairman's characteristic assurance to the Duke of Gordon that "such a flame has been already kindled in North Britain as must speedily burst into a conflagration, not easily extinguished". ⁵²

On Fairman's arrival the Institution was limited geographically to

the west of Scotland, with Edinburgh an eastern outpost, and was in a chronically insecure financial state. Although he may have given a fillip to some of the ailing lodges, including Neilston which according to its master, Bro. Thompson, was 'an almost expiring institution', ⁵³ he was unable to alter these basic structural factors. Thus, the returns of Colwill, assistant to the British Grand Secretary, compiled from the entires of district lodges, show the existence of 44 local lodges in Scotland in 1835. Since the average number in a lodge meeting under a warrant was then 5 and the maximum seldom exceeded 30, this implies less than 500 members for Scotland (Senior, it was noted, estimates less than 6,000 in the 270 civilian lodges in Great Britain as a whole). ⁵⁴

Geographical diffusion was similarly unimpressive. The lodges were organised in seven districts. Glasgow had the most numerous warrants, twelve in number, including two for Paisley and one for Pollokshaws). Ayr had ten, four of which were in Maybole alone; Innes notes particularly the great number of lodges in the manufacturing towns of Ayrshire. ⁵⁵ The southwest was still represented, Dumfries having two lodges and Stranraer four, but the nucleus of the movement was undoubtedly moving north towards the rapidly industrialising centres of Lanarkshire; by this date two lodges had already been established in Airdrie and one in Larkhall.

Largely independent of any exertions on Fairman's part, this shift again links up with the influence of migration patterns, specifically Protestant migration from Ulster, on the Institution's progress. For it was precisely into such districts that the bulk of new immigration in the 30's was directed. ⁵⁶ According to Innes, although 'a

considerable number of Orangemen in Ayrshire were Scots', the great majority in Glasgow, Airdrie and Port Glasgow were Irish. ⁵⁷ (The 'Scots' may indeed have been first generation Ulster settlers).

Class

As regards the class composition of the lodges in the early 30's, from the Report there seems a clear continuity from the beginning of the century. Frequent references are made in the enquiry to a membership largely composed of 'the lower orders', 'men in humble life', 'the poor and ignorant'. Fairman's statement that "they comprise in class and appearance, men perhaps of the best description of the lower orders", does not, for example, square with his preceding statement that they were generally uninformed and unable to write minutes or keep basic accounts - a point confirmed by Innes. ⁵⁸

The exception to this basic delineation was the Royal Gordon lodge, set up by Fairman in 1833 as 'a gentlemen's' lodge, based on the British Grand Lodge. This is the only body at this point for which there is any really detailed information. The minute book gives a list of 40 names and in addition provides an interesting occupational break down. From this two of the members are lawyers (or in the dignified Scottish terminology 'writers'); two are described as 'gentlemen living on their own estates'; three are merchants including A. McLennan described as the Convenor of Trades House; there is in addition one naval officer, second officer of the East Indiaman 'Orwell' and one captain in the Militia forces. Only one clergyman is listed, an English Episcopalian. Of the lodge's office bearers Lawrence Craigie, the secretary, is also a lawyer,

while the District Master of Glasgow and Paisley is William Motherwell, a Scottish lyric poet, author of 'the Harp of Renfrewshire', and editor of the formerly anti-Orange Glasgow Courier since 1830.⁵⁹ Persuaded by Fairman to act as patron over this whole diverse Institution was his Grace, George 5th Duke of Gordon.

Politics

Finally, the 1830's period is important in offering an early indication of the Orangemen's political activity, and an opportunity to interrogate the 'social control' approach to the L.O.I. For the sake of analytic convenience this is best dealt with when considering the broad scope of the movement's political practice in the 19th century in Section Three.

Briefly though, there existed high political ambitions among prominent Orange officials such as Motherwell and Craigie to make the Order the nucleus of a new ultra-Tory grouping, tempting to the most conservative sections of the ruling class bloc in Scotland.

As in the English case such genuine aspirations towards control and conspiracy were decisively checked by the reality of the lodges. For example, as suggested above, in the absence of similar material and ideological conditions to those existing in Ireland, the support of the gentry was not forthcoming and Orangeism remained a basically working class movement, with the Royal Gordon leadership prone to anti-aristocratic resentment. The plebeian lodges, moreover, were characterised by unruliness and dissent and had little spontaneous zeal for opposing parliamentary reform or for the ultra-Tory cause. Instead they remained resilient bases for an independent

interpretation of Orangeism, which placed a much stronger emphasis on its traditional cry of 'No Popery' and personal confrontation with Roman Catholics.

Re-organisation and an Upsurge of Activity

Further testament to Scottish Orangeism's popular momentum and independence at grass roots is its survival, and indeed expansion, following the loss of its leading figures in the mid 1830's. Craigie, secretary of the Royal Gordon had died in 1834, after which the lodge ceased to be operative and Motherwell, the deputy Grand Master, completely broke down under examination by the House of Commons committee. Sent home to Glasgow he died of apoplexy there on 1st November 1835.⁶⁰ The lodges aristocratic patron, Gordon, followed them on 28th May 1836.⁶¹

Yet in contrast to the rest of Britain, the Institution in Scotland positively regrouped. The plebeian lodges largely continued to function and a separate Scottish Grand Lodge was formed in 1835 - a point overlooked by Sibbet who dates this development only from the 1870's.⁶² This indeed seems a more genuine outgrowth than the Royal Gordon; the Scottish Orangemen did again appoint a patrician leader as Grand Master, the Earl of Enniskillen, 'a loyal Ulsterman with a strong Orange and patriotic spirit',⁶³ but this was really a titular post and the greatest part of his duties were assumed by Brother Clements, a doctor of medicine resident in the Gallowgate, Glasgow. Enniskilling resigned in 1862 and his post was taken over by another doctor, John Leech.

Also unlike the Royal Gordon the Grand Lodge was now able to issue

its own warrants for new lodges. Of the first 10 no less than 5 were for Airdrie District, No. 1 for Moodiesburn, No. 2 for Chryston, No. 6 for Drumgelloch, No. 8 for Gartsherrie, No. 9 for Shotts, reflecting the further development of Lanarkshire as a powerful centre of Orange activity. ⁶⁴

In these circumstances it is rather surprising that, according to official Orange sources, "there is little information on the activities of the brethren until 1848, when a report of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge was issued, still giving little more than the names of chief officebearers and showing a membership of 660 for Scotland (rising slightly from 1834-5)". ⁶⁵

When compared to contemporary external sources, this description appears extremely selective. In fact, important qualitative developments were appearing in the plebeian lodges; for while in the immediate aftermath of the 1835 parliamentary report some lodges reverted to their original functions as convivial clubs, many more began to display even more energetically the 'attributes' of fighting societies. ⁶⁶

As well as Airdrie and surrounding districts, the industrial areas of Ayrshire were also marked by faction fights in the 1840's. The twelfth celebrations of 1847, for example, were attended by 'riotous proceedings'. At Dalry Orangemen fired on Catholics who had tried to get their regalia. The sheriff and a party of yeomanry arrested some of them and followed others to Kilbirnie and their weapons were confiscated. ⁶⁷ Similar events threatened at Kilmarnock but the Orange party's appearance in readying themselves for the fight was so contemptible that one Irish onlooker commented they were "not worth

the bating".⁶⁸ Glasgow too witnessed recurring sectarian disturbance around the twelfth of July. In 1849 two publicans in the Gallowgate were brought before Bailie Orr on a charge of allowing their houses to be used as the public rendezvous of Orange Lodges. Various flags had been extended from their windows "leading to ill-feeling likely to lead to a breach of the peace".⁶⁹

Yet incidents such as these are mild by comparison with Orange activity in the 1850's and early 60's. Indeed one of the few points at which the official interpretation does accord with empirical evidence is when it suggests 'a great impetus' or take off from this period onwards.⁷⁰

The mid century impetus assumed partly the form of institutional expansion reflected in a considerable increase in membership and consequently a number of new district lodges such as No. 20 Rutherglen. Compared with a total membership of 660 listed above for 1848, single Orange demonstrations in Airdrie, Paisley or Glasgow in the 50's and 60's could turn out numbers approaching this figure. However, as indicated in Campbell's table of 'Orange and Green' incidents in the Lanarkshire coalfield, the impetus was also expressed in an acceleration of violent activity.⁷¹

In the years 1851-60 he records 16 disturbances ranging from an Airdrie waggoner fined a guinea in May 1853 for shouting "to Hell with the Pope!", to severe rioting and even murder. In July 1853, for example, an Irishman was killed by a mob of ironworkers, and in October of the same year 2 men were stabbed in a party dispute. In July 1857 300 Orangemen returning from a march were attacked and routed by a large number of Roman Catholics - as a result 12th parades were banned

in Lanarkshire for the next 10 years.

Again the Lanarkshire area was reflecting general tendencies in the west of Scotland, particularly in the neighbouring counties of Renfrew and Ayrshire. The Sentinel, for example, comments sardonically on 'a grand display of Orange folly and a reckless disregard for the consequences' and gives a useful indication of the nature of parades of the period. ⁷²

In July 1853 the Glasgow Orangemen had left by steamer for Greenock and joining up with the lodges there, attempted to approach the town:

"In front of the procession marched a stunted Orangeman dressed in Hessian boots and a coat a la Napoleon the whole grotesque garb surmounted by a fierce cocked hat. On the left of this distinguished person marched another fool clad in a scarlet robe, designed to represent King William....Behind these worthies marched a drummer bold, thumping his instrument with solemn vigour. This musical performance was supported by another character who tried desperately and vainly to bring musical and defiant strains out of an obstinate and rebellious flute. Behind this 'fine band' marched the rag tag and bob tail and all the haughty honours of rampant Orangeism".

When checked by the police, declaring themselves 'True Protestants' they discreetly slunk out of sight into the Gardeners' Arms 'apparently the howf of these queer supporters of our Protestant institutions'. A drunken, violent squabble ensued about the management of the lodge.

Although presently rather a ridiculous spectacle, the Greenock authorities did perceive in the demonstration the potential for a serious riot, hence their prompt action. A much more violent affray was indeed the outcome of such a demonstration in Paisley some years later.

The authorities in Renfrewshire, unlike Lanarkshire and Ayrshire,

did not proscribe Orange demonstrations there in 1859. The Paisley Orangemen, then, were 'bold and confident'. 400-500 of them mustered and marched to Johnstone but were attacked en route by hundreds of Irish miners. On their return the Orangemen were again obstructed at the Bridge over the Black Cart. The police, however, intervened on the Orange side, and with knives and firearms freely used, several people were injured and killed.⁷³

As in the early part of the century, such activities should be located in the broader socio-economic context and related to general developments in the Scottish labour movement. Thus, it was the 1830's to 60's period that saw the construction of Scotland's industrial base, with the development of the extractive industries and the production of capital goods centring on the Clyde Valley. Industrialisation, although very rapid, occurred relatively late and with an uneven development pattern, in Burgess' view representing an extreme form of 'the product cycle'.⁷⁴

These points were vital for capital/labour relations and for the nature of class consciousness. The Scottish economy, for example, became liable to violent cyclical fluctuations as overseas market conditions altered rapidly. These were exacerbated by extreme crises of overproduction, at least till the 1850's.

The outcome here was an enormous increase in the reserve army of labour in areas of industrial expansion, like Lanarkshire from the 1830's and also parts of Ayrshire. In these circumstances class consciousness could be mobilised but the forms of its articulation were frequently incomplete and contradictory. In particular the substantial increase in Roman Catholic Irish migration in the decades

following the Famine offered an explanation of recurrent economic crises to many lowland Scots, a great deal more potent and visible than their general experience of subordination to capital.

Yet this is not to suggest the upsurge of specifically Orange violence around the 1840's and 50's, however, can be reduced to a simple product of a retarded working class consciousness. There is still no indication that significant numbers of the indigenous working class mustered behind the Orange standard in their antipathy towards the Irish. Rather it was Ulster Protestants who continued to form the backbone of the lodges. Settling in increasing numbers in Scotland mid century - as in the 1820's and 30's - they brought with them their traditional assertion of Protestant ascendancy through regular physical confrontation with Roman Catholics. Indeed contemporaries were extremely sensitive to this. The Sheriff of Ayrshire, for example, commenting on disturbances in the late 1850's stated that, "Of late years numbers of Irishmen amounting to a very considerable part of the population, have become resident in the parishes of Dalry and Kilbirnie where they are employed in the coal pits and ironstone mines...there are amongst them a certain number of Orangemen. And an Orange lodge is established in each of the towns of Dalry and Kilbirnie".⁷⁵ The Courier echoed this explaining the rioting in Paisley, "...it would appear a necessity imposed by the introduction of a new element in the population since the opening up of extensive mineral fields in the neighbourhood".⁷⁶ (Author's emphasis).

Although aiding the absolute expansion of the Institution and a bolstering of its 'fighting spirit', the large Ulster component in the

Order did not further the reception of Orangeism in Scotland. Again the Courier's acerbic comment is representative. Censuring the magistrates of Glasgow for not taking draconian action on the disturbances in 1849 it proclaimed, "These party displays, however well intended, are not for this latitude. They are imports as unwelcome as many of the Irish themselves".⁷⁷

Besides this growing reputation as a violent and alien organisation, even more immediate problems confronted Orangeism from the late 1850's in the shape of a major schism. Discontent and disaffection began to show itself in 1857, culminating two years later when several of the lodges in Glasgow, Partick, Greenock and Ayrshire seceded from the Grand Lodge of Scotland. They applied for and were granted warrants under the Orange Institution of Great Britain, based in England. Subsequently these two Orange bodies, the original Orange Association of Scotland and the British Institution, pursued separate courses in Scotland.

Such divisions, though, were not as fundamental as those between patrician and plebeian lodges at various points in Orange history. The exact sources of discontent are indeed unclear. Cloughley, Grand Secretary in the 1930's, had no information, but disputes over jurisdiction and administration combined with 'clashes of personality' could be important - certainly for Johnstone of Ballykillbeg speaking in Greenock in 1870 blamed "the petty ambitions of individuals who keep us asunder".⁷⁸ This would also fit in with the geographical nature of the split, many of the southern lodges being included, and with the fact that it occurred in a period of expansion in numbers and activity.

In conclusion, by the early 1860's Orangeism in Scotland had gained a high public profile, but largely in terms of a 'party' or fighting society and certainly not as a credible organisational mechanism for propagating militant Protestantism. For, despite apparently favourable developments in the socio-economic structures and ideological climate of Scotland, the Institution did not attract significant bourgeois or gentry support or even mobilise effectively the anti-Irish sentiments of the Scottish working class. Behind this lay a further failure to anchor itself in the specifically Scottish tradition of anti-Catholicism and appear anything other than a misgrowth and 'unwelcome import'.

In these circumstances the rapid acceleration in Orange fortunes from around 1865, discussed in the following chapters, is particularly striking.

CHAPTER 4

Notes

1. R. Lilburn, 'Orangeism: its Origin, Constitution and Objects' 1846, Linen Hall pamphlet. Interview with H.S. 2/2/1983.
2. Orange Gazette, Tuesday, February 19-22; February 21st-March 6th. SNL.
3. The only 'Williamite Campaign' in Scotland was at Glencoe. Sibbet strives valiantly to clear William III's reputation over this incident. 'Orangeism in Ireland and throughout the Empire' (1939), Vol. 1, XIC, pp.155-171.
4. For the Reformation see The Scottish Reformation (1960), Donaldson, and for a short review R. Miles, Racism and Migrant Labour (1982), Chapter 6.
5. Eugene Black, 'The Tumultuous Petitioners, The Protestant Association in Scotland', Review of Politics, Pt. 25, 1963, pp.183-211.
6. *ibid*, p.211.
7. *ibid*, p.186.
8. A History of the Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway, n.d. c1747. Reference in Lilburn (1846), *op cit*.
9. *loc cit*.
10. A. McClelland, 'The Origin of the Imperial Grand Black Chapter of the British Commonwealth', Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Vol. 98 (1968). 'Hedge Masons' appear to have been a source of concern to the official body of Freemasonry.
11. See Chapter I for distinction between L.O.I. and R.B.P.
12. R.M. Sibbet, *op cit* (1939), Vol. 1, pp.400-4.
13. In recognition of its position as the birthplace of Orangeism in Scotland, on 26th October 1929, the Grand Lodge inaugurated a new lodge, LOL. No. 0 Mother Maybole, Ayrshire Post 1/11/1929.
14. A History of the Counties of Ayr and Wigtown n.d.; on the formation of the Scottish militia, J.R. Wilson, Scottish Historical Review, XXXIV (1955).
15. J. Cloughley supports the idea of the role of the Ayrshire militia (Belfast Weekly News [BWN] 23/11/1929). It is also suggested in the 1835 parliamentary report on the lodges (see note 46) that Orangemen continued to be involved in the regiment, e.g. letter

from Grand Secretary Nixon to an officer in the regiment, J. McWilliams, May 16, 1809, concerning regimental lodges.

16. A. McClelland, 'Occupational Composition of two Orange Lodges 1853'. Ulster Folklife Vol. 14 (1968). See bibliography for sad fate of Kilbirnie lodge records.
17. First Report for Enquiring into the condition of the poorer classes..Ireland. Appendix G Report on the state of the Irish poor in Great Britain (1836) [40] XXXIV 427, p.148.
18. See Chapter 3.
19. Irish Poor Report (1836), p.148, W. Newen's evidence.
20. T.B. Interview, 4.4.83. Scott's evidence in Irish Poor Report, op cit, p.105.
21. As regards a low profile, there is no mention of the lodges in the Ayrshire Post, for example, 1803-5. This could confirm the basically private nature of their early activities. Early friendly society example, rules and regulations FSl 16/108, 1835 At S.R.O.
22. TB Interview, 4.4.83.
23. Cloughley, BWN, 23/11/1929.
24. Glasgow Courier (G.C.), 14.7.21.
25. An account of Proceedings at the Orange Procession...(1822), Wylie Collection, street literature, Glasgow University Library, Special Collections.
26. P.J. Waller, op cit (1981), p.26. In 1819, for example, the Liverpool Orangemen paraded with lamb, ark and Bibles on poles while a clergyman officiated over the burning of Roman Catholic vestments.
27. J.E. Handley, 'The Irish in Scotland' (1943), p.306.
28. GC, 14/7/21.
29. GC, loc cit.
30. e.g. J.D. Young, op cit, (1979), views the class as simultaneously revolutionary and nationalistic.
31. Capital and Class in Scotland (1979), T. Dickson (ed), pp.168-177.
32. A. Campbell, The Lanarkshire Miners: A Social History of their Trade Unions (1979), Chapter 1.

33. *ibid* and Dickson, *op cit*, (1979), p.174.
34. A. Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland* (1970) p.25.
35. *Glasgow Herald*, 17/7/1829.
36. *Glasgow Courier*, 13/7/1823.
37. *Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 14/7/1826. Sibbet, *op cit*, Vol. 1, p.705.
38. See Scott's evidence in *Irish Poor*, p.105, though the mining districts of Lanarkshire could have been an exception, Campbell, *op cit*, (1979).
39. Dickson, *op cit* (1979), see Chapter 4 for full discussion.
40. E. Jamieson, 'Beith Royal Arch Chapter No. 32 1814-1909' pamphlet n.d. St. Salem lodge collapsed in period 1820-2 through non-payment of dues and migration of members seeking employment.
41. See J.L. Murdoch, 'Policing public processions in Scotland', *Journal of the Law Society*, March 1983.
42. See biographical index *Obituary Blackwood's Magazine*, July 1867.
43. A. Alison, edited by Lady Alison, 'Some Account of My Life and Works' (1888). Alison was a high-ranking Freemason.
44. Murdoch, *op cit* (1983).
45. *Glasgow Courier* 13/7/1822. *Glasgow Herald* 15/7/1831.
46. Report from the Select Committee appointed to Enquire into the Origin, Nature, Extent and Tendency of Orange Lodges in Great Britain and the Colonies, H.C. 1835 [605] xvii, Lanes evidence, p.141.
47. *Ayrshire Post*, 16/7/1831.
48. *Glasgow Herald*, 2/8/1831.
49. *Glasgow Courier* 14/7/1831. 1835 Report Lanes evidence p.29. More violence broke out in 1834 in the town. Fairman's evidence, p.169.
50. 1835 Report, p.27.
51. *Glasgow Free Press*, 16/7/1834.
52. Proceedings of the Royal Gordon Lodge, June 4th 1833 (1835 Report, Appendix No. 2).

53. loc cit.
54. Senior, op cit, (1966), p.206.
55. 1835 Report, Introduction, p.9.
56. Irish Poor, op cit, (1835).
57. 1835 Report, Innes Evidence, p.29.
58. 1835 Report, loc cit.
59. J.E. Handley, op cit (1943), dismisses Motherwell as 'a minor poet' but he was very much in vogue in America, and gained particularly favourable mention from Edgar Allen Poe in Home Journal 31/8//1950, and Sartain's Union Magazine, October 1850. Excerpts in Edgar Allen Poe Selected Writings, p.513.
60. See Biographical index and Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. 2, (1901-1970).
61. loc cit.
62. op cit (1939), vol. 2, p.371. For more on Glasgow Orangemen, pp.482-3.
63. Cloughley, BWN, 23/11/1929. There is no indication that the noble lord took any active part in affairs of the Scottish movement.
64. loc cit.
65. loc cit.
66. John Foster suggests a similar shift towards a convivial function took place among the Oldham Orange Lodges. Class *Struggle* and the Industrial Revolution (1974), p.219.
67. Glasgow Herald, 17/7/1847.
68. ibid.
69. Glasgow Courier, 17/7/49.
70. Cloughley, BWN, 23/11/1929.
71. op cit (1979), Appendix III.
72. Glasgow Sentinel 16/7/1853.
73. Glasgow Courier, 19.7.1859. (A list of the injured here also gives a brief indication of early Paisley Orangemen's occupations, noting shoemakers, miners and textile print cutters).

74. This has four phases, he suggests,

- (1) Innovation of a product and a growth of sales in the domestic market.
- (2) Saturation of the domestic market and exports of product(s) to the overseas market.
- (3) Shift in the location of manufacturing of products from domestic market to markets abroad, made possible by overseas investment from the home market - the export of capital.
- (4) Eventually, the product(s) will be exported from overseas countries into original home market, and within the latter, their manufacture will stagnate and begin to decline, at first relatively, but in the end absolutely as well.

75. Report to the Lord Advocate of Scotland by the Sheriff Substitute of Ayrshire. Lord Advocate's Papers AD 58-70, SRO.

76. Glasgow Courier, 19/7/1859.

77. Glasgow Courier, 17/7/49.

78. Greenock Telegraph 2/11/1870. The tendency towards internal conflict seems endemic to Orangeism at certain periods of its history, notably amid rapid numerical expansion or political stagnation. The R.B.P. was similarly affected in the 1840's. In 1844, for instance, a breakaway Grand Priory of Ireland was formed by members who felt neglected by their brethren in Scotland where its headquarters were then situated. (See Chapter 3 for Ireland and H. Senior, Orangeism, The Canadian Phase, n.d. for parallel colonial developments).

CHAPTER 5

ORANGEISM IN SCOTLAND 1865-1900: QUANTIFICATION AND CLASS COMPOSITION

The years 1865-1900 mark the consolidation and further expansion of the LOI's mass membership in Scotland. The precise history of this period is important in various respects. First by stressing the Institution's status, in simple numerical and geographical terms, as a major form of working class mobilisation it provides a broad empirical indictment of its marginalisation in most accounts of 19th century class relations in Scotland. (1) The material is not merely descriptive, however, but has wider theoretical implications, providing a perhaps disconcerting rebuttal to a priori assumptions (often drawn from commonsense but sometimes restated in the literature) of the LOI's class composition and its relation to sectionalism in the workplace.

Some Initial Quantitative Aspects

Some grasp of the numbers of people involved in Orangeism's mid-century expansion is essential. These provide the raw material for subsequent analyses of the LOI and political activity, class relations, etc; there would be, for example, little point in engaging in debate on these themes if this Institution's official membership remained at its 1848 figure of 660. (2)

Distinct problems of computation do arise though, and I am going to pursue two parallel strategies. First of all an overall, albeit impressionistic, account can be drawn from the successive mass

demonstrations taking place on or around the 12th of July each year. Secondly, a more detailed breakdown of the geographical bases for LOI activity can be constructed - in terms of the presence of local and district lodges - from local history and miscellaneous sources.

The Twelfth:

12th of July parades from the 1870s increasingly replaced indoor lodge celebrations, not to mention spontaneous brawling, as the major form of LOI activity. The form of these parades, remaining largely unchanged to the present, was fairly complex and demanding of considerable logistical skill on the part of their organisers. (3)

A 'grand demonstration' would be held at a location specified by the Grand Lodge, and all over the West of Scotland 'feeder' demonstrations took place, with the Orangemen mustering (in Glasgow the traditional muster point being Glasgow Green) and marching through the main streets of their respective towns to the railway station or even in the case of the Clyde coast towns, the steamer embarkation points. Arriving at their destination they joined in the combined demonstration usually to some field on the outskirts where they were addressed from the platform by Grand Lodge speakers and guests. On the end result Connolly, in 1906, commented rather perceptively, "Viewing the procession as a mere league...I must confess some parts of it are beautiful, some of it ludicrous and some of it exceedingly disturbing". (4)

The first demonstration along these lines was in Glasgow in 1872. On this occasion 1500 were reported to have been present from Glasgow itself and adjacent districts. 20 lodges represented the

Orange Association of Scotland (OA of S) and 12 the Loyal Orange Institution of Great Britain (LOI of GB). (5) While not as yet immediately impressive this figure should be compared to the total membership of over twenty years before, noted above, and it should also be stressed that large independent demonstrations were taking place that day at Airdrie, Slammanan and Ayrshire.

The following year, moreover, such a large triennial gathering was described as 'the greatest demonstration ever witnessed in connection with Orangeism in Scotland'. (6) The Glasgow Herald estimated 40-50,000 in the procession. Estimates given by officials for railway transportation purposes the previous week, however, were only 30,000 and apparently not all the seats were filled on the day. Given that the procession was more than two miles long and took 55 minutes to pass a given point perhaps 15-20,000 is more realistic and still a considerable figure.

This is supported by turnout in subsequent years in the 1870's and 80's at grand demonstrations held at Dumbarton, Kilmarnock and Port Glasgow. These attracted an average 8,000, with families and supporters on top of this, the Glasgow contingent alone usually mustering 3,000-4,000. The figure seems to have been less the further the demonstration was held from Glasgow and also appears to fluctuate in response to local manifestations of economic uncertainty. Thus in the 1884 'dull trade' was said to have been responsible for the smaller numbers in the Govan turnout, "having told severely here, the population having been on the decrease for some times past". (7) Again other demonstrations held simultaneously around Scotland, in Lanarkshire, North Ayrshire etc., could attract in

addition a combined total of around 6,000. (8)

Clearly then it is best to treat as hyperbole the then Grand Master George McLeod's claim in 1875 that he stood, "at the head of 60,000 members in Scotland of such a good and peaceful fraternity...60,000 loyal men, good and true whose Protestantism could at all times be relied upon"; (9) and likewise the Glasgow News estimate of no less than 90,000 Orangemen in Scotland in 1878, 14-15,000 of them in Glasgow. (10) Yet nevertheless the figure which the LOI could turn out at its great ceremonial occasions in the 1870's and early 1880's is impressive. This growth is paralleled, as Patterson notes, by the LOI in Belfast which expanded from the 1850's but particularly in the 1870's, both cases contradicting the movement's official historians, Dewar, Brown and Long, who indicate the LOI had reacted a quietus from which it only recovered through the enormous impetus received from Home Rule agitation in the mid 1880's. (11)

This is not to say, of course, that the Scottish Institution did not additionally benefit from these political developments. In 1886, for example, the year of the first home rule bill a markedly increased complement of 7-8,000 marched from Glasgow to Cowlands. (12) In addition, 57 lodges turned out at Motherwell, though the Greenock and Port Glasgow brethren numbering over 300 preferred to sail to Rothesay on the new 'Meg Merilees'. Over 1,000 also rallied at Ayr. (13)

Progress though was not unimpeded and for the next few years attendances were 'scarcely as large as usual' as the immediate danger of home Rule passed, though in contrast in 1888 the Glasgow contingent to Thornliebank numbered any upwards of 2,000 in 30 lodges. (14)

The 1890's followed a very similar pattern and again the Home Rule issue came to prominence. In 1891 then the Glasgow turnout for the march to Jordanhill was "quite equal to that of former years", (15) and in 1892 with Gladstone's second Home Rule bill the demonstration at Glasgow was 'one of the most imposing ever to have taken place' with a 1 mile procession of 7,000 Glasgow Orangemen marching to Govan. (16) The Grand Demonstration of 1896 saw 200 lodges at Renfrew, (17) and the following year an estimated 10-12,000 were present at Kilbowie with contingents from Glasgow, Port Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley and Johnstone, etc., while another 10,000 from 8 districts and representing 35 lodges were present at Airdrie. (18)

Fluctuations aside from the evidence of its public outings at least the LOI in Scotland would appear to have entered the new century with a membership of around 25,000 with around 8,000 of these in Glasgow. (19) Though it is not intended at this stage to provide a systematic assessment of their economic or political weight in Scotland it may help in putting this number in some perspective that the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the Society of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders, two of the most powerful trade unions in Scotland in the early 1890's, had each around 8,000 members. The National Federation of Mineworkers, revived in 1886, had a nominal membership of 25-40,000 while the Operative Masons, revived in 1892, had 4,000 men affiliated. (20)

The 12th marches cannot, however, stand as the only index of LOI development in personnel and activity from the late 1860's - this was after all the point at which the conduct of the Orange year, quite literally, reached its crescendo. (Though one can surmise that the

figures quoted in contemporary newspapers and even by Grand Lodge officials were the ones to impress themselves most effectively on those involved in the activities of the Conservative Party, Labour Movement institutions, etc). For a more adequate account of how the Order sustained its functions, on a day to day basis, it is necessary to consider the LOI's numerical advance in terms of the geographical distribution of its lodges and district lodges, and to note the development of certain 'power bases'. (21)

Local Developments:

As suggested, the broad pattern in the earlier part of the century had been a diffusion of Orangeism from its earliest centres of South Ayrshire, Wigtownshire and Dumfries, northwards into Glasgow, Lanarkshire, North Ayrshire and the commercial towns of Greenock and Port Glasgow on the Clyde Coast. In the years following 1865 it is within these areas that the most marked consolidation and intensification of Orange activity occurs. (22) (See Map 1).

Besides Lanarkshire and Ayrshire (where the progress of the LOI was acknowledged by the installation of a County Grand Lodge in February 1875) (23) one of the first centres to emerge was Paisley. This had been represented by a lodge, probably LOL. No. 3 'Royal Oak' or LOL. No. 6 'Duc de Schomberg' at one of the earliest 12th displays in 1822, and had received a great impetus from the period of William Motherwell's involvement in the 1830's. (24) It seems, however, to have experienced another spurt of growth even by the late 1850's, witnessing probably the first public 'Orange and Protestant' soiree of its kind in Scotland in 1856, with upwards of 700

present. (25) By 1866 it had 10 lodges meeting in their own premises (26) and constituting their own district lodge (No. 6). (27)

While the Orange presence in Paisley tended to remain fairly constant in the latter part of the century, another growth point from the 1860's and before - Greenock - was to continue with a steady development. Indeed, the Rev. Henry Henderson's speech of 1869 boasting '1000 loyal Orangemen in Greenock' is probably not greatly exaggerated, though it may include the figure from neighbouring Port Glasgow. (28) The following year 1,300 were reported as present at "the grandest demonstration and soiree ever held in the Town Hall under the auspices of the Orangemen of Greenock"; where the Rev. Gunn congratulated them on their prosperity "He remembered when a very small hall holding about a hundred, could hold them". (29)

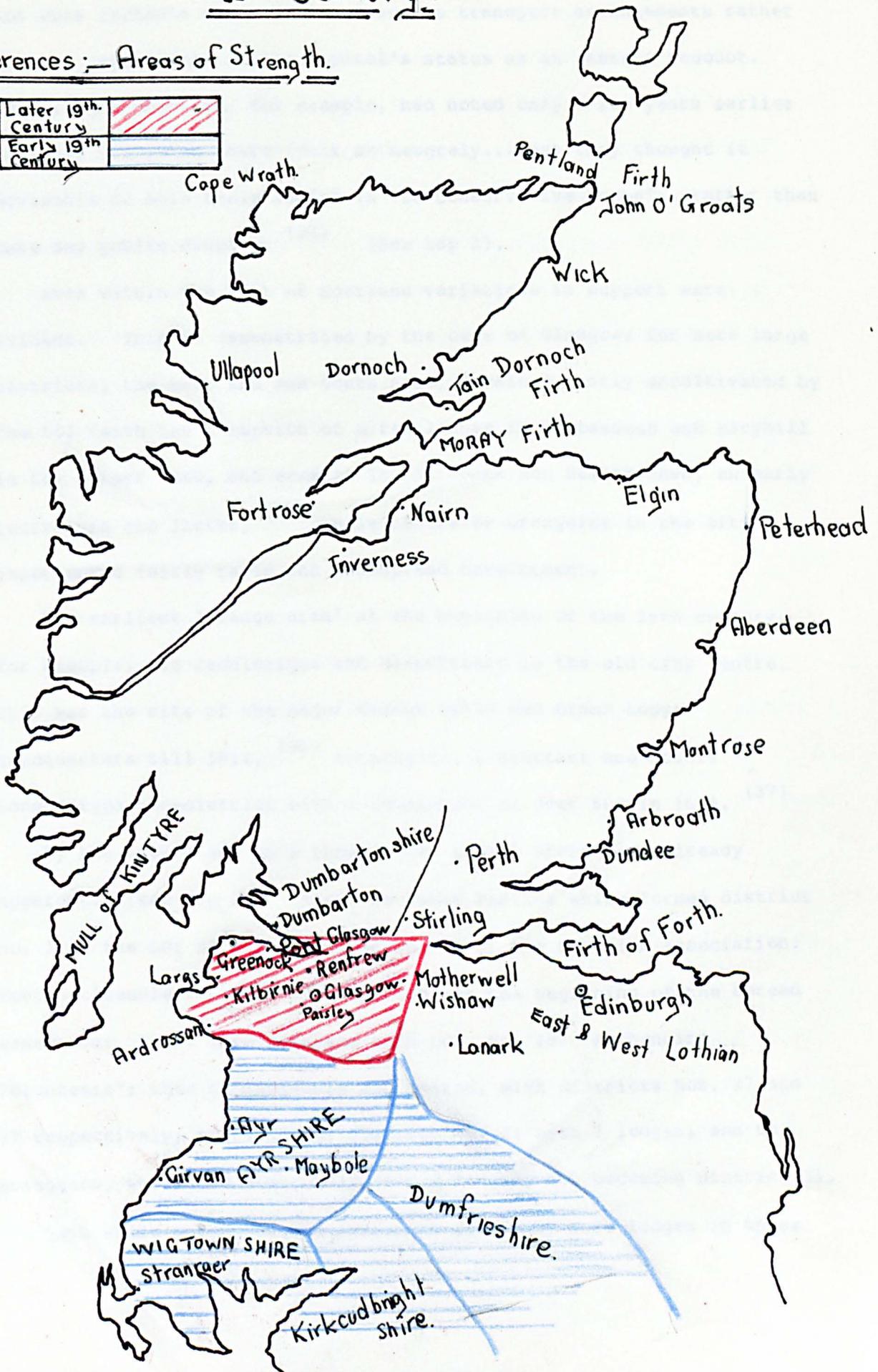
By 1874 these were organised in two districts No. 3 and No. 4 of the LOI of GB with a total of 14 lodges between them. (30) The number increased to 15 the following year, with the 5 lodges in Port Glasgow now constituting their own district No. 19, (31) and rose to 17 in the 1890's. Also worthy of note is the existence in the area of a Royal Black Perceptory, St. George's RBP No. 164, and Hunt Chambre District (later Wicliffe) RBP No. 211. (32)

Like the 12th turnout figures, however, such figures cannot go unqualified. For taking an overall view of Scotland, at no point in the late 19th century did the LOI's geographical stronghold extend beyond the west of Scotland. Certainly 25,000 were estimated to have attended the 12th parade in Edinburgh in 1902, with William Johnstone of Ballykillbeg commenting that "the proceedings would have been the most imposing seen in Scotland if the weather had been more favourable". (33)

Map 1 L.O.L. in Scotland 19th Century.

References :- Areas of Strength.

Later 19 th Century	
Early 19 th Century	



But this reflects the Order's efficient transport arrangements rather than an improvement in the Capital's status as an eastern redoubt. The Glasgow Observer, for example, had noted only a few years earlier that the Orangemen there "bulk so meagrely...that they thought it advisable to hold their social in the Conservative rooms"...rather than make any public display. (34) (See Map 1).

Even within the West of Scotland variations in support were evident. This is demonstrated by the case of Glasgow; for here large districts, the West End and South Side, remained mostly uncultivated by the LOI (with the exception of a few lodges in Cowcaddens and Maryhill in the former case, and some in Thornliebank and Pollokshaws, an early centre, in the latter) (35) while otherwise Orangeism in the city experienced fairly rapid and widespread development.

The earliest 'Orange area' at the beginning of the 19th century, for example, was Candleriggs and Blackfriars in the old city centre. This was the site of the major Orange Halls and Grand Lodge Headquarters till 1914, (36) forming No. 2 district and No. 24 Candleriggs sub-district with a complement of over 600 in 1878. (37)

By the 1840's and 50's though, new growth areas were already apparent. (See Map 2). These included Partick which formed district No. 1 of the LOI of GB as well as No. 15 of the Scottish Association. Most noticeable though in this period was the beginning of the spread eastwards: first into Townhead with LOL. No. 167 'Auchenairn Volunteers'; then to Camlachie and Calton, with districts Nos. 17 and 37 respectively; to Parkhead, district No. 21 with 7 lodges; and to Bridgeton, which had previously only 2 lodges, now becoming district 31.

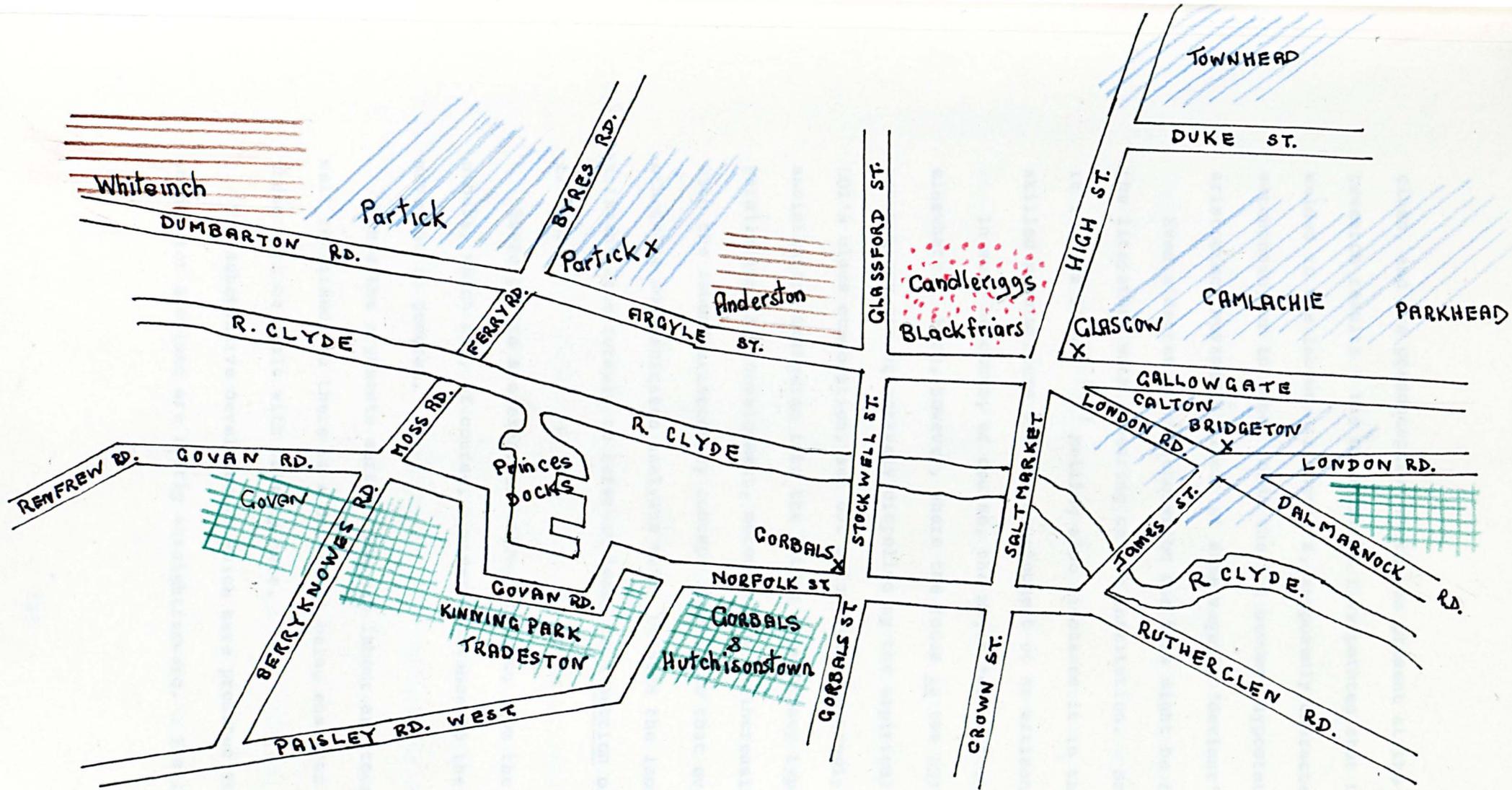
This shift was steadily reinforced with many more lodges in these

areas in the late 1860's and 70's. Expansion now also took place westwards with the establishment of Anderston district No. 41 and Whiteinch/Partick No. 46. Again from the late 1870's and 80's the Institution expanded more definitely south of the river. Kinning Park, for example, which in 1878 had been 'not only a small but comparatively recent foundation' with 2 lodges, in the 1880's had a total of 8 lodges with a probable membership of 250-400. Districts were now formed also in Govan No. 42, and Gorbals/Hutchesontown No. 50. Bridgeton also underwent further development during this period with the creation of a further district No. 44 on its eastern boundary - and it is from this area came the 'new men' in the LOI, W. Young and J. McManis, rising to prominence in the Grand Lodge in the late 1880's. (38)

To sum up then, by the closing decades of the 19th century the LOI had displayed a very uneven pattern of development. It was still firmly rooted in the West of Scotland, with notable centres of growth in Glasgow and surrounding counties but it had failed to have any significant impact either in the Highlands or in Edinburgh and the East.

Class Composition: Theory

Moving on to what might be termed the qualitative aspects of this general late 19th century development, from anecdote and folklore, particularly in the West of Scotland, the strongest impression is that the LOI found its constituency among skilled workers, acting as a major lever to recruitment and advancement in the shipyards and engineering works. Superimpose on this an acquaintance with much of the sociological theory on the sectionalism of the 19th century working



References

- Early 19th Century
- // 1840's - 50's.
- === 1860's early '70's
- # late 1870's - 80's →

Map 2. Spread of L.O.L. in Glasgow 19th Century.

class, and the preconception which was present at the outset of this research results - the Orangemen's five-pointed star becomes firmly welded to the labour aristocrat's, supposedly characteristic, watchchain, or in other words the LOI becomes hypostatized as a labour aristocracy movement, albeit of some vaguely 'deviant' nature.

Even a degree of corroboration for this might be found among some of the literature with a bearing on the Institution. Smith appears to see it in this light, ⁽³⁹⁾ Melling also discusses it in the context of skilled male workers and the development of an artisan culture. ⁽⁴⁰⁾

In such accounts, of course, the major focus of interest is elsewhere. Here, however, where the focus is the LOI 'commonsense' assumptions are effectively dispelled by the empirical material on the LOI's class composition, set out below, which strongly militate against assimilating Orangeism into the labour aristocracy type of analysis. Paralleling this development, moreover, is an increasing disenchantment with the labour aristocracy concept itself, so that even Patterson's otherwise sophisticated analysis which retains the labour aristocracy, artisan elite formula to refer at least to a section of the LOI, seems flawed.

These points are examined below, starting from the more theoretical debate, which has, of course, a wider relevance to the Scottish labour movement in general.

Since the arguments surrounding the labour aristocracy are already well rehearsed and there is a danger of being ensnared by rhetoric, these will be dealt with briefly here.

The substantive developments which have promoted the adoption of the theory for Scotland are fairly straightforward. The 1850's onwards

witnessed a massive shift to the manufacture and export of capital goods, thus integrating Scottish capital more closely with the fortunes of British capital in the world economy, and giving an enhanced standing both to the industrial bourgeoisie and to skilled labour.

A prominent feature of this period was also a greater comprehensiveness in the hegemony of liberalism, though this shift was possibly less dramatic in Scotland. Thus, for example, although there was a mid century revival in Trade Unionism and a greater propensity towards joint action with the first regular Trades council in Glasgow in 1858, the products which emerged shared the distinctive traits of the British model unions. (41) These included a view of political action in terms of pressure in the existing parliamentary parties, advocacy of franchise extension and an acceptance of classical political economy.

Such developments in expansion and stability prompted the backward projection of Lenin's labour aristocracy concept, which originally applied to the 1890's and 1900's to the mid 19th century. There are different definitions of the basic concept but Foster provides a useful example. He suggests then that the process of 'liberalisation' or stabilisation around the 1850's was rooted in a historical reorientation of the British ruling class in the face of a 'revolutionary working class', an integral part of this reorientation being precisely the fragmentation of the labour force with strategies to encourage 'sub-groupings' in the working class and more efficient forms of social control. (42)

Increasingly though the labour aristocracy concept has met with only equivocal acceptance. In the face of criticism Moorhouse neatly codifies three responses. First there is the almost dogmatic retention

of the concept without qualification. Most recently, as already noted, Smith states, "It is impossible to think of the 19th century without the term. It has been an organising concept of most of the research into the 19th century labour movement". (43) Secondly and 'the new insipid orthodoxy' according to Moorhouse is a critical acceptance of a 'revised concept' like Gray's with its less ambitious and more indefinite claims for explanatory power and sometimes allied with a culturalist problematic. The third position, however, is that the concept has little analytic value and should now be disregarded. (44)

The 'middle course' here is no longer the instinctive or preferable option for analysis. The immediate problems, as Gray himself admits are twofold. (45) It is difficult, for instance, despite Hobsbawm's precise criteria, for example, to identify empirically a division between labour aristocrats and others. This might work for some specific occupations and localities but the very diversity of the Scottish, not to mention British, experience confounds almost any procedure of generalisation. Moreover, even if one can isolate this prized group, as Smith believes possible for Glasgow and Liverpool, (46) the extent of its analytic power is still left unclear; whether it is merely to denote the empirical delineation of social structure divisions within the boundaries of the working class, or more ambitiously, though with less precision, whether it can aid conceptualisation of the relationship between economic classes, class consciousness and state agencies.

Gray believes the value of the concept is that it is concrete and conjunctural but, as Clarke points out, the type of division indicated by the 'labour aristocracy' may not be just a unique historical

phenomenon but the particular form of a more general tendency towards complexity and differentiation. For expansions and movements in capital do not necessarily unify and homogeneous labour even in the direct relations of production. (47)

In this way structural divisions within localities, industries and indeed other internal divisions such as those based on gender, ethnic or religious categorisation, which cannot be simply explained in terms of occupational tendencies, should perhaps be the starting point of an analysis of working class relations and consciousness, rather than an implicit principle of unity. To employ the labour aristocracy device as some sort of historically contingent factor, to explain the 'gap' between the working class's theoretical destiny and its actual history in the 19th century displaces these central features. This is particularly significant in the Scottish case where a major sectional divide was between the indigenous Scots population and the migrant R.C. Irish. Indeed for an understanding of the complexity of class relations in Scotland and the LOI's position in them, a rigid retention of the labour aristocracy analysis does not mark a great advance on the traditional economistic approach of Johnston, etc., and may indeed have the effect of closure on more radical overtures to such issues.

In the analysis of the Institution itself a number of more specific problems may result. Here doubts arise firstly from a possible logical inconsistency in suggesting that members of this same upper strata were the bearers of a characteristic 'liberal commonsense', and at the same time of the ideology for Orangeism, a component of 'Conservative commonsense'.

Although this difficulty can be circumvented by specifying the

heterogeneous nature of labour aristocracy culture, it is indicative of more basic problems with the value of the concept in approximating to the complexity of Orangeism. For example, a further caveat is that a reliance on the concept may also obscure the centrality of the rough/respectable distinction in this context which, as Moorhouse suggests, is by no means coterminous with hierarchies of skill and pay. This is not to suggest that it should replace the 'labour aristocracy' as new orthodoxy for labour history, but the distinction does seem vital in understanding the nature of Orange self perceptions. It was also, as will be indicated, the terrain on which many of the rank and file/leadership conflicts were waged.

Above all, however, the challenge against viewing the LOI as a 'labour aristocracy movement' is posed on an empirical level by the clearly heterogeneous nature of the Order's class composition.

Class Composition: Empirical Material

No attempt was made in the preceding sections to offer an explanatory analysis of the LOI's general expansion in the 19th century or its increasing presence in certain areas. A simple hypothesis can be made though, drawing particularly on the experience of Glasgow, that, as in the earlier period, these closely follow the shift of population and the development of industry in the West of Scotland. In turn this involves the obvious assumption that the class basis of Orangeism must follow closely on the occupational and industrial structure of its specific locations, in other words that, certainly at grass roots level in Scotland, it was still overwhelmingly an organisation of the industrial working class, with possibly also a

petty bourgeois component.

The following breakdown of membership for the latter part of the 19th century does, indeed, reinforce these points.

For this breakdown a selection of four main areas has been made for detailed examination - determined to some extent by the availability of sources, but also designed to illustrate the differing material contexts for LOI development. Thus two burghs with differing industrial and occupational structures are considered, Greenock and Paisley, based respectively on commerce and on textiles and crafts. Also considered is the Glasgow conurbation, a heavy industrial area and one of the largest centres of the Scottish LOI. Finally as examples of the Order in varied county settings, attention focuses on Lanarkshire and Ayrshire.

The names of Orangemen in these areas were gathered from newspapers, pamphlets etc and checked against electoral registers, Post Office directories and Fowler's directories to determine occupation. The majority of this sample are officebearers, but certainly at private and district level these are strongly representative, as in Ireland, of the general character of the Institution's rank and file. They were, for example, democratically elected and the turnover of personnel throughout the period studied does not suggest a self-perpetuating group. ⁽⁴²⁾ Nor were the officebearers likely to be the most 'literate' among the rank and file, since the nature of lodge meetings and 'degree work' did not set a particular priority on this.

The largest and most representative sample of names came from Greenock and Paisley, where soirees etc were frequent and well reported. It was possible to set out findings here in the tables in

Appendices D, E and F. Glasgow also provided a large sample but, as discussed below, it probably represents only a small proportion of Orangemen in the city, therefore more general secondary sources were employed as a supplement. This was also the case in Ayrshire and Lanarkshire, and with the former interviews with contemporary Orangemen and ex-Orangemen were also used. (The names and occupations available for Glasgow and the counties are included in the biographical index, Appendix G).

Greenock:

Turning first to Greenock, the dominant characteristics of labour here was its unskilled and casual nature. This is expected from a primarily commercial and distribution centre, though during the 19th century Greenock's status as a port had to some extent declined as the deepening of the Clyde enabled ocean-going ships to reach Glasgow, and sugar refining, textiles and new enterprises in engineering had expanded. (49)

LOI membership here shows a close correspondence to these general circumstances throughout the period under study.

Of the 53 names, from 1870-86, for which occupations have been located, 16, the largest group, are listed as 'labourers', only one of whom is apparently in a supervisory position. A further 10 are in unskilled work or depressed trades, seaman, gatekeeper, tenter, etc. 5 fall into the rather ambiguous and amorphous categories of 'joiner' or 'engineer' while 6 are more definitely in skilled trades, but significantly those tied to the volatile nature of the local economy sailmaker, fitter, etc. The 12 remaining might be designated petty bourgeois and are mostly shopkeepers, an ironmonger, a grocer (and

interestingly 2 wine and spirit merchants) with a sprinkling of clerical workers, an insurance agent, a 'broker', and a single representative of the professions - a veterinary surgeon. (50)

The majority of the LOI's Greenock membership in the 1870's and 80's (62%) then, this sample would seem to indicate, was drawn from that section of the working class, principally defined by its less regular and well paid employment. Indeed the dominance of this strata is probably understated above. For a further 40 names it was not possible to determine occupation, and the nature of the sources employed, Post Office Directories, Electoral Registers, suggest it would be precisely the unskilled and casual labourers who were omitted.

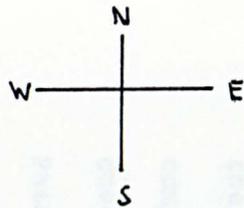
This impression of class composition is confirmed for the later period. The 1892-3 Post Office directory gives a very full listing of LOI officebearers. Of 36 names for which occupations can be found 16 are listed as 'labourers' or in unskilled trades, 3 are janitors or watchmen, 11 are in the 'fitter', 'joiner' type category or in other skilled trades, 6 are small shopkeepers (one a spirit dealer) or insurance salesmen, 1 is a fireman and 1 a policeman. (51)

A further significant dimension in the Greenock case is also the extent of LOI members residential concentration. (52) Like Candleriggs in Glasgow, the original 'Orange area' in the 1850's and 60's and site of the Institution's Hall, had been Cathcart Street and the Wellpark area towards the older centre of the town, and here the Orangemen retained a strong presence. From the 1870's onwards, however, the real muscle of the membership was to be found in the area of new tenement flats on the higher ground to the south of the town and close to the sugar refineries and foundries - Drumfrochar road,

Prospecthill Road, Ingleston Street, with Mill Street as its axis (see Map 3).⁽⁵³⁾ Even among the petty bourgeois element, noted above, several had business premises or residences in this southern corner. In 1892-3 indeed the southern concentration is particularly prominent. 7 officebearers are resident in Drumfrochar Road alone, 3 in Dempster Street, 5 in the Ingleston Street/Baker Street area.⁽⁵⁴⁾ By comparison, for example, in the 1870-86 period 4 officebearers' names were located in Cathcart Street, 6 in Drumfrochar Road, 3 in Prospecthill Road, 3 in Ingleston Street, 3 in Crescent Street, 3 in West Blackhall Street and 2 in Market Street,⁽⁵⁵⁾ still a very significant concentration, 48.1%.

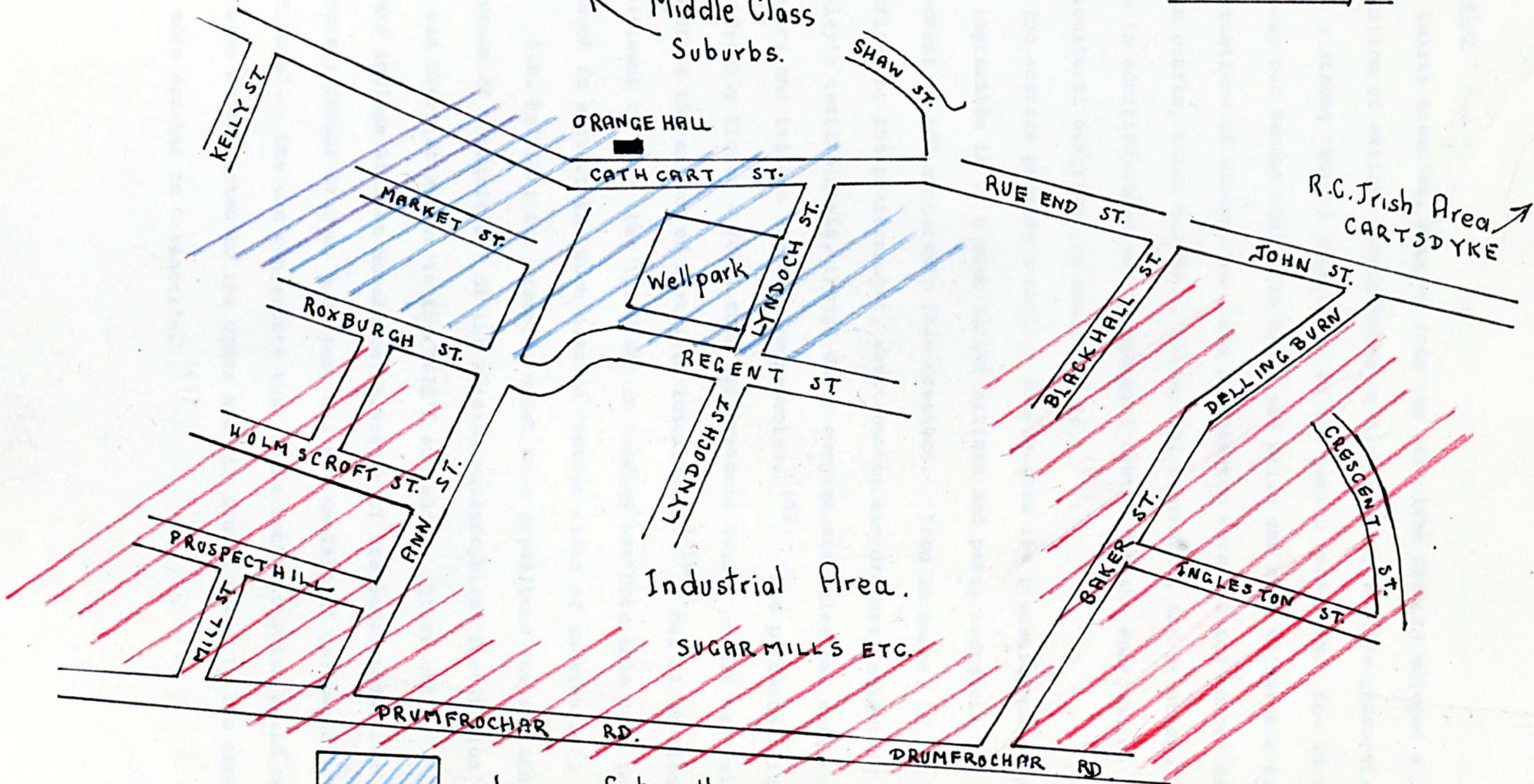
Although anticipating the discussion below on the LOI and labour migration it should be stressed that this was precisely the area of heavy Protestant Irish settlement, 34.2% here being of Irish birth.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The Roman Catholic Irish seem to have been similarly concentrated in the old decaying part of the town and the neighbouring burgh of Cartside to the east.

In this way a possible parallel emerges between Greenock and Liverpool in terms of the LOI's physical ghettoisation and significant casual and unskilled component. (The two centres of course also shared an economic structure rooted in commerce rather than heavy industry).⁽⁵⁷⁾ It is dangerous, however, to extend the Liverpool comparison in any sustained manner to Scotland as a whole. If one looks at Paisley, for example, a comparable burgh to Greenock in size and location, its pattern of class affiliation has quite a distinct emphasis.

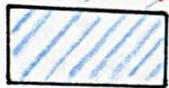


Map 3 Orange Areas Greenock
19th Century.

← Middle Class
Suburbs.



References:-



early areas of strength.



1870's.

Paisley

Unlike Greenock, Paisley from the late 18th century enjoyed a tradition of skilled labour based on high quality textile production with a strong radical culture. In the period under study the local economy had become dominated by thread mills and more vulnerable to fluctuations of demand, but also represented were a large number of urban crafts, coach building, tailoring, shoemaking and printing. The town in addition acted as a commercial centre for the surrounding agricultural districts of Renfrewshire. (58)

The sources provide a smaller sample than the preceding case but the impression is of a much larger artisan and petty bourgeois component in LOI membership than Greenock. From 35 names, 26 fit this description, the patternmaker, shuttlemaker and drapers reflecting Paisley's textile basis, though other shopkeepers, clerical workers, cobblers and tailors are also represented. (59) The percentage is considerably higher - 74.3% than for Greenock 36.2%. This may well understate the extent of unskilled involvement, (60) but it is also significant to note that the Order in Paisley was more able than in Greenock to attract the much desired 'better class of candidates'.

(61) A.R. Pollock, for example, owner of a drysalters company and 'convenor of antiquities' of the Paisley Philosophical Institution (62) was District Master in the 1870's and 80's. Other office bearers include William Robertson, Minister of the local Primitive Methodist; Thomas Graham, a doctor; and Mr. Smellie of Gallowhill, a 'gentleman'. One can conjecture that these local notables would not have been so attracted to the Order had its social basis in the area been more similar to Greenock's. (63)

A further interesting feature in Paisley is, moreover, the apparent absence of residential segregation of the membership. No indication of an Orange area comparable to the Mill Street/Drumfrochar Road example above emerged - the Orange Hall was itself in the High Street of the town. Generally, as McCarthy indicates, Paisley was free from Greenock or Liverpool's degree of residential segregation on religious lines, though the Roman Catholic Irish had originally tended to settle in the decayed areas such as the Sneddon and parts of the new town. (64)

Glasgow

Moving on to the case of Glasgow, the first impression of the city is of a hybrid of the two patterns of class affiliation outlined above - a thorough admixture of unskilled, casual and artisan, petty bourgeois. Unfortunately a detailed tabulated breakdown is not feasible as it is for Greenock, (65) nor are occupational lodges found as they were on occasion in Belfast though they may have existed in a 'de facto' sense. (66) Conclusions, then, must remain rather indefinite. However, working on the premises suggested above, on the links between the local industrial structure and the occupational and class basis of the LOI, clearly a strong representation is to be expected from the industrial working class - with Glasgow from the 1870's becoming a major centre for heavy engineering and shipbuilding and metal manufacture. And indeed if one examines the outposts of the order in areas of the city where it was otherwise not represented one finds there were also working class outposts in otherwise bourgeois residential areas. In the College parliamentary division which

covered large areas of the West End, for example, the only district with any sizable LOI presence was Cowcaddens which, as McCaffrey notes, was characterised by an unskilled working class population, high density housing and a local economy based on foundries and chemical works. (67)

Beyond this it becomes difficult to determine the relative weight of unskilled or artisan components of membership. Nor is the general economic context conclusive. Glasgow's base in heavy industry, noted above, ensured an occupational structure where the skilled workers, in the broadest definition, dominated. But Treble still estimates 27.16% employed males were unskilled and as Smith suggests this may actually underestimate those in the 'unskilled' category with the difficulty in precisely identifying the status of the growing designation of 'handyman'. (68)

Only in a few localities for which a limited breakdown is possible can one suggest a predominance of one component or the other. In Partick, like East Belfast, its local economy relying on shipbuilding and engineering, the strength of the skilled working class element seems indicated by a number of those from the boilermaking and engineering trades among office bearers in No. 16 and 46 districts.

(69) While Anderston is probably similar in this respect, both Cowcaddens and Maryhill though present important contrasts. The industries of the former were noted above and in the latter case 'a pocket version of Hades' on the 12th, (70) large areas were occupied for railway purposes or by large public works in the 1870's and 80's, heavy industry characteristic of elsewhere in the city having not yet penetrated. In both cases the LOI tended to reflect the unskilled

nature of the general working class composition, with occupations of officebearers ranging from labourers, moulders to a railway signal maker. (71) In all other areas, however, even this limited breakdown is difficult from the sources. These are also areas of a more diverse class base. Camlachie, for instance, with its chemical works and Beardmore's furnace at Parkhead had some of the worst slum housing in the city, Little and Great Dovehill and the Rookery but also the new artisan tenements of Annfield and Bellgrove. (72) It is similarly difficult to specify with any accuracy the size of the petty bourgeois component for the various localities but the biographical index suggests a fair presence, again frequently in the shape of insurance collectors and shopkeepers.

More straightforward is the probably lack of ghettoisation of the LOI's membership when compared with Greenock or Liverpool, despite the Order's increasing presence, sketched above, in areas like Calton and Bridgeton. There had been in the 1830's a range of buildings in Bridgeton known as 'wee Belfast' occupied by weavers from Northern Ireland, (73) but such examples are few from the 1870's onwards due in part to the tenement system. (74) Whiteinch and Partick were reckoned by contemporaries to be 'Orange' strongholds, for example, but the term is used loosely with no distinction usually made here in anecdotal evidence between LOI members, Protestant Irish and even indigenous Protestants - the actual degree of residential segregation is indeed doubtful. (75) Nor was any religious concentration even translated into political terms. As Hutchison points out there were no 'Protestant' wards though some were 'skilled' or 'unskilled', and the Roman Catholic Irish were similarly distributed throughout wards

and parliamentary constituencies. (76)

The LOI's diversity even within the West of Scotland context, and its correspondence to the industrial structure and local characteristics of the workforce in the three localities above, is confirmed if attention is extended briefly to its county strongholds, Lanarkshire and Ayrshire.

Lanarkshire and Ayrshire

Campbell, for example, in his study of the Lanarkshire coalfields, indicates the strength of Orange membership there among coal face workers who had achieved a precarious quasi-craft position drawing on the independent collier tradition. (77) Later in the century Orangemen were probably also increasingly drawn from the iron and steel works in Lanarkshire. McDonagh notes that many Protestant Irish were employed in largely skilled capacities, particularly in the original Tube and Iron Smelting Works such as Kipps, Bairds and Lloyds 'Sun' and 'Britain' branches which employed Roman Catholic Irish only in the capacity of Puddlers' labourers, and later blastfurnacemen. Though new works in the 1890's were less able to select their workforce. (78) This area is also interesting, she suggests, in its marked residential segregation particularly in the case of the mining villages of Harthill and Larkhall which were the local centres of the Order. (79)

In the case of Ayrshire membership was similarly drawn from the mining community in the small southern villages such as Patna which boasted 2 lodges in the 1870's. (80) Though also represented in membership in the south were agricultural workers suggesting a

similarity with some of the Ulster counties, Tyrone and Fermanagh.

This group was also present in the lodges in North Ayrshire, in the Dalry and Kilwinning area lodges, Districts No. 9 and 14, for example, but overall here, like Lanarkshire the heavy industry workforce predominated. (81) The heart of Ayrshire's industrial area around Ardrossan, Saltcoats, Stevenston, Irvine and Kilwinning was indeed described by contemporaries as 'a little Lanarkshire' with ironworks, mining and a variety of manufacturing. In 1873 the Garnock area alone had 31 out of 61 of the ironstone mines in the country. (82)

Thus, for example, the village (or more correctly hamlet) of 'the Den' near Beith, which was based around a single small pit and had a population of just over a hundred, had its own lodge from the 1890's, until the pit was exhausted in the 1920's and the community dispersed. (83)

From the 1880's a new potential component was added when steelworking was introduced in the area by Merry and Cunningham at Glengarnock. The steelworkers seem to have provided the backbone of the LOI in the Garnock Valley though the lack of sources make it impossible to specify whether a skilled element predominated. Merry and Cunningham apparently employed members of the Institution in all capacities including that of labourer and blastfurnacemen. (84) These workers were housed in company housing based on the design of miners rows, but unlike some of the Lanarkshire villages at no point did they become 'Orange' enclaves, instead containing a significant Irish, and later even Lithuanian, Roman Catholic population. (85)

An Appraisal

The LOI in Scotland, therefore, was a diverse and complex phenomenon, drawing for its membership in the District and Private lodges, on both skilled and unskilled workers and on the petty bourgeoisie. The question of internal class relations (and the class composition of the Grand Lodge) will be discussed in Chapter 8. At this point, however, two aspects of the Institution's own role in the general context of Scottish class relations will be considered: first, its relation to sectional practices; and, secondly, a most difficult related issue, the question of what motivated the above groups as Orangemen.

LOI and Sectionalism: For Gibbon the LOI was influential among the Protestant working class in Ulster because it enforced the Protestant monopoly in skilled trades, ⁽⁸⁶⁾ and in the Scottish case this view is again reinforced in popular mythology. In truth, however, the relationship between religious sectarianism and sectionalism seems to have been a great deal more historically contingent. The basic analytic point would be to delineate this empirically. Unfortunately, for the 19th century this appears an almost impossible work of historical recovery, with the nuances of possible occupational discrimination most unlikely to reach official Trade Union and industrial records. Only partial insights can be offered then.

The skilled component in LOI membership in Scotland has been noted above. Again for the involvement of the Institution's members in the organisations of this section of labour the evidence is more likely to be circumstantial than documentary. The local branch of the

Boilermakers' Society in Airdrie, for example, traditionally met in the Orange Hall in Baillie Street, as did the Bakers Union (and still were meeting there in the 1950's). (87) The ASE similarly used the Coatbridge Orange Hall from 1877-1931 and did not have a single Roman Catholic member till the 1930's.

Here it seems most likely to have been the case, as Patterson has suggested for Belfast, that while skilled men could employ discriminating practices qua Orangemen, their sectionalism was in fact dependent on their prior status as craft workers in trades with restrictive rules of entry and apprenticeship. Orange ideology, in other words, determined that those already in a position to exercise craft control would do so in a specific way.

To take the ASE example again, this union catered for a highly skilled membership being exclusively restricted to those who had served a lengthy full apprenticeship. The largest component in Lanarkshire were indeed Scots whose main interest was in maintaining the high standards of entry to the trade rather than the more political aspects of Unionism (as illustrated in 1897 by the refusal of the Coatbridge branch to accept an invitation to join the workers parliamentary committee). (88) Some Protestant Irish, principally those from the Belfast shipyards and probably including many Orangemen, were eligible to join and a number did. However, it seems more likely that the exclusive nature of the trade precluded the less well educated and connected Irish Roman Catholics from membership, rather than an active LOI inspired discrimination policy. Indeed the National Iron and Steel Workers' Union which accepted all grades of iron workers, including

semi and unskilled, did have a majority of Roman Catholic members. (89)

Some contrasting examples may, of course, be found. Sectarianism may have been more weighted as an explanatory factor in cases where employers actively pursued a hierarchical structure of employment along religious lines, as noted above in some of the earlier Lanarkshire Ironworks. But overall, the impression of Orangeism as a vocabulary for maintaining prior mechanisms of exclusion is persuasive.

Following on from these points, one might expect in sectors of unskilled labour unprotected by strong craft unions that Orangeism would have more decisive material effects. Patterson, for example, notes that 4 out of 6 of the occupational lodges in Belfast in 1889 were focused on work of this nature. (90) This general area, of course, is also a fertile ground for folklore: Thayer, for instance, suggests that in dockwork in Liverpool if a gang boss was Irish he would hire only Irish gangers and similarly if he were Protestant he would hire only those of his own faith. A sign language grew up that would indicate to the gang boss to which religion the job seeker belonged. If he fluttered his fingers by the side of his cheek in the imitation of a flute player he was a Protestant; and if he gave the sign of the cross he was a Catholic. According to Thayer the story goes that every morning the workers would line up at the docks for jobs and in the confusion one unwitting Catholic or Protestant would find himself in the wrong line 'Got a job for me, mate?', would ask the Irishman (crossing himself) 'Not bloody likely' would come the reply from the foreman (fluttering his fingers). In many cases, Thayer was informed, such a miscalculation would find the offender being quick-stepped onto the edge of the pier and thrown in the Mersey. (91)

Again in reality though the situation is a complex and historically variable one for which formal sources are of little assistance. It seems that as an agency for selective recruitment, the LOI will in fact have competed strongly with the connections of family and friends already in the work place. There may, of course, have been some overlap between the two, but it also is probable that practices of exclusion and prejudice would be conducted by a much larger section of the working class in Scotland than were members of the Order. (92)

In these circumstances, and in a way which again militates against the Labour aristocracy concept being unproblematically applied to the LOI, the traditional role of 'marginal privilege', the term employed to denote the relative political and economic advantage of the Protestant working class in the Ulster case, seems in need of reassessment. (Indeed Patterson suggests the usual arguments about economic differentiation and sectarianism may not have gone far beyond the impressionistic comments of Beatrice Webb). (93)

Although it has been suggested above that sectionalism and craft awareness are primary material circumstances allowing the promotion of a sectarian ideology germane to Orange membership, crucially this ideology was more likely to have been the product of external factors. The dynamics of sectarianism then were not simply reducible to the work place, and may indeed have drawn more on ideological and political factors than the economic level. The question perhaps was more one of territoriality or intercommunal relations than production - with the entry of Roman Catholics into the workplace being seen as an unfavourable shift in the overall balance of forces.

In this way, it has been argued for Ulster that even more

significant than marginal economic privilege was the wider regional context within which differentiations existed, Unionist ideology having a much less substantial social base if located simply in the privilege of a section of the Protestant working class. Instead its hegemony lay, Patterson believes, in the contrast it drew between an expansionary regional capital in the North and Southern underdevelopment. (94)

Such an analysis may seem irrelevant to the LOI in Scotland, but taking the argument in the next chapter that the most substantial and significant component of the Institution's membership were Ulstermen, the transfer of such conceptions of ascendancy may, in fact, be a crucial factor in its practice here; while their very inappropriateness in the quite distinct Scottish social formation might simultaneously have acted as a block on the LOI's future prosperity.

Motivation:

The most basic and yet the most potentially perplexing problem remains, namely the motivations of the LOI's varied rank and file membership. Why were they Orangemen? What did it mean to them to be an Orangeman?

Some initial material factors can, of course, be cited. The network of lodges, for example, seems to have retained its original informal benevolent function paralleling the provisions of the plethora of benefit and friendly societies in the 19th century: Foresters, Gardeners, Shepherds, etc. The Imperial Orange Council meeting in Glasgow in 1912 hoped to standardise these by becoming an approved friendly society under the Insurance Act; the Orange and Protestant Friendly Society, which resulted registering 26 branches in and around

Glasgow the following year. (95) By the late 19th century early 20th century the Institution was also increasingly engaged in more general charitable work such as that undertaken by the Loyal Orange Widows Fund set up in Belfast in 1906-7. (96) There may also have been the hope, however well founded, as indicated above, that for those with little job bargaining power positive discrimination might work in favour of one of 'the brethren'.

Beyond this, however, in attempting to grasp what, for instance, Orangeism contributed to its members' wider self-conceptions and how it interacted with images forged in the work place, a sociological analysis such as this, remaining largely at the level of social structure and class relations, begins to look rather inadequate.

The first impression here though, is of a certain 'identity' conferred by affiliation. For the skilled worker, shopkeeper etc this may have been a further enrichment of the existing perception of his role with a demarcation even from his fellow craftsmen or business rivals. For the unskilled an alternative identity outwith the workplace was offered. Here, too, the elaborate proliferation of orders, particularly within the RBP, previously outlined, had the important function of internal differentiation, providing a recognised hierarchy of status to which the novice could aspire.

A 'respectable' or 'decent' standing among the working class, akin to that conferred by the Temperance Societies etc of the 'Liberal beehive' may have been a motivation for some Orangemen. One is frequently struck by the pathetic dignity of Orange 'speechifying' and their prolix resolutions, which do seem indicative of working men striving for 'respectable' or perhaps more accurately 'educated' status.

It is more likely though that many of this group may have gravitated towards the quasi masonic Royal Black Preceptory; with more of an esoteric and allegorical emphasis on ritual, which was, as suggested, colloquially known as the 'sedate' order as opposed to the 'rag tag' LOI. (97) For the majority of the LOI rank and file the sources for this identity are more diffuse and insubstantial.

One point here which can be drawn from the section on Orange ideology is the sense of belonging to some form of an elite, a vanguard (or at other times bulwark) conferred by adherence to the Order. If Protestantism was 'the purest form of evangelical Christianity', 'the religion of the Bible', Orangeism was in turn, as Grand Lodge personalities never tired of stressing, 'True Blue' Protestantism in action, interdenominational and above party in Church and State. It is probably in this sense that the Orangeman felt himself to be 'marginally privileged'. Whether a genuine or bastard religiosity animated the ordinary member is rather missing the point; for to subscribe to 'The Protestant Religion' had much wider resonances than church attendance being intertwined precisely with claims for political and territorial ascendancy.

The identity promoted here was potently expressed in almost ritualistic confrontation with Roman Catholics - most significantly in the triumphalist celebrations surrounding the 12th of July. This specific form of plebeian Orangeism, typified as traditional 'combative sectarianism', was a vital dynamic but, as frequently stressed, could bring the LOI into conflict with the ruling class bloc and state agencies and produce internal conflicts. The official historians of the Irish Order capture the attitude of mind with great clarity.

"...what mattered to the ordinary man was to be able to feel that his own position and living and those of his family were secure. He wanted to go to fairs and markets without being cudgelled there, or waylaid on his return, and to use whatever roads he wished. When reports of disorder, intimidation and 'agrarian' crime came from the South, the Northern Protestants refused to allow the slightest self-assertion to 'the other side' lest the same occur in his own neighbourhood. On the 12th of July...he marched with his lodge, behind its flag and drums and fifes, wearing his regalia (cockade, ribbons, scarf or sash) and, armed with his yeoman gun, to show his strength in arms where he thought it would do most good. Where you could walk, you were dominant, and the other things followed...". (Author's emphasis) (98)

Two final points should be briefly outlined here, the total world view offered by Orange ideology and the total nature of the Orange community. A cornerstone of the former, as already noted was, of course, an all embracing world conspiracy theory, which focused on Papal and Jesuitical machinations and which could in turn be employed to 'explain' a vast range of topical features, including the politics of the Liberal party; Roman Catholic and secularist activity at the School Board elections; Ritualism; Home Rule; and even the Franco-Prussian war. As for the second, it is vital to grasp that besides its economic and charitable role, the Order had a considerable social and cultural function in predominately working class areas like Partick, Kinning Park and Bridgeton. The limited requirements for Orange pageantry, flutes, banners and regalia, more simple than that of Freemasonry, could be fairly easily mustered there, affiliation fees moreover were modest and

paid at monthly lodge meetings rather than the masonic system of heavy annual subscription or test fees. (99) Weekly band practices and the regular pattern of initiations and degree work offered valued recreational opportunities, in Greenock indeed there was a 'Sons of William' Quadrille party. (100) At the last membership even conferred the right to an Orange funeral. (101)

The thread which ran through these actions was, moreover, a convivial, not to say bibulous one, and eventually this was to be given formal recognition by the setting up of many 'Blue Star' social clubs attached to lodges and providing a vital source of income. (102) Temperance lodges were also found though, and there were a few in Glasgow and surrounding areas by the end of the 19th century, LOL No. 217 'Barthill Temperance' and LOL No. 440 'No Surrender Total Abstainers' Gallowgate, for example, the latter established in 1868. (103).

A possible index to the total nature of such provisions is indeed the small number of ordinary Orangemen who are to be found in 'outside' organisations such as Temperance and Friendly societies. Paisley, and Greenock, already examined, present very similar patterns. In Paisley no names were identified, with the exception of District Master A.R. Pollock in the Philosophical Society, in other Paisley societies, benevolent, trade and religious, nor contrary to current popular assumption among any of the officebearers of the town's masonic lodges, Renfrew County 'Kilwinning' Lodge or Paisley 'St. Mirren'. (104) In Greenock only the most peripheral involvement was found in benevolent, temperance and sporting clubs, with one William Swan, an Orangeman, being described as 'key keeper' in the Weavers' Society. Again there is no representation apparent in the lodges of Freemasonry, Kilwinning

No. 12, St. John No. 175 and the Royal Arch Chapter No. 17, nor in the town's main religious societies, the Greenock United Bible Society and Association, the YMCA and the Working Boys' and Girls' Religious Society. The one exception here with some Orange participation, although by no means a domination in its committee, is the Greenock Young Men's Protestant Association instituted in 1862.

Interestingly, though, this has a constitution which reads like an extension of the order's own, its object: the study of the Bible and Romish works, enlightenment of Protestants as to the real character of Popery in its religious, social and political aspects and the conversion of Romanists. (105)

CHAPTER 5

Notes

1. e.g. Dickson (ed), Scottish Capitalism (1976). There does seem to be some increasing sensitivity to the importance of the topic though, e.g. T. Gallacher articles in Bulletin of Scottish Politics, No. 2, 1981 and Radical Scotland, Autumn 1984.
2. Cloughly Belfast Weekly News, 23/11/1929.
3. In 1873 for example when a major demonstration was held at Glasgow contingents from: Paisley, Govan, Greenock, Port Glasgow, Lanarkshire, West Lothian, Edinburgh and the East had to be organised and conveyed GH 16/7/1873 or GH 13/7/1876 for Kilmarnock demonstration.
4. Forward, 12/7/1913, 'July the Twelfth'.
5. Glasgow Herald (GH) 13/7/72. There are, of course, difficulties of precise quantification with all these figures. In this respect official Orange accounts of turnout tend often to be wildly exaggerated, including wives and friends of the brethren, though those prepared by the LOI for the railway companies involved (in the interests of expense) are probably more reliable though still over the mark. If these are taken in conjunction with eyewitness reports culled from a collection of contemporary newspapers of various political and religious hues, from the Glasgow News (Tory) to the Glasgow Observer (Roman Catholic) then some estimate, albeit imperfect, is possible.
6. GH, 16/7/73.
7. GH, 13/7/84.
8. GH and Glasgow News (GN), e.g. 13/7/74 Broomhouse; 13/7/75 Dumbarton; 14/7/78 Rutherglen; 13/7/80 Hawkhill; 13/7/81 Johnstone; 13/7/82 Maryhill; 13/7/82 Coatbridge; 13/8/87 Paisley.
9. GN, 13/7/75.
10. GN, 13/7/78.
11. 'Orangeism a New Historical Appreciation' (1967). Also argued by J. Barclay 'A Short History of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland.
12. Govan Press, 17/7/86.
13. GH, 13/7/86; GN, 13/7/86.
14. GH, 13/7/88; GN, 13/7/88.
15. GH, 13/7/91.

16. GH, 13/7/92.
17. GH, 13/7/96.
18. GH, 13/7/97.
19. Current estimates of LOI membership in Scotland range from 50-80,000. The lower figure is probably more realistic. In 1966 for example the General Secretary, John Adam, said 50,000 were present at the 12th in Glasgow, 35,000 at Airdrie, 15,000 at New Cumnock and 4,000 at Paisley. The police, however, had been told by lodge officers to expect 20,000 in the former case with perhaps 50% of this actually present on a rough head count. In these circumstances The Scotsman's estimated 40,000 members in 1966 and increase of c.10,000 by the 1980's may not be improbable with events in Ulster in the intervening years. The Scotsman, 8 and 9/7/1966.
20. Marwick, 'A Short History of Labour in Scotland' (1967).
21. Vital, of course, in constructing the typologies of the class basis of LOI membership below.
22. The appendices on District and Local lodge names provide a very rough indication here of the distribution of lodges. (N.B. a local or private lodge would have 30-50 members). The number of the lodge does not always correspond to its age. Lodges, for example, often 'went down' or became moribund whereupon its original warrant would be returned to Grand Lodge. If a new lodge was later revived a new number with a higher number would be issued. Meanwhile the early number of the original warrant would have been issued to a comparatively recent formation. The amalgamation of the OA of S and OI of GB caused further duplications and amendments. (The earliest lodge in Glasgow indeed is not No. 6 but No. 106 founded in June 1813 and retaining the number of its old Irish warrant).
23. For CGL Ayr see G News 2/16/75.
24. See preceding Chapter for Motherwell.
25. 'Report on the Protestant and Orange Soiree held in Paisley on 5th November', published by J. & R. Parlane (1856). 'Paisley Pamphlets' collection Paisley District Library.
26. Paisley Directory 1866-7 lists:
 - No. 3 Royal Oak, No. 4 King William
 - No. 7 Victoria's, No. 15 Queen Elizabeth
 - No. 17 The Diamond, No. 18 Cromwell
 - No. 22 True Blue, No. 27 Royal Inniskilleners
 - No. 74 Prince of Orange, No. 102 John Knox

Place of meeting: Orange Hall, 12 High Street

27. See Appendix B of district lodges.
28. Greenock Telegraph (GT), 5/11/69.
29. GT, 2/11/70.
30. GT, 31/1/74
 - No. 3 district numbers: 82, 90, 108, 111, 112, 179, 189, 157.
 - No. 4 district numbers: 80, 107, 115, 136, 173, 190.

For titles see Appendix C.
31. GT 12/7/75.
32. GT 16/10/74, 3/11/74.
33. GH 13/7/102
34. Glasgow Observer 18/7/94.
35. See Appendix C on local lodges for details.
36. GH 11/5/1814 for opening and dedication of new Headquarters in Cathedral Street.
37. GN 13/7/78.
38. For Kinning Park see GN 13/7/78.
39. J. Smith, 'Commonsense and Working Class Consciousness', Ph.D, Edinburgh, 1983.
40. 'Scottish Industrialists and the Changing Class Relations in the Clyde Region c.1880-1918' in T. Dickson (ed), Capital and Class (1982).
41. Marwick (1967), op cit, p.91.
42. 'Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution' (1974), see pp.203-4, 237-8, 248-9, 254.
43. Smith, op cit (1983).
44. Moorhouse, 'The Marxist Theory of the Labour Aristocracy', Social History, Vol. 3 (1978).
45. R. Gray, The Aristocracy of Labour in 19th century Britain c.1850-1914 (1973).
46. Smith, op cit (1983).

47. Clarke, Crichton & Johnstone, 'Working Class Culture' (1979). This, of course, is a large part of what Penn argues (see Chapter 2).
48. For revised Orange constitution see GN 18/12/1875.
49. R.D. Lobban, 'The Irish Community in Greenock in 19th Century' in Irish Geography, Vol. 6, No. 3.
50. See Appendix D on 'Greenock Orangemen 1870-86'. The very rough distinction between skilled/unskilled has been maintained varying occupations to denote this. The Greenock Orangemen were certainly not well enough off to afford band uniforms. GT, 13/11/84.
51. P.O. Directory, Greenock 1892-3.
52. See Appendices D and E Greenock Orangemen for addresses.
53. *ibid*
54. *ibid*
55. Appendix C, 'Greenock Orangemen 1891-3'.
56. Lobban, *op cit*, suggests this Protestant/Roman Catholic distinction in housing lasted well into the 20th century.
57. P.J. Waller, 'Democracy and Sectarianism....' for Liverpool. The city was known as the 'Marseilles of England'. St. Domingo and Netherfield were the Orange areas.
58. M. McCarthy, 'A Social Geography of Paisley' (1969).
59. See Appendix F, 'Paisley Orangemen'
60. The category of 'labourer' is much less common in Paisley directories. Some occupations such as 'cowfeeder' presented a problem of classification, (it means dairy man).
61. See Cloughley, *loc cit*, for an example of these aspirations.
62. See Biographical Index, Appendix G.
63. *loc cit*.
64. McCarthy, *op cit* (1969).
65. See biographical index for Glasgow Orangemen.
66. Patterson notes there were 6 of these with 259 members in 1899, 'Class Conflict and Sectarianism...' (1981).

67. J. McCaffrey Ph.D. (1970) Glasgow, 'Political Reactions in Glasgow Constituencies at the General Elections of 1885 and 86'.
68. Smith, op cit (1983).
69. See A. Alison, T. Patterson, et al in biographical index.
70. Glasgow Observer, 14/7/1900.
71. See Biographical index G. Phair, etc.
72. McCaffrey, op cit; Russell, 'Municipal Burgh of Glasgow in 1911'. Similar were Bridgeton and Calton.
73. W. Guthrie, 'Transactions of the Old Glasgow Club', vol. 1, p.83.
74. F. Wordsall, The Tenement - a way of Life, and particularly Smith, op cit (1983) on 'The natural societies'.
75. Parker Smith Correspondence S.R.A. Babington Smith to PS 22/1/90 'Is it true there is a large body of Orangemen in Partick. We were told there was a large body among the Irish working men' (Author's emphasis). A rare example of the distinction they made.
76. I.G.C. Hutchison, Ph.D., Edinburgh 1975 'Politics and society in Mid-Victorian Glasgow 1846-86, pp.140-50, an important point when considering LOI political practice.
77. 'The Lanarkshire Miners...' (1979), Chapter 1.
78. A.M. McDonagh, Irish Immigrants and Labour Movements in Coatbridge and Airrie 1891-1931, B.A. Dissertation, Strathclyde 1977 (Department of History).
79. ibid, p.34.
80. GH, 13/7/74, LOL No. 47 'Faith Defender' (Patna) and LOL No. 83 (Patna).
81. Interviews with H.S., J. McFarland.
82. J. Strawthorn, 'Ayrshire - Story of a county' (1975).
83. See Biographical Index, Appendix G.
84. J.E. Shaw (ed), Ayrshire 1745-1950 a social and industrial history, and interviews above.
85. Interviews above; for Lithuanians see k. Lunn, 'Reactions to Lithuanian and Polish immigrants in the Lanarkshire Coalfield 1880-1914', Journal of Scottish Labour History Society, No. 13, May 78.

86. The Origins of Ulster Unionism: the formation of popular Protestant Politics and Ideology in 19th century Ireland (1975), p.137.
87. 'The Book of Airarie being a complete picture of the life of a Scottish Burgh'. 'Its Inhabitants'. (Of course, this is not conclusive proof of Orange affiliation - the Airarie and Coatbridge Operatic Society also held rehearsals there!).
88. McDonagh, op cit (1977), p.43.
89. loc cit.
90. Patterson, op cit (1981).
91. G. Thayer, H.G. Hanham, 'The Protestant Party' in The British Political Fringe 1965.
92. Interviews above. A further volatile factor intervening in the 1890's here was the revival of unskilled and general unionism, though following on the Orange involvement in unions suggested above, this should not be automatically counterposed to the LOI. The most interesting point would be what, if any, influence had Orange affiliation on the political motivation of such unions - a very difficult question to pin down empirically.
93. Patterson, op cit (1981), Introduction Part II.
94. Ibid and see Patterson, 'Independent Orangeism and Class Conflict in Edwardian Belfast', Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy, Vol. 80, Section C. No. 4.
95. GH, 18/3/1912 and J. Smith, op cit (1983), p.174. For an example of the type of provisions made, see Patna Loyal Orange Permanent Society Rules and Regulations, c1872, FS4 101. It paid £2.10/- funeral money for a member, £1.10/- for his wife.
96. 'Imperial Grand Black Chapter of Belfast Centenary Souvenir Brochure' (1983).
97. Suggested in HS interview in these exact terms, 9/11/1982.
98. Dewar and Long, op cit (1967).
99. J. McFarland for this information.
100. GT, 26/12/75.
101. For an example, GN 27/5/74.
102. J. McFarland above. Drink was a major source of internal tension.
103. See Local Lodges Table in Appendix C.

104. Paisley Fowler's Directory 1868-1880's.

105. Fowler's Greenock Directory, Greenock P.O. Directory 1870. Some of the leading Grand Lodge figures such as McLeod and Wetherall did have greater links with outside bodies (see Bibliographical Index).

CHAPTER 6

ORANGEISM IN SCOTLAND 1865-1900: ABSOLUTE STRENGTH AND RELATIVE WEAKNESS

At this stage, the historical account of Scottish Orangeism must raise a further substantive problem. For although the late 19th century movement increased significantly in absolute strength, in relative terms when compared to Ulster and other concentrations in Liverpool and the Commonwealth, its influence overall, on the religious establishment or political structure, for example, continued to be fairly limited - an unfavourable feature which had also characterised the 1799-1865 period. We begin though with consideration of the Order's numerical and geographical expansion detailed in the preceding chapter.

Institutional Developments

In Cloughley's official account a central role in the process of expansion is accorded to the resolution of the 1859 schism of the Orange body, when, "happily", he suggests, "leaders on both sides reviewing the progress of the past and with the vision of a great future, began to realise that their mission could best be fulfilled by a union of the forces". (1) Unlike much of the official history there is at least some explanatory power in this, for a large body of lodges had actually seceded in Partick, Glasgow, Greenock and Ayrshire, and pursued a separate course from the Orange Association of Scotland (OA of S) with potentially destructive results. They fielded rival candidates, for instance in the Glasgow School Board elections in 1873

and 79, dividing the Orange vote. (2)

The actual process of negotiation and settlement though was a great deal more acrimonious than Cloughley admits. The idea of union had first been mooted in 1870 but 5 years later the OA of S Past Grand Master, George McLeod, was still thundering on the "time, trouble and expense of attempting to bring about union with the schismatic body". (3) Ostensibly the case for amalgamation on the part of McLeod and his Grand Lodge colleagues arose from a concern for efficiency in promoting 'the cause'. "It behoves us to be a united body", C.I. Paton declared "to overthrow Popery and uphold Protestantism. Such are the reasons for having only jurisdiction in each nation, with only one Grand Lodge to guard principles...". (4) He went on though to reveal an underlying motivation, one coherent with the quest for respectable and responsible status within Scottish society which was to be a hallmark of Grand Lodge policy in the late 19th century. (5) Disclosing the real nature of his apprehension and antagonism towards the rival Orange Institution of Great Britain (OI of GB) he stressed it "sprang into existence twenty years ago without applying for a Grand Lodge of Ireland warrant or any other authority, nor is it connected with the Orange body or Imperial Conference". Crucially since this origin was irregular and since the Scottish Grand Lodge had no jurisdiction over it, "we have no responsibility for its conduct, cannot censure or punish them (in the OI of GB) as to preserve the good name of Orangeism from reproach". Consequently "the Grand Lodge of Scotland now encourages lodges to renounce the connection with the OI of GB and come into the Orange Association with free warrants".

The union in fact took place on more equal terms with "All officers, other than Grand Lodge officers, and brethren of the two bodies being considered officers and brethren of the Institution, retaining rank and distinction". (6) An initial agreement was signed in May 1876 though in September "General and select committees (of the OI of GB) had come to a standstill regarding the propriety of accepting the existing laws, rituals and ceremonies of the Grand Lodge of Scotland". (7) It was not until June of the following year that the 'happy union' could finally be reported in Grand Lodge minutes, the united Order adopting the name of 'The Loyal Orange Institution of Scotland'. (8)

As had been the case with the healing of a similar schism in Canada over 20 years earlier, (9) the union did prove a happy one, promoting at least a sounder financial basis. Within a year two new districts were found, one in Dumfries the other in Motherwell. (10)

It is, of course, implausible that such institutional developments were themselves sufficient condition for expansion, although they probably acted as useful adjuncts, facilitating, for example, the organisation of elaborate 12th celebrations. An alternative explanatory framework is clearly required; for this more sustained developments will be considered, occurring on the political ideological and economic levels.

Political Issues

Developments on this level can be dealt with very briefly here, but will be given a much more intensive treatment in Section 3 dealing with political practice. It is sufficient to note the prevalence, from the

late 1860's onwards, of galvanizing issues for the LOI, which seem relevant to the continuing cyclical nature of much of the Institution's activity - as indicated in the varying figures for 12th turnout.

The first such issue was the crisis throughout 1868 over the Liberal government's intention to disestablish the Church of Ireland, a Bill for the purpose being finally introduced in March 1869. This was followed by successive Disestablishment crises which shook the church in Scotland in the early 1880's and during the 1890's. ⁽¹¹⁾ By 1879 the Orangemen were also faced with the prospect of the re-establishment of the papal hierarchy in Scotland. ⁽¹²⁾

An even more decisive factor, though, in stimulating the Institution's progress (and particularly in forging links with West of Scotland Conservatives) was the Liberal attempt at Irish Home Rule, in the Bills of 1886 and 1892. Ritualism in the churches, however, for Walker a "portmanteau term of abuse" equating those clergymen who practiced liturgical ceremony sparingly with crypto-catholics, ⁽¹³⁾ did not have the same currency in Scotland at the end of the 19th century as in Liverpool; although resolutions against it were passed at successive 12th gatherings among the usual "Orange pow-wow and Boyne water bunkum" as the Catholic Glasgow Observer commented. ⁽¹⁴⁾ In the established Church of Scotland the only significant high church movement was the Scottish Church Society formed in 1892 which was primarily concerned with the place of 'catholic doctrine' in the life of the church rather than ritual and ceremonial. ⁽¹⁵⁾

The Ideological Level

Since the Scottish Churches and their links with Orangeism will be

dealt with in the following chapter, our remarks here will be concentrated on the various lay channels for the communication of a powerful anti-Catholic ideology, and the extent to which these provided a favourable climate for the Order's own positions. Dating from the beginning of the early 19th century, for example, a 'No Popery' press had sprung up, with William McGavin's paper 'The Protestant'. This was followed, in 1851-2 by 'The Scottish Protestant' edited by James Gibson, Minister of the Free Kingston Church, Glasgow; 'The Glasgow Protestant Watchman' 1854; 'The Protestant' II 1873-4 and 'The Shield and Protestant Journal' in Greenock in the early 1870's.

As Billington noted for the American case, these publications were intertwined with a variety of anti-Catholic societies, established under clerical and bourgeois lay guidance. ⁽¹⁶⁾ In America and England two types could be identified: those like the 'Irish Evangelical Society' aiming to convert Roman Catholics to Protestantism, and those like 'the British Society for Promoting the Principles of the Protestant Reformation' designed to protect the country from Catholicism by disseminating the dangers of the system. In Scotland it is the latter which seems to have predominated throughout the 19th century.

Typical here were the Protestant Layman's Association, the West of Scotland Protestant Association and the Protestant Missionary society, the latter two merging in January 1884 to form the Scottish Protestant Alliance (SPA). ⁽¹⁷⁾

The West of Scotland Protestant Association had been founded in Glasgow in 1835 by a number of ministers and laymen 'impressed by the dangers of Popery, ascent to power of Roman Catholics in the

legislature, the zealous efforts made by the Church of Rome to regain her ascendancy, the loose notions of religious principle unhappily prevalent among large numbers of Protestants and the magnitude of the Roman Catholic population in Glasgow' - the purpose of the association being by public meetings and the press to expose 'the pernicious tendencies of the Popish system, extensively diffusing information respecting the character and history of the Church of Rome and arousing Protestants to the duties to which they have been specially called'. (18)

Similarly the Protestant Layman's Association in the inaugural issue of their paper trumpeted "...perhaps the most dreaded species of infidelity, at present, is that which pretends to be the true church known as Popery. There we have a notable example of the effects of laying aside the teachings of the Bible and substituting the devices of men. Here erring man assumes the prerogative of the Saviour, mummerly supplants the place of meetings and rights are made to serve the purposes of righteousness. Our aim is to watch the operations of the enemy and warn the people of their danger; our more special sphere being that of the working classes. As they are the most numerous, most willing to part with money, and the most easily accessible portion of the community, they are therefore most exposed to the attacks of the enemy and deserve a large measure of the attention of the Christian philanthropist". (19)

'The working classes' which such bourgeois societies sought to reach do indeed provide a further interesting case for study. It is Pelling's view, for example, that "the ordinary working class in the Victorian era were too preoccupied with the necessities of day to day living to spend time on the niceties of religious doctrine". (20)

This can probably be extended to Scotland if the 'niceties' are taken as referring to church membership or attendance. As Bullock and Drummond indicated the problem of the 'unkirked' weighed heavily on 19th century Scottish churchmen, with the three main presbyterian denominations competing fiercely for members in an age of stronger secular pressures. (21)

Active church connections though, as suggested earlier, are by no means the only basis of motivation for popular militant Protestantism - largely defined in negative terms as anti-Catholicism. The descriptive material mustered by Hanoley, besides, confirms the involvement of large sections of this class in active 'No Popery' agitation, one prominent example being the rioting which surrounded the pergrination of the demagogue 'Angel Gabriel' throughout Scotland in the 1850's. (22)

Workers had, moreover, their own anti-Papal society, the 'Working Man's Evangelistic Association' (WMEA), formed in 1870 by 'Pious operatives to stem the flood of Popery in Glasgow and to offer effective opposition to infidel propaganda coming to Glasgow at select intervals from London.' (23) Under its auspices 'The Protestant' was published, a newspaper engaging more in gossipy calumny, ridicule and stirring calls to arms, than coherent theological exegesis.

Thus its first editorial:

"Our battlestar shall be that which shone on the plains of Bethelhem when his epiphany was who came from the Father to console Israel and cleanse the Temple ... Advance! Unfurl again our unconquerable banner of blue that for ages struck terror into the Papalini - D.G. it is destined to float in triumph when the cross overcomes the crucifix and crescent and the cry shall arise 'Soldiers of Christ, our Captain appears!'..." "The Lord is on our side, here

we say as the Lutheran braves said when contending
with the eldest son of the Church at Sedan -
Forward!". (24)

Here one may speculate the extent to which such sentiments are influenced by direct bourgeois proselytisation or by the 'lived experience' of the working class. Again it is necessary to emphasise that the familiar control/consent couplet admits more reciprocity in practice than is often acknowledged. One strength of Thompson's analysis of early 19th century Methodism is precisely that it can place beside each other an explanatory factors, direct indoctrination and the psychic consequences of the experience of counter revolution.

(25) It seems likely for 19th century Scotland too, that popular 'No Popery' may have contained historically variable elements of active bourgeois missionising, such as that of the Protestant Layman's Association. Though the virulence of its language and activity indicate it was also firmly rooted in the material conditions of working class existence, to some extent, for example, in the experience of Roman Catholic Irish migration.

Returning more directly to our theme, a fairly receptive environment did exist in 19th century Scotland for the LOI, and this must have had a role in its expansion. The defusing of a previously sympathetic environment in the USA following the Civil War was, for example, an important factor in thwarting a similar expansion of the 'know nothings' and similar anti-Catholic groupings there. (26)

Clearly the material is also important in underlining the need for a similar demarcation to that employed for the early history of Orangeism, between the Institution and a much wider body of militant Protestantism, often erroneously dubbed 'Orange' by contemporaries.

However, to proceed beyond this and state that the role of the ideological environment was a decisive causal one, leads to several difficulties.

'No Popery' or 'anti-sacerdotalism', as Best describes it, was after all a major force throughout England in the 19th century, and yet the Order there was restricted largely to Liverpool and parts of Lancashire, with only a weak representation in the South East.

(27) There are also chronological objections. The suggestion is probably correct that 'No Popery' was not uniformly persistent in the 19th century. (28) In Scotland it seems to have exhibited a very uneven pattern, related to specific events like Catholic emancipation in 1829, the restoration of the Papal hierarchy in England in 1851 and the promulgation of the Doctrine of Papal Infallibility in 1876, and this finds correlation in the dates of the establishment for the newspapers and societies above.

Generally then with these 'peaks', the most febrile period for anti-Catholic agitation was from the early 1830's to the late 1870's when the atmosphere was one of frenetic 'revival' and self confident optimism, Protestantism being viewed as on the march towards conquest of the world. (29) This was not to say such agitation was dormant in the years from the 1880's to 1900's, for the politics of Home Rule from 1888 were frequently animated by religious fervour, but again it is difficult not to concur with Best that "by the end of the 1870's the self appointed leaders of Protestant opinion were increasingly feeling an uncongenial isolation" and that "one senses that the sound and fury was signifying less and less". (30) Now the LOI enjoyed a similarly uneven path of progress and experienced rapid growth in the

late 1860's and early 1870's. Yet the crucial point against a causal link is that such expansion continued apace, particularly in the 1880's at the very point when more general forms of 'No Popery' were already on the wane.

A further difficulty arises. If the ideological environment was a truly active factor in the LOI's growth one might expect closer links between it and the bourgeois anti-Catholic societies. As it was, the PLA, for example, does not seem to have had a large LOI involvement, 2 out of 12 directors in 1879. (31) The West of Scotland Protestant Association had also wished to distance itself from the LOI at its outset disclaiming "all identification with party names and interests and presenting a centre for rallying for those who prefer the welfare of Protestantism to the objects of political faction". (32) At the 12th rally of 1875 MWGM McLeod, for his part, was equally contemptuous of the Association (which he graciously admitted was "the most prominent association in Scotland beyond our own") for sending a deputation to London to invite Gladstone to a great Protestant demonstration. "What are they doing?" he queried, "what are they worth? Who can rely on their Protestantism?". (33) Not surprisingly then there were no LOI representatives at the mass meetings in the Glasgow City Hall on Vaticanism in 1875 and on Papalism in 1876 held under Association auspices. (34).

Rivalry seems to have abated to some extent by the time of the Association's amalgamation to become the S.P.A. A few of its directors after 1884 were Orangemen. F.Y. Henderson, its Hon. Secretary, was also treasurer of the Grand Lodge from 1881 and Peter Hutcheson had been in the Grand Lodge in the 1870's, but this is only 2

out of 10 directors. In fact, at no time from its annual reports do Orangemen number more than 2 out of 19-20 directors in toto. (35)

The SPA then was not simply 'Orange dominated' - indeed much more prominent, certainly among its vice presidents, are scions of the Glasgow Conservative Association, J.A. Campbell, Sir William Anstruther, Archbald Orr Ewing, though some of these, like W.C. Maugham, were themselves frequent visitors on Orange platforms. (36)

In fact, the only Protestant society for which Orange links are appropriately close was not one of the bourgeois associations but the popular WMEA of which Deputy Grand Master (DGM) Wetherall was President and Orangeman and evangelist H.A. Long was guiding spirit. (37)

Finally, perhaps the greatest danger in over-stressing the autonomy and efficacy of the ideological level is that one may find oneself positing as a causal factor some cultural detritus of anti-Roman Catholicism, a deeply engrained attitude unchallenged by actual experience. The point here is rather to distinguish between the genesis of the Scottish 'No Popery' ideology - which may indeed be in the 16th century and the specific course of the Reformation in Scotland - and how elements of this ideology came to be reproduced in definite circumstances in 19th century Scotland. Vital here are developments at the economic level, more specifically in the migration of both Roman Catholics and Protestants from Ireland into the Scottish labour market. The effects of the former, it will be suggested, were largely indirect while the latter can be assigned a much more active role in LOI expansion.

Roman Catholic Irish Migration (38)

The heavy post-Famine waves of migration leading to permanent settlement in the 1840's and 50's, were predicated on an already well-established pattern of seasonal migration mid-summer to assist in harvesting. The census of 1841 revealed 126,321 of Irish Birth in West Central Scotland, around 5% of the population, 15.93% in Glasgow - though taking in those of Irish extraction Handley believes 10% for Scotland as a whole is more realistic. In 1851 207,367 Irish born were reckoned including 18% of the Glasgow population. (39)

The main dynamics behind this persistent exodus, for the most part Roman Catholic Irish, are found in the collapse of the nascent domestic industries in Ireland, and the increased rate of farm consolidation, with an increase of cattle and dairying production and consequently a lower demand for agricultural labour and withdrawal of leases. Most effected were North and Central Ireland for in the South and West widespread migration was prevented by severe impoverishment. Settling in areas of high labour demand, the vast majority of migrants were employed in semi- and unskilled manual work in sectors which were essential to the development of industrial capital in Scotland; roadmaking, bricklaying, canal cutting and harbour and railway construction. (40)

With this type of material it is possible, as Campbell indicates, to hold up a highly impressionistic case for a close correlation between the frequency of general sectarian activity and the volume of Roman Catholic Irish Immigration. (41) Frequent charges, for example, were made against this group that they deprived the native Scot of employment and lowered the rate of wages. Handley (who at

points seems determined to refute every charge ever made against the Roman Catholic Irish in Scotland), characteristically rejects these suggestions too. He points out, probably correctly, that most of the labour performed by them was actually created by the Industrial Revolution and was not sought as employment by Scots. (42)

Similarly he argues that as demand exceeded supply in sectors such as coal mining and iron making, where the Scots and Irish did appear to compete, there was in reality room for both. Kirk, in his study of the Irish in North East England, also notes there is not much to support the contention that the Irish brought a general lowering of wages at least from 1850-75, though the sectors in which the Irish were concentrated did not experience similar wage rises as elsewhere. (43)

More research is required here for the Scottish case but in a sense its results need not be totally conclusive for the theme of immigration/reaction. Popular attitudes and the reproduction of popular ideologies like 'No Popery', it was previously suggested, are not the product of cultural atavism, yet neither will they permit a simple reduction to the level of economic 'facts'. Contemporaries' commonsense beliefs regarding the Irish and wage levels, competition etc may stand in need of qualification or factual correction. Some partial and local basis for fears of economic downgrading, for example, could be reinforced by and reproduced by the visible signs of increase migration and by reports from other areas, but whether 'correct' or not such beliefs were steadfastly held and provided incentives for action. Such fears, in short, were real to those who held them.

Beyond this, however, we must be highly sensitive of adopting the 'post hoc ergo propter hoc' type of argument, noted above, either for

general anti-Irish sentiment or for LOI activity in particular. This argument was itself, as Handley indicates, current in the 19th century (especially among those concerned for the threatened moral and spiritual turpitude for the native Scot) simply attributing anti-Roman Catholic developments mid century to a build up in the Irish population. For if numbers were the prime mover, one would have expected the general offensive to have coincided with the waves of post-famine migration in the 1840's and 50's. Further, in assembling the data for the whole 19th century in the form of a line graph, one would expect indeed an uninterrupted and continuous climb falling off around the 1860's and 70's.

In fact in the 1840's (as Foster notes, for Anglo-Irish relations in Oldham) ⁽⁴⁴⁾ political co-operation between Scots and Irish, to take one indicator, although limited was by no means completely precluded. Wilson, for example, notes a good deal of fellow feeling towards Irish Roman Catholics from the Scottish Chartists. ⁽⁴⁵⁾ Though few Roman Catholics took an active interest in the early stages of the movement - the decisive factors always being the current attitude of Daniel O'Connell - by the 1840's a generation of Irish born in Scotland had already grown up to identify with the political aspirations of their fellow workers. Many Irish people consequently took part in the Chartist demonstrations of 1849. John Daly, for example, addressed a meeting in Glasgow stating that 'prayers and petitions are the weapons of cowards, arms were the weapons used by the free and the brave. They could best help Ireland by keeping the army in Scotland'. Chartists and Irish fraternised at Edinburgh, and in 1848 in bread riots at Glasgow the Irish were particularly active - in

a list of those arrested 14 out of 31 were Irish by birth. (46)

As regards the overall pattern of immigration/reaction throughout the 19th century, anti-Irish feeling, indeed, appears not simply continuous and coterminous with immigration trends. In fact one sees in Scotland, as Miles suggests, a much more uneven tendency towards an increase and decline of reaction in a cyclical form that can be related to specific events. (47)

Again looking back specifically at LOI activity, these remarks hold good. First the numerical advance already described took place from the later 1860's, precisely the point at which the numbers of Roman Catholics of Irish birth and descent were beginning to stabilise and even decline. To take Glasgow as an example, the number of Irish born in 1851 was 18% of the total population, by 1871 though this had fallen to 14.4%, by 1891 to 13% and by 1901 to 8.7%. (48)

In 1840's and 50's, however, when one might have expected a take off in LOI activity in accordance with the increased numbers of Roman Catholic Irish, the evidence in the previous chapter suggests instead sporadic violent outbursts, but a weak institutional basis with far short of 1,000 members.

Nor does the Institution's geographical basis suggest a particularly close fit. with the volume of migration. The three Scottish towns with the highest Irish settlement 1876-1901 were Greenock 19.1%, Dundee 15.6% and Glasgow 13.1%. (49) Greenock (as usual an exceptional case) may indeed provide some correlation with its significant LOI presence, but in Dundee no important Orange outpost developed, Walker noting only 2 rather "down at heel Orange lodges". (50) Even in Glasgow though the LOI was prominent in Cowcaddens and Calton,

by no means did all the Orange strongholds Parkhead, Partick/Whiteinch, Bridgeton/Dalmarnock and Anderston, follow the areas of the highest Irish concentration, which were the Bridgegate, Greenhead and Barrowfield, averaging 30% of the Irish born population. (51)

Another interesting example was Paisley whose Irish community had become fairly stable in numbers as early as the 1840's, (52) but which was an Orange growth point from the 1850's. The major influx had, in fact, been in the 1813-21 period and the town probably took less than its share of post-famine immigrants, the number of Irish born increasing only 2% after 1841, so that by the second half of the 19th century they constituted only 5.6% of the population.

Protestant Migration

It is clearly unwise to force a correlation between the volume of Roman Catholic Irish settlement and LOI expansion. However, as already suggested for the 1799-1865 period, there was an active and direct link between developments in the lodges and the labour migration of Irish Protestants, mainly from the counties of Ulster.

Contemporaries outside the Order certainly seem to have made this link. (53) The official account too places central importance on the impetus it gained from Ulster migration. "Many young Ulstermen", states Cloughley, "crossed the channel to find employment in Scotland. True to their principles they joined up with the Order in Scotland and the membership increased considerably, ever since the loyal Ulster immigrants and their descendents have rendered yeoman service to the Institution". (54)

The actual evidence here is very persuasive, though methodological

problems arise in giving an exact enumeration of Protestant migration, since the census does not yield religious data. At a rough estimate perhaps about one-third of all Irish immigrants were Northern Protestants, this high percentage already being indicated in the 1830's. Here the census indicated 35,534 Irish born inhabitants in Glasgow, while Clelland estimates 26,965 Catholics in the city. (55) For the later period exact evidence is fragmentary - as indeed is indicated by the frequency with which the table below is reproduced in accounts - but Ravenstein suggests the greatest number of Irish migrants to Scotland, at least for the period 1876-81, were from Ulster, and within the province from the 4 most Protestant counties, Antrim, Down, Tyrone and Armagh.

Table 1 Migration From Ulster To Scotland 1876-81

Total Immigration	42,297	
From 9 Ulster counties	35,194	83.2%
From 4 Protestant counties	24,811	58.7% (56)

The Ulstermen's presence was moreover translated into more tangible organisational form. A number of societies seem to have sprung up particularly in the 1880's, such as the 'Glasgow Antrim and Down Benevolent Association', its object - 'to cultivate and maintain a friendly intercourse between the natives of Antrim and Down residing in Glasgow and the neighbourhood and raise a fund for temporary relief....'; (57) and the Irish Protestant Association, the latter's aim, 'to manifest...unswerving loyalty to the British crown and show that not all Irishmen are Home Rulers'. (58)

Whatever the exact dimensions of migration though, it is clear that Ulster Protestants entered the labour market, in quite different conditions to those described above for the Roman Catholic Irish. If the latter paralleled the structural situation of New Commonwealth migrants to Britain in the 1950's and 60's, the former bear a marked resemblance to British migration to the Old Commonwealth, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa in the same period, in that frequently they came as permanent settlers to secure employment (often skilled or semi-skilled) to which they had already been recruited in the county of origin. Thus, for example, many were recruited by advertisements in the Belfast newspapers for specific jobs in the mines and later in the iron and steel works in Lanarkshire and Ayrshire, where the skilled labour supply was often a problem and where they were frequently used by Baird & Co. They often travelled to Scotland using warrants sent by their firms and went directly to houses allocated by their new employers and near the company school where their children would be educated. Higher grade railwaymen, such as goods guards, tended to be recruited in a similar way as were many tram drivers and transport workers in Glasgow later in the century. (59)

Finally in 1902 Harland and Wolf's shipbuilders themselves established a yard in Glasgow and introduced directly a large complement of their Belfast workforce. (60)

Not all Ulstermen were Orangemen, of course, and many must have resented contemporaries frequent implications that they were. Some of the first migrants had indeed been radical refugees from the '98 rebellion. John Ferguson, instrumental in publishing 'the Green Flag of Erin' and a leading figure in the Irish National League in the

1880's, was a Protestant from Belfast (and suffered accordingly from the sectarian and clerical elements in the league). (61)

Yet logically there does seem to have been a strong and positive link between this thriving community of the late 1850's and 60's, and the progress of Orangeism. Thus to return to the example of Dundee again, we saw this had a high Irish born proportion of the total population 15.6% but little LOI development; the crucial point here though seems that the Irish the Jute Mills attracted were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic with relatively few Ulster Protestants. (62)

The Ulster connection, indeed, adds another facet to the account of motivations of LOI membership in that the lodges could become a familiar point of reference in a new country, in a time of some inevitable economic and social dislocation. The lodges in Greenock in the 1860's and 70's even organised an annual pilgrimage back to Belfast for the 12th celebrations there. (63) The exact extent of Ulster involvement in the late 19th century is difficult to specify, though indicators suggest it was considerable. One is struck, for example, by the large number of prominent officebearers at Grand Lodge level of Ulster descent; T. Macklin GS, Councillor H.B. Wilson, J. McManus GS, Dr. J.E. Fairlie HDGM, W. McHaffie WPGM of the Black Chapter, Rev. J.V. Michel, J. Cloughly GS, J. Wyllie DGM, Rev. T. Patrick, Rev. Gault and T. Wetherall. (64) Wetherall is an interesting case, born actually in the South of Ireland 1809, he moved to Scotland in 1860 and rapidly assumed the role of DGM. He was a particularly energetic and able figure whose experience was valued by the Scottish Grand Lodge.

Also worthy of note here are the colourful epithets attached to many of the lodges; LOL No. 27 'Paisley Royal Inniskilleners', LOL No.

79 'Shamrock and Thistle', LOL No. 119 'Sons of Aughrim', LOL No. 148 'Killyman True Blue', LOL No. 289 'Derry Maiden Light, LOL No. 179 Glasgow 'Ballykillbeg'. (65)

Official documentary evidence is not widely available in this context. Orangemen leaving their own lodge in Ulster would be presented with a transfer certificate which was presented on arrival to the master or secretary at the appropriate local lodge in Scotland, but these have frequently been destroyed. In the case of Glengarnock LOL No. 100 though, 13 of these certificates do survive for the years 1906-14 which apparently does not represent all the transfers from Ulster lodges during this period. (66)

To sum up, it is difficult to provide a discreet equation for the LOI's late 19th century advance. As in the early part of the century, however, the incidence of Ulster Protestant immigration to Scotland does seem a vital process, in providing a future constituency for the LOI. In addition some prominent ideological forms in Scotland provided a fairly sympathetic environment albeit in a rather passive sense. Important, too, in delineating the finer contours of activity was the availability of appropriate political issues.

Relative weakness

Notwithstanding its general progress, however, we must now turn to a consideration of the Scottish LOI's weakness in comparative terms. Since, as suggested, this prefigures more detailed treatment in subsequent chapters, dealing with the Scottish Churches and political parties, only a brief sketch is given here, with the explanatory analysis focusing largely on features more internal to the Order and

linked to its importation from Ulster.

Against the numerical advance in Scotland which resulted in around 25,000 members at the turn of the century, we must, for example, set the LOI in Ulster with one-third of Scotland's population, which had some 1,500-2,000 local lodges with around 100,000 members. (67) Even when set against other significant importations of the Institution, though, Scotland does not compare particularly favourably. In Canada, for example, by 1843 a total of 83 lodges were in existence, while by 1870 there were over 1,000 lodges and the membership totalled 100,000 out of a population of around 4 million. With the opening up of the country westwards, the Order spread and by World War 1 numbered 150,000 adherents. (68) Liverpool provides another example, for although Orangeism arrived here around the same time as it did in Glasgow, in the former case the order was 17,000 strong by the 1880's, while in the latter only around 8,000 could be regularly mustered. (69)

This impression is, moreover, reinforced by other qualitative indicators such as the extent of political influence. Whereas in Scotland, as will be shown, influence on the major parties was limited and localised even within Glasgow and the West of Scotland, in Ulster the Order's extraordinary impact on the political structure eventually received formal acknowledgement in its right to 122 delegates or 10-20% of all delegates on the Ulster Unionist Council. James Craig, Premier from 1921-40, indeed proclaimed "I am an Orangeman first and a politician and a member of this Parliament afterwards...all that I boast is that we are a Protestant parliament and a Protestant State. (70)

In Canada the Conservative party which held office with one brief

interruption till 1896, normally included two Orangemen in the cabinet and in 1894 Mackenzie Bowell, a former Orange Grand Master became president of the dominion. (71)

Naturally the position of the LOI in Scotland in this respect defies reduction to a single causal factor. Certainly one which can be rejected here is the Institution's class basis - which was besides very heterogeneous and geographically variable. Even taking the example of Greenock which did have a strong proletarian basis - drawing on casual and unskilled labour - and where Orange participation in the local Conservative association and the churches was particularly marginalised, it should be stressed that Liverpool had a similar class composition and yet enjoyed much closer links with political and ecclesiastical bodies.

Of greater explanatory value, however, are perhaps some of the other intrinsic characteristics associated with the Order in Scotland. One of these might conveniently be summarised as the 'Ulster factor', though here one must make a distinction between the indigenous Scots' reaction to Ulster migration and their perceptions of the LOI as an Ulster Institution.

Sibbet, for example, notes approvingly of 'the wonderful intimacy' which had existed since the early Plantation days between Scotland and Ireland. (72) For Scottish migrants themselves had originally played a significant part in this settlement, indeed transplanting their own presbyterian Protestantism. In turn the Church of Scotland report of 1923 was moved to comment, "Nor is there any complaint of the presence of an Orange population in Scotland, they are of the same race as ourselves and are readily assimilated to the Scottish

population". (73)

Relations were probably not always in this idealised state of harmony. McDonagh suggested that in Lanarkshire they tended to be a community within a community, distrusted by some Scots ironically as 'Ribbonmen'. There may also have been some resistance from the original settlers to the second generation of immigrants marrying out. (74) Yet the Ulster Protestants do seem to have been more easily acceptable than the Roman Catholic Irish, and to have achieved a greater degree of integration, albeit not total. (75)

And still, despite becoming fused in the public mind with the favourably received Ulster population (to the extent that the epithet 'Orange' is used in most press reports in the period of study to apply to both), the Orange Institution provoked a decisively more suspicious and even hostile reaction from representatives of all classes of indigenous Scots, who condemned its preoccupations with what were 'Irish issues and quarrels'. Frequently, moreover, this was compounded with their recognition of two further unwelcome elements; first, the Order's violent nature, with a transplantation of that tradition of 'combative sectarianism' vital to the Order's social functioning, and, secondly, its propensity for drunkenness. In practice, moreover, these elements were intertwined, often being jointly invoked whenever one was called into account.

Generally here, we witness an important continuation of that rather 'contemptuous neutrality' noted for the 1820's and 30's, in the face of what was then recognised as an import of alien party feeling to Scotland. Thus even the Glasgow News, a champion of the Conservative cause (which had once proudly proclaimed in its first

edition that 'Glasgow is the head and heart of Protestantism in Scotland') (76) stated in its editorial on the 12th celebrations of 1874.

"We seem never able to escape from the possibility of the turmoil which occurred at the Boyne being resuscitated and sounding in our ears. There is seldom any healing element in the wings of the sun which dawns over the North of Ireland on the 12th. On the contrary it is a dispute and confusion of the most disgraceful kind. To the Saxon or the Scot who is a lover of social concord and has a taste for upholding the law, these rows are perfectly unintelligible. We can understand people differing from each other in their religious sentiments: but their disputes...ought to be conducted by words and not by blows. It is simply absurd to think that in Great Britain where freedom of opinion is an established rule, either one course or the other could be furthered by the bludgeon".

"The absurdity of these wretched quarrels between Protestant and Catholic is evident to all out of the immediate range of their influence....The quarrel is one of the most foolish and groundless the world has ever seen". (77)

The Tory satirical magazine, 'The Bailie', had a 'poem' in similarly disapproving tones.

"The Truth

Hurroo! for Billy,
The Streets perambulate,
Sport your Orange Lily,
And duly celebrate,
The Twelfth.

There's a brick - lift it,
We'll maybe need it now,
When 'tis hurled swift it,
Makes or ends a row,
On Twelfth.

Gather all your Bands now,
Let's kick up a dust,
Come a show of hands now,
In Gladstone we've no trust
This Twelfth...." (78)

Equally telling is that the Orangemen themselves felt these

problems keenly. In 1856 at the pioneering Paisley soiree, significantly the experiment was hailed as a bold one not so much because of Roman Catholic antipathies, as because of 'almost universal Protestant prejudice'. The display it was felt had indeed to go a long way to prove "we are not mere party zealots but among the best, most loyal and trustworthy of our Protestants". (79)

To assist in this respect the Rev. Jas. Stewart was anxious since most of his audience were, "natives of the sister kingdom and therefore...in a great measure strangers to Scotland", to stress that, "in the battleground of religious controversy...the two [Ulster and Scotland] are brethren and shoulder to shoulder they will stand or fall". "Study, therefore," he enjoined, "the peace of the people among whom you dwell, for in their peace you shall have peace".

The Rev. Fraser was more aware of the uphill nature of the task. "In this country", he explained, "Orangemen are usually shunned as returned convicts, many intelligent and conscientious men avoid them as they would a mad dog. If I found my notion of an Orangeman from prevalent opinions, I would describe him thus:- An Orangeman is a senseless bigot who sports Orange lilies in summer and is especially fond of fighting and marches on the 12th July, and who delights to sing 'Boyne Water' and 'Croppies Lie Down'; and to drink strange toasts about the glorious pious and immortal memory about brass money and wooden shoes; who uses wicked prayers about the Pope, breaks the law and shoots Papists whenever he can". Unfortunately, "...when an idea fastens itself in the mind of a Scotchman (sic) it is as difficult to get out as a burr of a Scots thistle, when it has wrapped itself up in the fringe of his plaid." (80)

There may have been an element of truth in the latter eccentric observation, for in 1869 Johnstone of Ballykillbeg guest chairman of the Greenock Orangemen's soiree was still lamenting along very similar lines. "Orangeism was a system in which John, Pat and Sandy might take an interest"; however, "it had grown more rankly on Irish soil than English or Scotch, and the reason for this was that in Ireland they had more to contend with, and above all the battle for reform in the three countries was fought and won on Irish soil". (81) The following year he declared, "In Scotland you are misunderstood and misrepresented, you are spoken of as though you were a mere Irish faction, a foreign import brought to disturb the peace of the country. You are no such thing (hear, hear). If you were rightly understood and your principles looked into you would soon be found to be the true apostolic descendants of John Knox. If other people have forgot the contest wages in Scotland for an Open Bible, the Orangemen have not forgotten it". (82)

The extent to which each of the unfavourable elements of 'Irishness' and 'violence' were stressed was, of course, historically variable. Thus moving into the 1870's onwards as the Grand Lodge pursued a strategy of attempted 'respectability' and regulation of its rank and file, and as the dynamics of confrontation and territoriality in most of Scotland became increasingly confined within 12th processions, rather than in spontaneous faction fights, violence tended to become less prominent in perceptions of the main body of the Order. By no means did it disappear, as witnessed in the newspaper coverage of the various fracas surrounding Orange bands in the early 1880's and other 'party' disturbances. (83) But generally coverage

of the LOI activities becomes highly routinised with the regular heading 'The July Celebrations', a formally structured report, buried well amongst other domestic news. (84)

Such treatment was often rather quizzical and patronising, but crucially still retain a strong perception of the LOI as a curious Irish importation. This, for example is seen in a sentimental piece in the Glasgow Herald 'Orangemen's Day and an Incident'. Written as late as 1908 it would surely have brought little comfort to the Scottish Grand Lodge.

Focusing on one of the marchers the Herald comments "The face is curiously Irish...but not all the sombre vicissitudes of navydom have quenched the Celtic fervour in this old Orangeman's soul". Nor are its general observations much more encouraging: "...the Orangemen's walk is essentially the pageant of the proletariat; the rank and file of the demonstration are not men of many clothes. But the best such as it is is donned for the ceremonial - hats of a historical, almost archaeological value, and suits of a like giddy antiquity....Those men who step out jauntily at the sound of the fife and drum are for the time being true sons of dead heroes...put in a general way they feel the Twelfth is the appeal of their fathers' faith to their personal protection, and what they lack in broad knowledge they have in heart fervour.

They 'walk' and 'demonstrate', 'listen' and 'applaud', 'move' and 'resolve' all with a quaint seriousness and earnestness that savours of a reverential past, and arrests attention because it is so manifestly aloof from bread and butter interests of the instant present. In short the phenomenon belongs to "the sectarian mania of sturdier

years". (85)

Here too one can trace a continuation of an attitude of dismissiveness and even contempt towards the Order by reason of its predominately working class basis, identified in literate bourgeois opinion as early as the 1820's and 1830's. (And the Glasgow Herald was indeed the voice of what might appear as another potential ally for the LOI - the Liberal Unionist party in Scotland).

A further constant element throughout the period was the impression given to those outside the Order that "the Orangeman anywhere is seldom a teetotaler and a tipsy Orangeman is nothing if not provocative". (86)

Along these lines, an ex-Orangeman pontificated in 1877 "If the principles of Orangeism were faithfully adhered to, the Order would be a great Christian and political factor in the affairs of the country, for the fundamental necessity of its existence is the defence of the Bible and the Crown....But in reality the spectacle presented by many of the brethren on their return [from the 12th in Glasgow] was disgraceful. If they had the decency and forethought to remove their colours before they get tipsy it would not have been so bad....".

"Nor is this anything new", he continued, again illustrating the links with Ireland, "For I was once at an important 12th Demonstration in Ulster where there seemed to be a general consensus of opinion that the best way for the men to demonstrate was to get drunk. And they did. Before long little detachments all over the field were in Holy Battle....That is the sort of thing which disgusts respectable people".

Nor were the regular lodge meetings in Scotland any improvement on ceremonial occasions. "In nine out of ten cases the lodges meet,

transact some formal business and then order in refreshments. Orangemen themselves know as well as I what the 'refreshment' part of the business means". In short, he earnestly protested "The masses of the Orange body both in Scotland and Ireland are composed of ignorant and illiterate people, whose highest notion of the principles of their Order is a big drink and an ignorant detestation of the Pope. This will not help to forward the case of Orangeism, nor will it induce intelligent and respectable people to join the Order". (87)

Again it should be emphasised at this point that such subjective impressions give only a partial insight into the Order's weakness in Scotland. Similar problems, as is indicated in the passage above, must have been encountered in Ulster itself, as well as by the more successful importations of Orangeism - and after all some Scots did become members. Campbell suggests this was the case in Lanarkshire. (88)

The task, in fact, is to analyse how the LOI's alien and disorderly reputation interacted with other broad features of the Scottish social formation, such as splits in the ruling class bloc over the Home Rule issue, or the condition of the Scottish Churches and their concerns for 'respectability'.

Finally, though, two further points can be briefly drawn out. First, one should qualify Hutchison's view that "Orangeism was a vigorous force because it accorded well with certain ideas widespread in Victorian Britain....It was the political arm of...popular Protestantism". (89) For, as suggested, while there was some congruence on the ideological level between the LOI and the various Scottish forms of 'No Popery', in practical institutional terms links were fairly restricted. One factor we may now cite here is the

Institution's importation of a very literal interpretation of 'muscular' Christianity, which was singularly ill received by the Churches and bourgeois evangelical bodies; though its importation of personnel from Ulster was vital in its late 19th century development - although in a very ambiguous way.

Secondly, we can again reconsider Smith's view of an unproblematic Labour Movement/Orange dichotomy, noted in Chapter 2. For the considerations above would suggest that the antipathy, or at least apathy, of the 'Scottish Working Man' towards the Institution had sources other than his own 'liberal commonsense', important though this may often have been. If, for example, the LOI was perceived as an 'Ulster' Institution, and a violent and drunken one at that, what attraction would membership hold for the indigenous Scottish worker, frequently employed in a skilled trade where Roman Catholic Irish exclusion was already a 'fait accompli'? What indeed would be the point of an annual ritualistic assertion of 'Protestant Ascendancy' in such circumstances?

If indeed secrecy and elaborate ceremonial were the native worker's requirements, the Masonic Order must have appeared the preferable alternative. Freemasonry was, for example, much more widespread in Scotland than the LOI; in 1879 it was calculated to have 69,255 members in lodges holding to the Grand Lodge and over 1,000 in dormant lodges. ⁽⁹⁰⁾ It had distinguished patrons among the Royal Family, aristocracy, municipal leaders and major employers of labour, ⁽⁹¹⁾ and claimed ancient historical roots in Scotland, springing from the continental masons who built the 12th century Abbey at Kilwinning. ⁽⁹²⁾ The Masonic Lodge at Maybole, for example, No. 11 St. John founded in 1734,

easily predated the first Orange lodge there in 1799. (93) High entry fees and annual subscriptions, moreover, promoted a strong artisan and bourgeois membership, while above all by the standards of Scottish society the organisation was eminently respectable.

In short, Scottish Freemasonry was all that the Orange Grand Lodge desired for its own movement.

CHAPTER 6

Notes

1. Belfast Weekly News, 23/11/1929.
2. See Chapters on Political Practice for details.
3. Grand Lodge of Scotland meeting, GN 18/12/75.
4. loc cit.
5. See Chapter 8.
6. GN, 18/12/75.
7. ibid.
8. BWN 23/11/29. In Minutes of Grand Lodge meeting 2/6/1877 is the following paragraph. "The most important item of home news is the happy Union of all Scots into one body under the supervision of one Grand Lodge. All agree in ascribing the honour and advantages of this happy union to the untiring exertions of the Most Worthy Grand Master" [C.I. Paton].
9. H. Senior, 'Orangeism - The Canadian Phase' (nd) (Union took place in 1856 at Brockhall), p.52.
10. BWN 23/11/29. Other institutional moves during the period may also have been of some importance, particularly in covering other potential areas of membership. As early as 1875 juvenile lodges for boys (girls were not admitted to 1917) had been sanctioned by the Grand Lodge, and the first opened in Paisley where it still functions. At first progress was slow with only 10 lodges in operation in 1904 though from this date the Grand Lodge undertook to positively encourage them and by 1905 membership had doubled. In 1908 they began to hold their own annual demonstrations.

Grand Lodge, however, seems to have been a great deal more circumspect in admitting women to the Order - though women were often present unofficially, even at the first recorded public march in Glasgow in 1821. In 1901 a proposal from W. McIntyre and W. McRoberts of Greenock to institute separate Orange Lodges for women was turned down. In 1907 the proposal was again made by Glasgow District No. 24 resulting in a commission whose report was unfavourable. As Cloughly 'gallantly' comments though "the ladies were not to be easily put off" and in 1909 the Grand Lodge finally decided to issue separate warrants. On 17th November 1909 the first lodge was instituted in Govan with Sister Harriet Wilson as Worthy Grand Mistress. By the late 1920's 176 women's Lodges were in operation, with one, No. 42 in Govan, having over 400 members.
11. McDowall, 'History of the Church of Ireland', Bullock and Drummond, The Church in late Victorian Scotland. Vol. 3.

12. J. Fleming, *A History of the Church in Scotland* (1927).
13. Waller, *op cit* (1981).
14. GO, 16/7/1898.
15. D.M. Murray, 'The Scottish Church Society 1892-14...', D.Phil, Cambridge 1976.
16. 'The Protestant Crusade' (1938), p.19.
17. GN, 29/1/84.
18. 2nd Statistical Account of Scotland: Lanark, p.701.
19. The Glasgow Protestant Watchman, No. 1, 4/3/54. Original in Glasgow Peoples Palace.
20. H. Pelling, *Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain* (1968).
21. Bullock and Drummond, *op cit*. See R. Howie, 'Churches and Churchmen in Scotland' (1893).
22. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (1947), p.95.
23. WMEA 10th Annual Report (1879), p.5. In Glasgow Collection, Mitchell Library.
24. 'The Protestant', No. 1, 1873.
25. *The Making of the English Working Class*, Chapter 11.
26. Billington, *op cit* (1938).
27. See Sibbet 'Orangeism in Ireland and throughout the Empire', Vol. 2, (1939).
28. Best, 'Popular Protestantism', p.138, in Robson, 'Ideas and Institutions of Late Victorian Britain', pp.113-42.
29. e.g. *The Missionary Movement to 'The Dark Continent'* etc.
30. Best, *op cit* (1967), pp.137-8.
31. Annual Report 1879.
32. 2nd Statistical Account of Scotland, Lanark, p.701.
33. GN, 13/7/75; GH, 13/7/75.
34. GN, 6/10/75; 16/11/76.

35. See Annual Reports 1885-93, Glasgow Collection, Mitchell Library.
36. See chapters on political practice (9-12).
37. See biographical index, Appendix G.
38. Again here an important analytical distinction has to be made between the progress of the LOI and the more general development of reaction towards the Irish in Scotland. Failure to specify which of these is at issue at any given point, can lead to obviously tautological conclusions. One of the most frequently cited factors in the hostile attitude of the Scottish people is precisely that of Orange agitation, without an explicit differentiation between LOI/Scottish reaction, a conflation of cause/effect takes place here.
39. See Handley, *op cit* (1947), Table, p.44.
40. *loc cit*, and R. Miles 'Racism and Migrant Labour' (1982), for useful short discussion. See also J. Treble, 'The Navvies' in *Journal of Scottish Labour History* (1972), pp.227-247.
41. Campbell, *op cit* (1979), Appendix III, pp.316-319, 'Table of Incidents Involving Irishmen...'
42. Handley, *op cit* (1947), p.43.
43. N. Kirk, 'Popular Toryism in the North of England 1850-70' in K. Lunn (ed), Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities (1980).
44. *op cit* (1974), p.333.
45. *The Chartist Movement in Scotland* (1970), p.223. Also L.C. Wright, *Scottish Chartism* (1953), p.172, p.197.
46. Wilson, *loc cit* (1970).
47. *op cit* (1982), Chapter 6, pp.135-145.
48. 1911 Census Table in McCaffrey, Ph.D, Glasgow, *op cit* (1970).
49. In Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration', *Journal of the Statistical Society*, No. 48 (1885).
50. *Juteopolis* (1979), p.121 and n.
51. McCaffrey, *op cit* (1970). This figure would include Protestant Irish.
52. McCarthy (1969), *op cit*.
53. For example, Govan Press, 6/7/1889; GH, 12/7/1902.
54. BWN, 23/11/29.

55. See Cassirer, Ph.D op cit (1938); 1831 census Parl rep 1833 xxxviii, Estimate of Clelland, p.1600.
56. op cit, p.167-224. An important factor was obviously close geographical proximity and the frequency of steamer crossings. See Handley (1943) and (1947), op cit.
57. GPO Directory 1885-6.
58. Inaugural meeting in Edinburgh, GN 18/12/86.
59. McDonagh, op cit (197?) p.48, and Govan Press 6/7/89. Letter 'A son of the soil'.
60. Murray, 'The Old Firm' (1984). IGCT Hutchison, op cit (1975), also suggests that Scots returning from work in the Belfast Shipyards were instrumental in Orange expansion. This is plausible but difficult to substantiate empirically. Chapter VI, Part 6, pp.384-404.
61. I.S. Wood, Irish Nationalism and Radical Politics in Scotland 1886-1900, Journal of Scottish Labour History, June 1975, No. 9.
62. Walker, op cit (1979), p.121 and n. Also pp.114-5.
63. GT, 12/7/69.
64. See biographical index.
65. See List of Local Lodges Appendix C.
66. Interview T.B. In the author's possession is Thomas McFarland's certificate issued in 1915 by LOL. No. 457, Seskenore, Col. Tyrone.
67. Sibbet, Vol. 2 (1939), Dewar et al (1967).
68. Senior, op cit (na) p.91 ff.
69. See above, Waller, op cit (1981), p.167.
70. Parl Debates N.I., Vol. 16, cols. 1091-5, 24/4/1934.
71. Senior, op cit (1966), p.91 ff.
72. op cit (1939), vol. 2, p.141.
73. J.E. Handley, op cit (1947), pp.287-8
74. H.S. (interview) 1/9/83 said his father had forbidden him to marry a 'Scotch girl' and told him to look for 'one of his own kind' (he disobeyed).

75. See Parl. Report on 'Irish Poor' for situation in 1830's, cited in Chapter 4.
76. GN, 15/9/73.
77. GN, 10/7/74.
78. The Bailie, 16/7/84.
79. 'A Report of the Protestant and Orange Soiree....' 1856.
80. Ibid
81. GT, 5/11/69.
82. GT, 6/11/70.
83. For a sample of troubles see GN 29/7/78, 25/3/79, 15/7/79, 9/5/81, 9/8/81, 13/9/81, 4/10/81.
84. See Glasgow Herald reports late 19th century/early 20th century, e.g. 9/77/1900.
85. GH, 11/7/1908.
86. GO, 16/7/84.
87. Scottish People, 16/7/87.
88. op cit (1979).
89. Hutchison, op cit (1975), pp.384-404.
90. GN, 8/8/79. Probably more accurate than LOI figures. The Masonic Grand Lodge was more administratively efficient than the Order body and had less to 'prove'.
91. See regular Freemasonry Column in Glasgow News, 1873-85.
92. A History of Mother Lodge Kilwinning, J. Wyllie, 1879.
93. ibid.

CHAPTER 7

ORANGEISM AND THE SCOTTISH CHURCHES

This chapter will expand on the theme of the LOI's relative weakness, by focusing on its relations with the Scottish churches. Representing its least successful adaptation to Scottish conditions, this example illustrates a point noted in Chapter 2, namely the vital role of the cultural, as well as structural, specificity of the Scottish social formation in determining Orangeism's progress. In particular the material demonstrates the continuing relevance of an observer's remark in the 1830's that Orangeism, identified as an episcopal adjunct, "...was certainly not wanted in presbyterian Scotland". (1) Its importations in Liverpool and Canada enjoyed a more familiar and congenial environment, with the existence of Anglican establishments in both cases.

Background to the Scottish Churches

The first step in this analysis must be an examination of major developments in 19th century Scottish churches. First, this is necessary for the sake of clarity, since in Scotland the schismatic tendency of Protestantism was particularly well developed, resulting in a morass of ecclesiastical divisions and reunions (see Fig. 4). (2) Secondly, the discussion indicates the class basis of the major ecclesiastical bodies and, thirdly, it emphasises the unique configuration of religion and politics in Scotland - all points which are important in considering the determinants of Orange/ecclesiastical

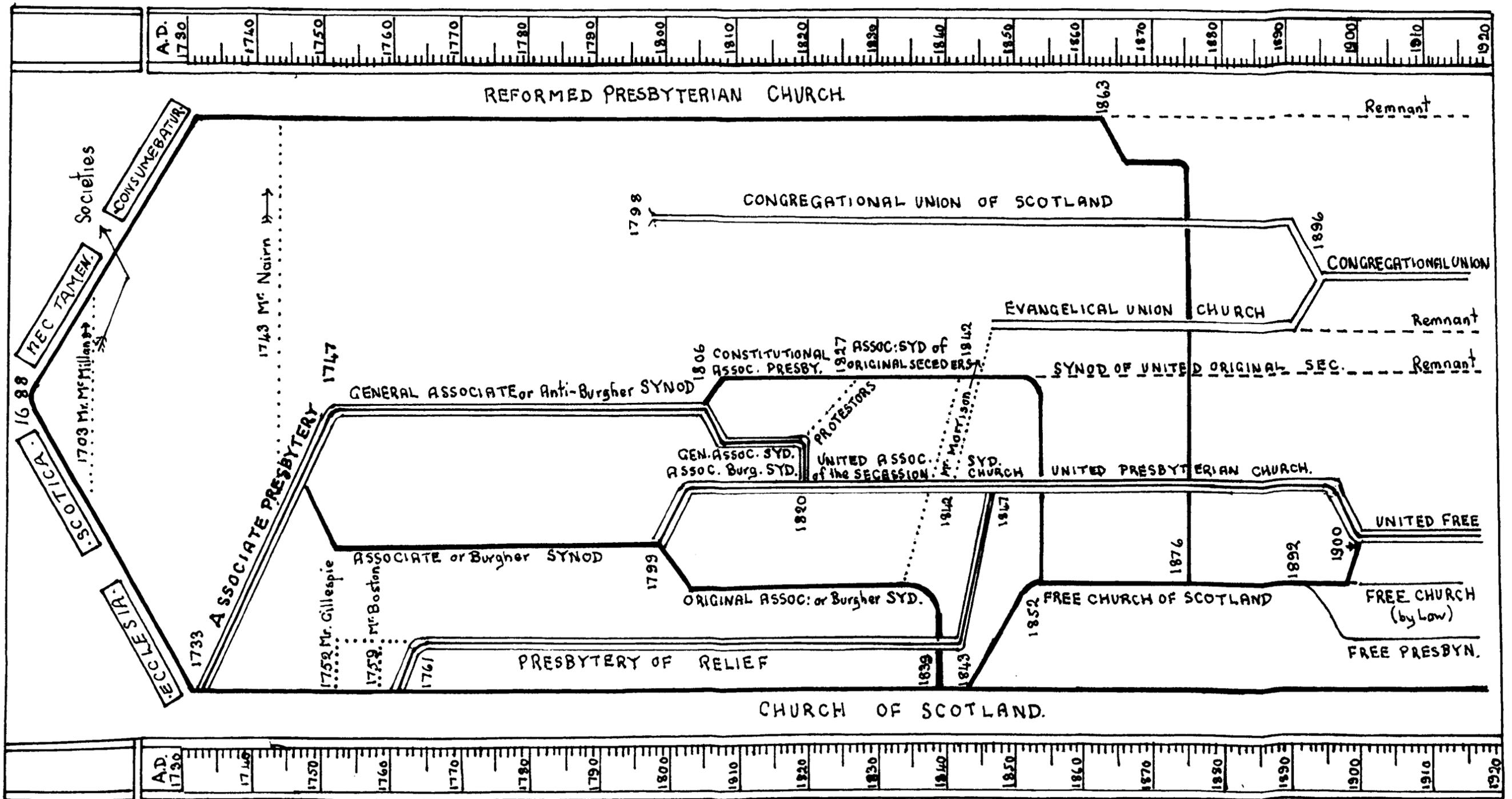


Fig 4 Divisions in Scottish Presbyterianism 1730-1920.

relations in the latter part of the chapter.

By the late 18th century/early 19th century, the Church of Scotland had become characterised by doctrinal rigidity and circumscribing state links. Difficulties also arose due to its parochial structure, originally planned for a rural society. In particular, the kirk's traditional social responsibilities for poor relief and education were now becoming prey to the secularising and urbanising forces accompanying capitalist development in Scotland.

In these circumstances dissent first arose in the late 18th century from the increasingly advancing urban bourgeoisie, particularly prosperous independent tradesmen and commercial proprietors, those to be enfranchised by the 1832 Reform Act. It was this group, for example, which formed the backbone of the Relief Church, one of the earliest secession bodies.

When in 1847 this merged with the United Associate Synod to form a new denomination, the United Presbyterians, it was again grounded in urban bourgeois support. Bullock and Drummond describe it indeed as 'the one class church' recounting that one of its congregations was so wealthy that the caros for its annual congregational meeting bore the inscription 'Carriages at 10 p.m.'. (3)

For such U.P. congregations the main line of attack was on the traditionally intimate Church/State relation, rooted in Calvinist doctrines and expressed in the established status in the Church of Scotland. Now they believed it stood in need of fundamental reconsideration. Actively questioning the tenets of scholastic Calvinism, then they advanced instead the 'Voluntary Principle', the concept of the church as a spiritual society animated and sustained by

stalwart Christians and disassociated from contaminating secular powers. Significantly in this they were guided not only by their reading of the New Testament but by their frustration as a rising class, with the limitations in administration, preaching and pastoral work of a National church, which no longer seemed capable of representing them. In this way Voluntaryism was thoroughly in keeping with the dominant ideology of political economy which held that any government action was an interference with personal liberty and the play of market forces.

The Established Church was able to weather these secessions, but a much greater threat was posed by the 1843 'Disruption', which brought a national 'Free Church' denomination into existence. As in the emergence of the Relief Church the basic question was still the relevance of the historic Calvinist standpoint that the Christian church was the household of faith and should so impress itself on the surrounding secular community, that the standards of the gospel became the rule of life for society at large.

Here, though, the test for the church/state link was posed by the question of lay patronage - the right of the senior 'heritor' or heritors, usually major local landowners to secure the appointment of parish ministers. (4) Here too the secession was lead not by laymen as in previous dissenting movements, but from the kirk's own clergy (specifically the 'Evangelical' party led by the Rev. Thomas Chalmers) who had been coming to prominence from the 1830's, but were prevented from becoming dominant in the kirk, precisely by the institution of patronage, since the landowners' candidates were usually orthodox 'Moderates'.

Placing a great reliance on Biblical inspiration, these Evangelicals stressed the independence of the Christian community from State control. Initially at least, they did not embrace the voluntary principle - as Chalmers expressed it "we go out on the established principle; we quit a vitiated establishment, but would rejoice in returning to a pure one". (5)

The Church of Scotland suffered a severe setback; as the Rev. Norman McLeod commented, "the best ministers and the best portion of our people have gone". Difficulties were faced in filling vacant pulpits and often, "schoolmasters, worn out probationers and men of dubious morale and training" were recruited. (6)

Meanwhile the new Free Church made rapid progress, crucially drawing on the same class as the old dissenting presbyterians, in particular on small employers in urban areas. Contributions to various Free kirk schemes amounted to £1000 per day, although less than one-third of the Scottish population were members, and a rapid programme of church building was undertaken, coherent with their claim to be a real 'National' church. In 1843-4, for example, over 50 churches were opened and a total of £320,000 raised. (7) Except for the North and West Highlands, however, the working class failed to enter the Free kirk, largely alienated by the Toryism of its original founders and its increasingly introspective Calvinism.

During the 1840's and 1850's the UP's similarly progressed, attracting more wealthy industrialists, such as John Clark the thread magnate of Paisley. Consequently, as Bullock notes, the laymen who made decisions in these matters now frequently resolved to move their churches out of areas uncongenial to them socially, sell the buildings

(often at a shrewd profit) and rebuild them in the districts where their moneyed members were settling. Thus when Cambridge Street, in the centre of Glasgow, should signs of declining the wealthier members of the UP congregation there, with Dr. Eadie as their minister removed in a body to the new and aesthetically impressive Landsdowne church built in the wealthiest part of Great Western Road. On Sunday 6th December 1863 the new church was opened, and as the first of the congregation arrived they found a notice pinned to the front door:

The Church is not for the poor and needy,
But for the rich and Dr. Eadie.
The rich step in and take their seat,
But the poor walk down to Cambridge Street. (8)

The collection (counted on Monday to observe the Sabbath) amounted to £1231.5/9d. When in 1884 the UP church similarly moved from Wellington Street to the crest of University Avenue the collection at the opening service was £11,100 - a most tangible demonstration, suggest Bullock and Drummond, of this denomination's social and material advance. (9)

In fact by mid century the three main presbyterian churches in some areas such as Glasgow were almost equal in extent, with the Church of Scotland slightly in front. (10)

In the late 1860's and 70's, however, this situation was already beginning to alter, as the established church pulled ahead more decisively. One factor here was the continuing support of the local gentry, farmers and members of the legal establishment but another was the positive attitude of many of the working class, particular in rural areas towards 'the Auld kirk'. (11) This was further reinforced by its retention of a clear sense of parochial responsibility for poor

relief and by a more liberal approach from the established clergy as the old 'Moderate' leadership died out.

During the same period the Free Church faced serious financial difficulties with the death of some generous donors. Factional wrangles absorbed much energy and its major church building effort proved over ambitious, with one-third excess capacity resulting.

The UP's faced similar problems with a loss in prominent backers, though, as suggested above, it remained wealthy and avoided internal divisions at the cost of expansion.

This background of tension and stagnation brought a particular energy to attempts to disestablish the Church of Scotland, which marked the period from 1874 to 1895. The original anti-Voluntary position of the Free kirk had already been overtaken by events in the 1870's. The removal of patronage by the 1874 Act again raised the question whether the root grievances of the original dissent over the Church/State relation had been removed and whether the Establishment was really free from the Erastian* taint of Lutheran state churches or even the Church of England. The suspicion here was that "the interests of evangelical truth could not be safe in a church where elements of the old 'Moderatism' survived under a modern guise". (12)

The Free kirk and UP's campaign for Disestablishment and Disendowment was chiefly orchestrated through the medium of the Liberation society and later the Scottish Disestablishment Committee. Most significantly though this crisis decisively aligned the rival churches with the rival political parties, making, as Kellas suggests,

* Subordinating church jurisdiction to the state.

"the Scottish divines politicians and besetting politics with church matters". (13)

Thus it was to the Liberal party that the Voluntaryists turned as the most likely vehicle to achieve their objects, its conversion, they hoped, being secured through the persuasion of party leaders and its popular associations.

This was, of course, no departure for the UP's urban bourgeois membership who were solidly Liberal, always viewing the party as potentially sympathetic to church/state separation. As regards the Free Kirk though, a tradition of Toryism had originated with Chalmers and those who retained their belief in a purified national church. A substantial minority remained Conservatives in the 1870's-80's, well represented by Rev. James Begg of Edinburgh and the layman, William Kidston of Glasgow, but the majority of Free Churchmen were now convinced Liberals, particularly alienated by Tory government action around the Disruption and the 1874 Patronage Act, and by the hostile attitudes of Tory landowners like the Duke of Buccleuch towards their kirk.

In these circumstances the Church of Scotland became drawn more to the Conservatives, as upholders of the establishment principle. A number of prominent clergymen, like the Rev. Dodds of Glasgow, began to address Conservative associations and even use the pulpit to support the party. (14) In turn the latter gave its active support to the large public meetings organised by the Kirk against disestablishment and to its Church Defence Associations organised in 1885/6 and the Laymen's League established in 1890. Again though this process was not without exception and, as Hutchison notes, two broad bands remained

outside the Kirk/Tory alliance; the Whig wing of the Liberals, the 'Liberal Churchmen' with a significant representation from the large mercantile bourgeois like Sir Charles Tennant and Sir James Lumsden, and the 'Broad Churchmen' among the Kirk's clergy, Liberals in politics and theology like Professor Caird. (15)

These alignments were naturally shaken by the emergence of the Liberal Unionist party, who drew significantly on the Whiggish sections of the mercantile and professional bourgeoisie. The bitterness of ecclesiastical rivalry, however, persisted throughout the period of study and beyond, as Kellas suggests, helping to sidetrack the Liberals from confronting the increasing desire of the working class for independent political representation, and, moreover, preventing church unity till as late as 1929. (16)

Orangeism and the Churches: Nature and Extent of Relations

The second step in the chapter is to specify the precise contours of Orange/Church relations. Here a comparative perspective is useful, again drawing on the cases of Ulster, Canada and Liverpool.

Secondary sources though are rather disappointing. Senior, for example, suggests the early Canadian lodges offered an improvised substitute for a church, at a time when clergymen were sometimes more difficult to find than an Orange warrant. Though some episcopal clergymen did take a prominent role as members. (17)

Details are very sketchy for later developments. The Order seems to have had some Baptist links and had a Minister, D.F. Hutchinson, as Grand Chaplain of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia. (18)

One interesting point though is that the Canadian Orangemen unlike the

Scottish did not develop a single entrenched position in favour of the Established Church (in this case Anglican). Ogle N. Gowan, for example, Grand Master in the 1840's had headed a government committee which recommended that financial reserves for the Anglican clergy, provided by the state, should be divided among all the legally recognised denominations, and later he forcefully expressed his distaste for a 'state priesthood'. (19)

As for Liverpool, there is even less precise detail on ecclesiastical links. Here Anglicans and Nonconformists were fiercely at odds over the established nature of the Church of England, though they tended to be united in practical terms by an evangelical alliance against High Church Anglican practices and Roman Catholicism. In these conditions the Orangemen seem to have adopted a more unambiguous State-Church policy than in Canada, generally supporting Church of England candidates in the school board elections. This promoted support from the Anglican clergy - the Rev. Richard Hobson, for example, of St. Nathaniel's Parish proclaimed himself "attached to the Protestantism of Orangeism" although he never joined "that honourable organisation" (20) - but nowhere is the extent of this support specified.

More fruitful, in fact, for comparative purposes is the case of Ulster, though again exact data for the later period is lacking. Although, as suggested, the LOI at its foundation was free from gentry control and formal links with the Established Church of Ireland - some of its original members were themselves presbyterians - this situation was reversed fairly rapidly. As a result of an anticipated attack on tithes and state endowment then episcopal clergymen were drawn into much closer association, and by 1828 15 out of 25 members of the Grand

Committee of the Orange Grand Lodge were from this body. This set the typical pattern for lodges, particularly in Antrim, Down and North Londonderry, consisting of landlord, rector and curate, servants, and agricultural labourers.

Given this episcopal, gentry dominance, presbyterians, largely drawn from the Northern bourgeoisie and veering towards Liberalism, in the first half of the 19th century remained aloof from the Order. There were exceptions to this such as Rev. R.H. Shaw of Island Magee and Rev. Henry Cook of Belfast. The latter, as Tory and a bitter opponent of Catholic emancipation, formed an alliance with the landlords and the LOI. In spite of protests from other members of the synod of Ulster he spoke at a rally in Hillsborough, organised by the Orange gentry, at which he pledged presbyterian co-operation and an alliance with the Established Church. (21)

This, in fact, prefigured the demise of 'denominational rigidities' in Ireland, and the decisive shift of the presbyterian bourgeoisie away from a republican and radical past and towards a staunch Toryism in the face of Fenianism and Home Rule crises. Prominent among them from the 1860's were many presbyterian ministers who now eagerly embraced Orangeism, attracted by its official stand on Temperance and Sabbath observance, and irritated by the withdrawal of the old 'Royal Bounty' originally granted by William III to the presbyterian church.

By no means did these developments go unobserved or uncriticised by some presbyterians. The following outburst from the 'Christian Banner' in 1878 displays considerable anxiety over the contamination of the presbyterian spirit with Orange influences.

"The 12th of July has once more come and gone and

with it the usual amount of Orange eloquence and Orange valour. With one or two exceptions the clergy of the late established church had all the abusive declamation as well as all the Orange lily and No Surrender rhetoric to themselves. Hundreds of presbyterians, however, we are told, went on the Sabbath before the 12th to hear the men who from parish leaders and schoolmasters were manufactured into curates....These presbyterians could not...have more effectively dishonoured the memory of their mighty dead, had they on the 12th of July last gone to the churchyard of the Old Grey Friars in Edinburgh, exhumed the sacred dust of the dead and flinging it into the Firth of Forth, they could not have shown greater disrespect to those sainted sons of the blue banner who died for the rights of the Redeemer and the liberties of their country". (22)

Despite these strictures, in the years that followed leading presbyterian figures like Rev. Hugh Hannah and Rev. Thomas Drew were central in the Orange anti-Home Rule campaign. At this point one witnesses, in fact, a most thorough interpenetration between the Orange Institution and both of the major Ulster churches, with a large body of clergy taking an active role in the business of Grand, Provincial and Local Lodges. (23)

On the other hand, the leading Orangeman, Col. Saunderson, was also one of the foremost laymen in the Church of Ireland - he even had a private chapel in the grounds of his estate and usually conducted the service and preached the sermon there himself, "not caring for assistance even in the reading of lessons". (24) These close ecclesiastical links still, indeed, characterise the Irish LOI in the present day, its official historians Dewar, Long and Brown are clergymen, as is present MWGM the Rev. Martin Smyth, a minister of the presbyterian church. (25)

A stark contrast, however, is presented by Scottish Orangeism. At its low state of development in the early 19th century the Order here

had no significant involvement from the clergy of any denomination and even by the time of the 1835 parliamentary report only one clergyman, an English episcopalian Rev. John Jervis Bently of the 'Royal Gordon', was a member. (26)

With its general expansion in the 1860's the Scottish Institution found its first real clerical enthusiast in the Ulsterman Robert Gault, minister of the Free Kirk in Glasgow Kingston and superintendent of its anti-Popish mission. Gault was himself an Orangeman, prone to inflammatory speeches at the Order's November soirees. He was, moreover, most willing to receive his brethren in his church and on the 12th of July 1868 the Glasgow Orangemen met in Brunswick Street and marched to Kingston 5-6 abreast. The episcopal link also seems to have remained in this period and in 1868 200 members of the Order walked to the episcopal church in St. James Place, Coatbridge, resplendent with Orange necklets and Bibles. (27)

Yet compared with the extent of Church of Ireland support and the reorientation of a large body of the presbyterian clergy in Ulster towards the Order in the same period, such developments appear rather insignificant.

Moving on to the 1870's and beyond, however, some ecclesiastical links did develop. Indeed, looking at the apparent proliferation of ministers on Orange platforms it might even seem possible to assimilate Ulster and Scottish experience.

For the period 1873-1900 I identified 43 clergymen on public Orange platforms. These appearances were spread throughout the West of Scotland and unlike the Order's political links no significant local variations are apparent between the cases of Glasgow, Paisley and

Greenock (7 ministers were from Greenock). Many of these figures were moreover frequent visitors and the figure of 43 is surely an understatement of the total of clerical supporters in the 30 years' span. (28)

Beyond this, however, considerable caution must be exercised. First, among this number, the representation from the various denominations was unbalanced. No less than 27 of those whose denominations could be identified were from the Church of Scotland, 6 were Episcopalians, 6 were Methodists (Lodge No. 60 was called the 'Wesleyan') and 2 were 'independent congregationalists'. Only 2 were from the Free Kirk though, Gault and the Rev. Fraser of Paisley, and there were no UP representatives. Secondly moreover, 27 is only a tiny minority of Church of Scotland Ministers considering there were no less than 1113 Kirk congregations in Scotland in 1854, for example. (29)

Thirdly, it is also essential to distinguish between the 'fellow travellers', willing to guest at the fairly sedate November soirees and make expansive gestures of support there, and those (like their Ulster counterparts) were prepared to become members of the Order, acting as Grand Chaplains, and even appearing at the considerably more rowdy 12th parades. If this distinction is made, clerical involvement swiftly appears less impressive. Indeed it is striking how frequently ministers at Orange meetings feel compelled to emphasise they were not actually Orangemen. The Rev. Paton, for example, stressed he "did not wear Orange colours", but he "cherished its principles as warmly at heart as any of them. (30) Similarly the Rev. Hugh Ramsay of Baillieston told his Royal Black Preceptory audience he was "not a member of the Order" though he "thoroughly believed in the principles

the brethren professed". (31) Thus only nine of the Church of Scotland ministers were themselves Orangemen, three of the Episcopalians, one Free Churchman (Gault), both Congregationalists and one of the Methodists (Rev. William Robinson of Paisley).

Fourthly, a point which will be developed below, it is interesting to note how many of this number were Ulstermen - a total of six, three of the Kirk Ministers, both the Congregationalists and Gault.

Finally, even the native Scots ministers who did join the Order were not prominent or influential churchmen, some were indeed reckoned as 'mavericks' by their contemporaries, and consequently carried little weight in the life and work of the Kirk. The Rev. J.K. Campbell, for example, was actually a former U.P. minister who the Greenock Telegraph commented "...changed his political colour of late and overcame his previous prejudices...against Orangeism". (32) Joining the Institution around 1879, he seems to have swung to the most reactionary extremes of Toryism, sponsoring a resolution attributing increased papal aggression to the non-enforcement of the 1829 Catholic emancipation Bill's guarantee clauses and calling for the Bill's repeal. (33)

An even more intriguing case, though, is the Rev. Robert Thompson of Ladywell Parish, Glasgow - 'Rubbart' and 'something of a rantipole' according to the 'Bailie' magazine, for whom he was a favourite figure of ridicule (see portrait overleaf). (34) Certainly an ardent self-publicist, Thompson was very prominent in the Order in the early 1870's. He had much wider ambitions, though, standing as an independent Protestant candidate in the Kilmarnock parliamentary election in 1868, the Glasgow Municipal election in 1883, and later in



Rev. Robert Thompson of Ladywell.

the parliamentary division of St. Rollox in 1890 and 95, as an 'Independent Protestant Working Man's candidate' embracing a populist 'Protestant democracy'. He also managed to gain election to the Glasgow School Board in 1885, and was principal of his own, very short lived, 'South-Side University'.

His conduct was at times embarrassing, in particular to the Orange Grand Lodge, with its concern for standards of 'decent behaviour' among its members. In 1883, for instance, he threw the Greenock November soiree into uproar when he attempted to use his speech to publicise his municipal candidature. Another minister on the platform objected to him introducing 'extraneous matter at this social gathering'. At this Thompson became very excited shouting, "You are a trimmer, sir, you are a liar, sir, and you gave me the cold shoulder, sir". Provost Binnie chairing the meeting vainly tried to pacify him and only after several other interruptions was he persuaded to offer the other clergyman his hand "to show we are Christian ministers". (35) He had similarly disrupted a municipal banquet in Glasgow the same year, protesting noisily at the presence of the Roman Catholic Archbishop Eyre at the festivities. (36)

In these circumstances the eccentric divine's position in the Established Presbytery of Glasgow was extremely marginal, and he was refused the position of Moderator which should have been his by rotation for 1884. An amendment proposing the Rev. McLeod of Govan (see below) in his stead was accepted 42 to 14 with the most distinguished and respected Glasgow ministers in favour. Rev. Thompson in retaliation proposed a variety of motions including one of "no support for the pervert Marquis of Bute, a papist, in the Glasgow

University rectorial election" but these were overwhelmingly defeated.

These points on personalities, coupled with the general level of involvement of Kirk ministers point clearly to the crucial distance between the two bodies - further confirmed by the lack of representation from the Orangemen in local Church Defense Associations and the Kirk's large anti-disestablishment rallies. (37) An explanation of these weak establishment links and also the almost complete absence of links with the dissenting bodies and the prominence of clergymen from the Episcopal and Methodist denominations will be given in the following section.

Determining Factors in Church Relations (Orange Ideology)

One factor militating against closer ecclesiastical links was presented by the positive elements in the Orangemen's own ideology, which stressed its role as "the only body where Protestants of all denominations could unite against the common enemy, especially resisting papal aggression on the British constitution". (38) "We take credit to our Institution for being one in which all general Protestants are equally welcome whether Episcopalian, Presbyterian or whatever else and in which they are associated together in a movement which strengthens them in the feelings of Christian brotherhood and so promotes their spiritual welfare". (39) For Johnstone of Ballykillbeg the Order was quite simply the foremost religious organisation, 'Protestantism in action'. (40)

Such ambitious claims to be superior to competing denominational interests - 'differing from one another on minor points' (41) as Paton dismissed them - were very likely to alienate the more orthodox

religious bodies who were actually pursuing those interests, interests which they genuinely believed were essential for the well-being of the Christian church in Scotland. In particular the Orangemen's definition of themselves as the 'leaven' of pure and scriptural Protestantism was liable to offend the Free Church which, as noted above, had been anxious to lay claim to a very similar role as the true 'Church of Scotland'.

More specific elements, though, in the Institution's ideology on the church/state relationship also contributed to the alienation of the dissenting bodies. First largely drawing on their experience of the Irish Church the Orangemen most strongly opposed disestablishment and 'Voluntaryism'. The latter was denounced in the strongest terms by McLeod "...The voluntary principle has been and still is one of the main influences - outside the Church of Rome - by which Popery has been advanced to political power and state position within the three kingdoms and therefore Voluntaryism must be resisted as one of the chief assistants of Popery". (42)

The UP's often explicitly incurred the LOI's wrath, but the Free Kirk was also liable to attack, once it moved from its original 'purified establishment' position. Dr. Macknight of Ayr, for example, saw them as twin foes, calling on his audience to "buckle on their armour against the disestablishment movement carried on by the U.Ps, who were a body professing belief in the Bible, all except the 13th Chapter of Romans, teaching the magistrates power under God, and the Free Church which is a body divided against itself...they left the Church of State believing in the principle of church and state and now a great number of its ministers were Voluntaries". (43)

This attack was further pressed home from the late 1870's, notably by Thomas Macklin and Samuel Geddes both themselves Free Churchmen; as Geddes, WM of Lodge No. 690 commented, "I and many thousands of Orangemen belong to dissenting bodies...but the time has come to remove to more wholesome quarters. The Free kirk position leaves no alternative, for Orangemen are bound by solemn obligation to support the Protestant Religion as established by William III in 1689, hence they are no disestablishers". (44)

At times criticism from Orange platforms even extended to the Free Church's lack of concern for the poor, as contrasted with the Established Church. The Rev. Hutcheson of Newhall Parish reported in 1878 that his district "had been said too poor to support a minister by the Free kirk, but his Church of Scotland predecessor had stepped in; he did not go to proselytise but to preach to the poor, the halt, the maimed and the blind and God forbid the Church of Scotland should ever cease to care for the poor". (45)

The Institution's Negative Reputation

Such barbs were offensive enough in themselves, but when combined with what many dissenting clergymen viewed as the unsavoury reality of Orangeism they were seen as arrogant and insupportable.

The antipathy of the bourgeois-dominated UP and Free Churches would be roused in the first place by the proleterian and stridently populist tone of many of the local lodges. A preceding chapter, however, also described the extremely negative reputation the Order had gained during the 19th century for drunkenness, disorder, and importing an alien party spirit into Scotland. It is here in the context of relations

with the churches that this had its most baneful effect; for such 'attributes' sat uneasily with the overwhelming concern for individual conduct and personal morals - which particular characterised the dissenting Churches. (46)

One of the best illustrations of the reactions the LOI aroused among the dissenters is provided by the Greenock Free Church controversy of 1876. (47)

The circumstances of this case were very complex, but basically it had transpired that a congregation of Ulster settlers in the town had formed themselves into an independent 'Orange Congregational Church' meeting in the Orange Hall in Cathcart Street under the direction of the Rev. Dignum and later Rev. Charleton, both themselves Ulstermen. In time they had applied to be accepted into the Church of Scotland. The kirk had permitted this, but some of its ministers, such as Rev. Bryce, had been anxious to score a point against the Free Church, and at a meeting of the Church of Scotland presbytery in December 1875 claimed that the 'Orange Church' was in fact a defection from the 'Frees' - provoked by their increasing 'Voluntaryistic' proclivities. (Claims for similar defections, such as the Uig case, and a cry of 'the Free Church on the wane' were quite prominent in the mid 1870's as Disestablishment became a more contentious issue).

The Greenock Free Church presbytery was outraged. The substance of their argument was that the congregation had always been under false colours, being composed almost entirely of Orangemen. In these circumstances it appeared to them to have a profound 'political' or 'party' motivation rather than a religious one. Significantly, however, this was entwined with ridicule of the Irish origins and the

general social standing of the Orangemen - or as an Orange correspondent summed up, to the Free Churchmen, "Orangemen are detestable and in everything are to be avoided and excommunicated". (48)

Thus the Rev. Bonnar taking to task his opponents began fairly inoffensively by challenging the facts of the Rev. Bryce's claims for 'the new established church'. "This," he explained, "was a congregation of Irish presbyterians and had been advertised week after week in the paper as 'the Orange Established church', they dropped the name afterwards in deference to the choice or antipathies of the body which they were meaning to join" (the Church of Scotland). He went on though to recount (to great laughter from the presbytery) that one of the Orange church had made a slip of the tongue, saying that "...for the last twelve months he had watched the progress of the Order - not the congregation - and he thought they would now take a leading part in the town's elections and other local matters..." "To form a congregation upon such a basis", as Bonnar continued "was a scandal and an outrage on the Christian religion. Why these gentlemen would not sit at the Lord's Table as disciples but as politicians, and they would go forth from worship down through the thoroughfares of the town to agitate....Their minister, moreover, would have to be one with themselves in Orange politics and one with themselves in everything....And where", he asked, ending on a note of sarcasm, "would the Orangemen get a man in Scotland that would sympathise with them in Orangeism?".

Bonnar's contribution seems to have unleashed similar sentiments from his Free Church colleagues. The Rev. Nelson, for example, commented "it was singular that whilst other unions with which they, as

ministers, had to do there was always a great display of Orange blossom - in this case the Orange blossom is carefully concealed by Mr. Bryce and his Orangemen - they best know the reason why". Nevertheless he hoped "their minister would do much good, especially among the low Irish..." (author's emphasis); while the Rev. Stark said "two or three families had left his church because he would not attend a certain meeting and make a speech in favour of Orangeism...but he did not think that their friends in the established church need be overjoyed by getting three hundred Orangemen (laughter and applause)". For his part the Rev. Thompson took the more common positive viewpoint on Irish Protestant migration. "It gave one pleasure to see them gradually rise in social position, to see their children marrying and intermingling with Scottish families...". However, "...he had dealings with Orangemen and complied with a request to attend one of their meetings. He looked on that gathering as a social gathering of those who belonged to Ireland. He was allowed...to make a speech on anything he liked, and he took advantage to speak on toleration (laughter)....The audience appeared to be very well pleased with his speech (laughter). He was well pleased with his speech (renewed laughter) and he was invited to come back again. But they afterwards began to bring speakers to their meetings who discussed Disestablishment and such things, men whose sentiments were in direct opposition to his own and since then he had given up attending their meetings". (Author's emphasis).

Given the hostility voiced here it is at first sight surprising that the Order found any Free Church champions like the Revs. Gault and Fraser. In fact these were drawn from the 'old guard' of the Free

Church who followed Chalmers both in his Toryism and his commitment to the establishment principle - already by the 1870's steadily dwindling in numbers. Fraser, for example, a frequent visitor to Paisley Orange platforms, died in 1879; his obituary described him as a 'thorough constitutionalist' in his opinions, a free churchman but opposed to Disestablishment and an ardent pamphleter against the latter. (49)

Finally, in the case of the Church of Scotland, the Order's class composition may have been less problematic than for the dissenters, given the responsibility the Kirk felt, as the 'national church', to minister to all sections of Scottish society. A large part of its membership, as noted above, was itself drawn from the working classes in the rural areas. In addition, the LOI's positions on 'Voluntaryism' would be more positively received by this body, particularly in the midst of Disestablishment agitation.

However, considerable reticence on the Kirk's part towards Orange links was still apparent. The negative features of the Order also seem relevant here, for although less individualised the ethos of respectability still had a commanding presence in the Church of Scotland. The image of the 'tipsy Orangemen', for example, was likely to arouse great distaste among ministers, given the church's growing commitment to Temperance in the 19th century. As Fleming indicates, the Kirk had been slow to act at first and identify itself with the Temperance movement but in 1848 a Temperance committee was appointed and by 1853 more than 400 ministers in Scotland were abstainers. (50)

In the Greenock case, for example, there seems to have been a significant lack of enthusiasm among the Established Kirk presbytery for their new congregation. In fact, they seemed embarrassed by the

whole affair and were unwilling to reply to the Free Kirk's charges. "Perhaps the presbytery may see", commented Rev. Murray its Moderator, "that it is more conforming to its dignity that no such reply be given forth". In fact, Bonnar's charge is probably correct that the Irish church's 'Orange' epithet was dropped to save their feelings.

Also revealing are some of the statements from the small minority of ministers who were willing to give the LOI public support. Again these placed stress on the Orangemen's conduct. "If Orangemen are true to their colours, they will not forget the church", stated the Rev. Park, "...and they will not fail to have the ministers rally round them". (51) Apparently his advice was not well heeded and years later a Coatbridge Minister, Rev. Tait, was compelled to rebuke the local Orangemen for their poor church attendance. (52) Even the eccentric Rev. Thompson offered advice to his 12th audience. He had just returned from a trip to Italy and had visited the Pope's summer palace. "If you saw a Pope", he declared, "you would see he was not half as good looking as the men here, if you would only wash your faces". (53)

Determining Factors in Church Relations: Scottish Society

The pejorative connotations of Orangeism, however, provide only a partial explanation of the lack of links with the Scottish churches - similar difficulties after all were faced and largely surmounted by the LOI in Ulster. In fact, as suggested in the preceding chapter, its negative reputation here was effectively compounded by features rooted historically in Scottish society and beyond the Order's control.

Gallacher, for example, suggests that the Disruption may have had a

debilitating effect on militant Protestantism generally in the Scottish churches. (54) Certainly one should not underestimate the strength of anti-Roman Catholicism which did exist, as expressed notably by James Begg and the Free Church's ultra Conservative Wing. (55)

However, the ecclesiastical controversies promoted by the events of 1843 (and the earlier schisms of the 18th and early 19th century) also tend to undermine Miles' view that the Church of Scotland was characterised by anti-Catholicism and opposition to Irish immigrants, because its position as the National church in the Scottish 'Proto-state' was perceived to be threatened by them. (56) In fact, the Kirk's established position, as described above, had been consistently challenged by dissent from as early as the 18th century and most notably by the combined UP body in the 19th century. From 1843 it had an even more formidable rival in the Free Kirk, which struggled vigorously to become recognised as the true National Church of Scotland in the eyes of the Scottish people. The Greenock Free Church case indicates, moreover, how in practice the bitterness of such rivalry left little energy for active 'No Popery' in the churches. If indeed the Kirk had played the role that Miles' identifies for it as the most institutionalised expression of anti-Catholic/Irish sentiment in Scotland, this might have offered the LOI an opportunity of dialogue with a central pillar of Scottish society. In reality it proved an increasingly uncongenial climate for Orange sentiments, even when Church Union was at last appearing on the horizon in the early 20th century.

Far from being Orange partisans the views of many leading ministers may have been influenced by the Rev. Dr. Flint, a leading Churchman,

Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh from 1879-1903, "Let us hope", he wrote, "that...the time may not be far off when even the greatest religious differences in opinion among us, will not be felt to be incompatible with unity in Christ and the exercise of all Christian graces and duties towards those who differ from us in doctrinal views. (57)

Besides the Disruption, though, another factor in Scottish religious life was important in marginalising Protestant militancy in the churches and with it Orange involvement. This was the limited extent of ritualism as a cause celebre. It was the anti-ritualist movement in Liverpool, as well as anti-Catholicism which promoted a 'low church' Anglican and Nonconformist rapprochement and may have permitted Orange/Anglican links. In Scotland, however, (where the use of organ music in churches was considered by some like Begg to be an abomination) ritualistic practices and concern with the 'externalities' of worship were extremely rare in the major Scottish denominations.

Only a few 'ritualist outrages' came to public attention then. Rev. John Charleston of Thornliebank, for example, advocated responsive prayer in public worship and the observance of holy week festivals. His congregation seems to have included many Ulster Protestants and Orangemen (who had come to work in the local thread mills) (57) and a petition with 207 names was sent to the Paisley Presbytery in 1896 expressing their 'greatest dismay'. Charleston eventually left the Church of Scotland in 1901 and became a Roman Catholic. Questions of ornament and ritual were again raised in the case of Rev. T.N. Adamson at Barnhill in 1901-4, including charges of genuflection before a 'popish altar', and even an eccentric Free Church minister, Rev. Stuart Mills, was suspended for 'popish and superstitious practices'. (58)

The High Church movement in Scotland instead found its most authentic expression in the Scottish Church Society (S.C.S.). This body, much influenced by the idealist categories of 19th century thought, eschewed much of Puritanism and Moderatism, turning sympathetically to the purer features of the pre-Reformation church and the neo-Catholic tradition pioneered by the Rev. Milligan of Aberdeen. It differed from the contemporary evangelism, as Fleming notes, in the prominence it gave to sacramental doctrine and its stress on the historic continuity of the church from earliest times. Unlike its English counterpart, however, it had little interest in ritual and ceremonial - actually expelling the erring Rev. Charleston for his 'Romish practices'. (59)

In fact, a useful indicator of the relative absence of High Church controversy in 19th century Scotland was the progress of the SCS. Its membership was never very large, only 91 in 1900, but its influence, Murray concludes, was out of proportion to this; three former moderators joined and three members became moderators from 1892 to 1914. (60) It was, of course, the Rev. John McLeod 'the priest of Govan' and an energetic SCS apostle who was appointed moderator of the Glasgow presbytery to the Orange Rev. Thompson. In contrast opposition to the SCS was led by a 'marginal man' in the Church of Scotland, the Rev. Jacob Primmer of Dundee, like Thompson an eccentric who held Protestant 'conventicles' and disrupted successive General Assemblies. (61)

The effects of disestablishment and the lack of an effective anti-Ritualist movement still operate, however, at rather a high level of generality, again assisting an understanding of the limitations on

militant Protestantism in the churches.

For the LOI's ecclesiastical involvement a set of more specific factors are also important. These are basically related to the Institution's position as an importation, and to the disjuncture between the social formations of Ulster and Scotland - in particular in this case between denominational characteristics and alignments.

As a preceding chapter suggested, a central role in the mid century development of the LOI was played by Ulster migrants. It is probable, as both Barkley, and Bullock and Drummond suggest, that a very large proportion of them were Episcopalians, given the overwhelming predominance in the early history of the Order. It was indicated above, for example, that many of the Presbyterian bourgeoisie certainly saw it as a creature of the Established Church in Ireland.

This episcopal body had a Hanovarian and Constitutionalist background, and its churchmanship was strongly Protestant and highly coloured with evangelism - the mid-century evangelical revival having a particularly profound effect here. Like the Kirk, as a former National church, it drew strongly on the aristocracy and gentry but also assumed a responsibility for the working class - the latter's representation was strong in the counties, though non-churchgoing became a problem in Belfast in the late 1880's. (62)

The Scottish Episcopal Church into which Orangemen, as former communicants of the Church of Ireland, would have been received was, however, a very different body in terms of history, worship and class composition. It had been a mainstay of the Jacobite rebellions in Scotland, for instance, and, as Thatcher notes, it was not until 1792 that the penal laws to which it was subject were repealed. (63) At

that time there were only 40 priests in Scotland and it took a considerable time before the church could expand. Even by the 1830's there were only 6 or 7 congregations in Glasgow and the West of Scotland. In the 1840's and 50's many churches were built, though the South Western diocese numbered only 40 or 50 clergymen.

Moreover, although congregations were predominantly working class in the North East, in the West and Edinburgh, the strength of expansion in the early 19th century lay in the anglicising gentry. Unlike its Irish counterpart, though, the church seems to have had little concern for poor relief, or sense of duty towards the less privileged sections of society.

At this level of development then, the Scottish episcopal church was markedly unprepared for the influx of thousands of migrant workers from Ulster. The rector of St. Andrews by the Green in Glasgow, for example, claimed 10,000 Episcopalians in the city in the late 1830's, but bewailed that 4,000 of them were Irish and destitute. (64) More commonly it seems this group was received, not in the mainstream of the church, but by missions largely catering for the poor. Several of these opened in Glasgow in the 19th century one of the first being formed in Bridgeton in 1805 by the Rev. Aitchison - seats were free and collections for the half year amounted to £7.10/-, an indication of the congregation's lack of prosperity. (65) A similar mission, St. Lukes, was founded in Springburn in the 1870's, built expressly for 'the English and Irish of the artisan class'. (66)

Besides the logistical problems of finding a hospitable congregation, further serious difficulty confronted the Episcopalian Orange migrant, in the strongly high Church nature of the Scottish

Episcopalians. In fact, in Scotland most of the principles of the Oxford movement were in operation long before the days of the English Tractarians and 'Puseyites', including the divine origin of the Church, apostolic succession and even the real presence of Christ at the eucharistic sacrifice, the communion of saints and the celebration of fasts and festivals. Increasingly, moreover, even in Glasgow and Edinburgh it was the old 'Scottish rite' strongly liturgical in character, which was employed in services. Such 'ritualism' would, of course, be abhorrent to an Orangeman reared in the Irish Episcopal tradition of unadorned services and doctrinal preaching.

Yet problems of transition also confronted Ulster Orange settlers who, like Geddes and Macklin, were presbyterians, usually communicants of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. Now, while the General Assembly of this Church condemned Disestablishment and from the 1860's began to display profound Tory sentiments, crucially at the time of the 1843 Disruption it had allied with the Free Church, regularly sending two representatives to its assemblies. This then became its sister church in Scotland, and the receiving body for its communicants arriving here. (67)

In this way, whereas men like Macklin who "...had read from Plato, Plutarch, Aristotle and Cicero etc, all who love to witness the truth of National religion", (68) might have found a more congenial place of worship in the Church of Scotland, with its growing rapport with the Conservatives and championing of the Church/State link, they were, in fact, directed to membership of the Free Church. This was, as illustrated earlier in the chapter, the bulwark of Liberalism in Scotland and its position on the autonomy and independence of Christian

society seemed to be converging with the U.P.s on the voluntary support of the Gospel. (This explains why the reception of the Greenock Ulster congregation into the Church of Scotland was reckoned by some as a gain from the Frees).

Furthermore, even if Orangemen were willing to enter the Free Kirk, with its unwelcome political and ecclesiastical orientations, they may also have faced difficulties by the frequently strict admission to Communion among the dissenting bodies. New members were usually admitted by resolution of the Kirk Session and testimonials and certificates from their previous church had to be produced. Young persons were examined in the Shorter Catechism and scriptural knowledge and if satisfactory received tokens of entry; even the sacraments of marriage and baptism were celebrated in accordance with this discipline and a fee was charged for registration. (69) Given probable anti-Orange prejudices, not all congregations may have been particularly willing to be co-operative here.

The vital contribution made by these dislocations is indicated not only in their explanations of the weaknesses but also the strengths in Orange/Church relations. Notably these include the important presence of Episcopalian clergymen as members of the LOI and on its platforms. Thus, they were either ex Church of Ireland vicars, some of whom had come to Scotland after disestablishment in 1868, like the Rev. James McCann of St. Pauls Glasgow; or more commonly evangelical 'low church' Anglicans unhappy with Scottish Episcopalianism. The Revs. Halliday and Hodgekinson, Grand Chaplains in 1899 and 92 respectively and ministers of the Free Episcopal Church of England 'Emmanuel' Church in Camlachie, were representative of this group, as was Rev. Bradshaw of

St. Lukes mission.

Secondly, the general situation also helps explain public links between Methodist ministers and the LOI; for the Methodists had a significant following in Ulster dating from the time of Wesley's tours in the late 18th century - Larne being a notable centre. (70)

Blending with some initial familiarity with the lodges would also be that High Toryism, which had characterised sections of the church since the role of Wesley and Bunting, (71) and which found resonance in the Order's claims to defend Crown, Constitution and the Protestant Religion.

Primitive Methodists, the more radical tendency were also represented though. Rather than a political motivation, it seems here that their common situation as 'strangers in a foreign land', as Bullock expresses it, drew these otherwise rather uncommon bodies together - even in 1901 the Primitives had less than 1000 members in Scotland. In other words they may have been grateful for the opportunity to speak on the LOI's public platforms, although, like their Wesleyan counterparts, 'common Protestantism' was usually not sufficient to persuade them to join the Order.

Thirdly, frustration with those Scottish churches which should have received the Orangemen as members was important in driving the LOI to set up its own churches - the 'Independent Congregational' bodies with the Ulster ministers J.U. Mitchell and T.W. Patrick. In 1881, for example, G.I. Paton laid the foundation stone of the latter's new Congregational church at Rutherglen at the cost of £2000. He was subsequently presented with the silver trowel as "a token of the brotherly love which should be held by Orangemen and all true

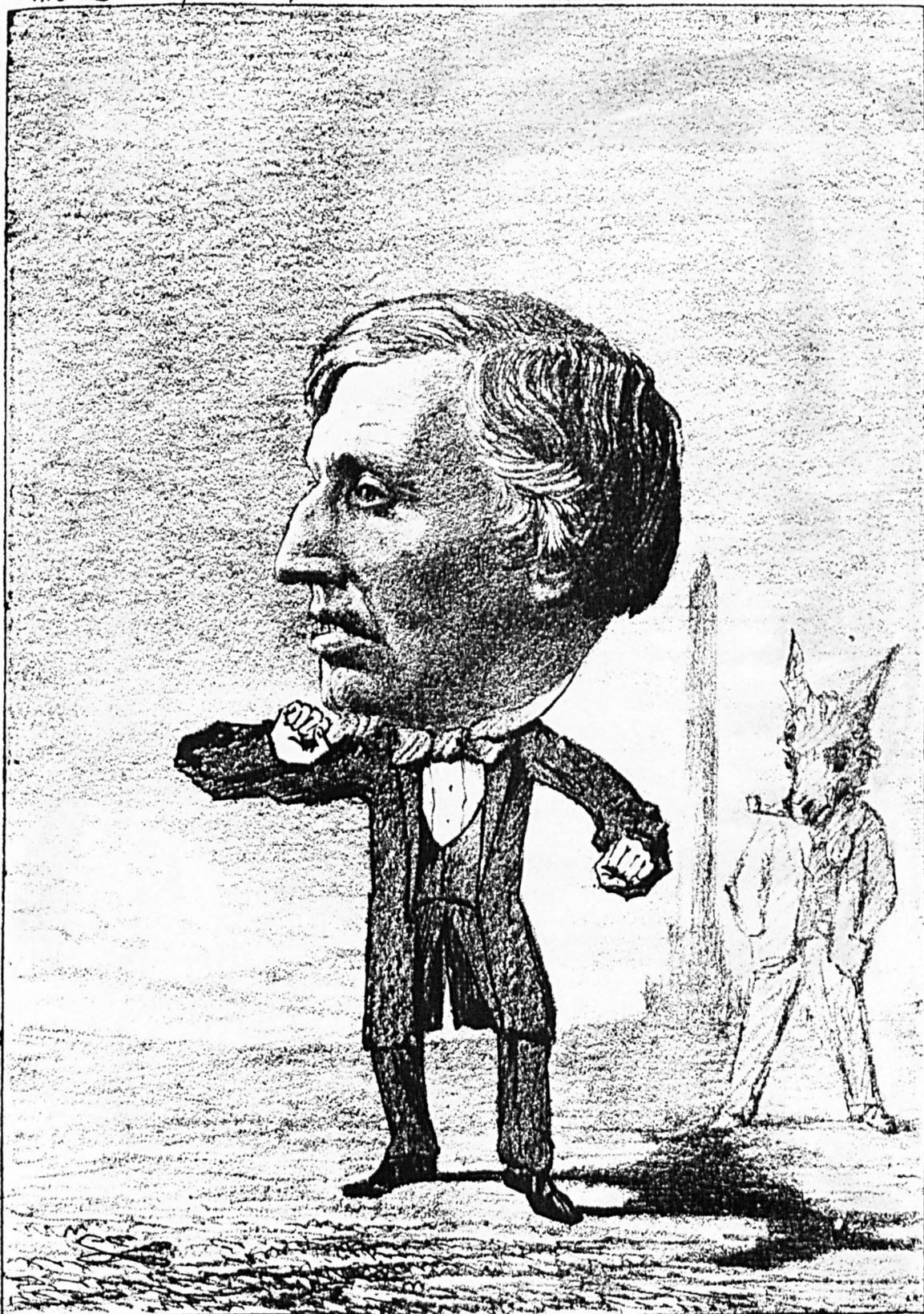
Protestants". (72)

This frustration also seems to have led the Orangemen into a close relationship with the lay evangelist, H.A. Long, (interestingly Long's background was cast in the 'low church' Anglican tradition as curate at St. Silas's in Glasgow). (73) The relationship, though, did not always run smoothly, due largely to personal rivalries. Long seems to have been a rather egotistical character and strongly resisted Grand Lodge attempts to alter candidate selection in the 'knoxite' voting confraternity he had founded for the Glasgow School Board elections. (74) (See portrait overleaf).

Finally, the disjuncture between the ecclesiastical situations of Ulster and Scotland was also liable to produce a result particularly feared by the Grand Lodge - namely that the Orangemen would stay away from the churches altogether. The Rev. Tait's remarks in 1894 have already been noted and one of the main motivations of the Orange Church's foundation in Greenock was precisely that "large numbers of our brethren who come from the sister isle attach themselves to no congregation at all, and we wish to get hold of them". (75) Thus the Order's unsavoury reputation, which itself had contributed to its marginalisation in Scottish religious life, was again reinforced.

To sum up, the problematic nature of LOI/ecclesiastical relations highlights an interaction between the 'Ulster factor' and specific characteristics of 19th century Scottish society, which is essential in explaining the Order's relative weakness here. (76)

The discussion has wider implications, though. For not only does the material challenge the existence of a simple agitational role for the minister in anti-Catholicism, but on a more general level it



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undermines the attribution of a unitary manipulative significance to Scottish Orange activity. The attitudes towards the Order, from those members of the Scottish bourgeoisie who were involved in the churches - particularly in the Free Church or UP bodies - further emphasises the inability of this class to accept Orangeism's unruly, populist associations, and their consequent unwillingness to employ it consistently for the tactics of 'divide et impera'.

CHAPTER 7

Notes

1. 'Draft of a memoir of William Motherwell', J. McConechy in Robertson Mss. Glasgow University Library, Special collections.
2. J. Bullock and A.L. Drummond, vol. 1, The Scottish Church 1688-1843; The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-74, vol. 3 the Church in late Victorian Scotland 1874-1906 are very useful and are used extensively below. For a legalistic account of Church and State relations see F. Lyall, Of Presbyters and kings (1980), and for a spirited early account Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland, vols. 1 and 2 (1927).

Figure 4 is copied and reduced from Coloured Diagram by Rev. R. Waterson and N. Brown.
3. Bullock and Drummond, vol. 2 (1975), p.51.
4. See Galt's 'Annals of the Parish' for the sufferings of the Rev. Balquidger as 'The laird's man' in his new parish (he had to climb through a window to gain access to his church).
5. Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland, pp.206-23.
6. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Presbyterianism in Scotland, p.147, in Fleming (1927), op cit, p.58.
7. Fleming (1927), loc cit.
8. Bullock and Drummond, vol. 2, p.46.
9. Bullock and Drummond, loc cit.
10. Various surveys of church membership and attendance were done in the period, e.g. R. Howie, The Churches and Churchless in Scotland 1893; and J. Rankine, Handbook of the Church of Scotland 1888, but these are unreliable given their often partisan inspiration. The census of 1851 also included denominational data, but this was claimed by some contemporaries to be weak methodologically. See Hutchison, op cit, Ph.D. 1975, pp.55-58, for discussion.
11. See Bullock and Drummond, vol. 2, chapter 5, 'The National Church' (1975).
12. Fleming, op cit, (1927), p.64.
13. J.G. Kellas, 'The Liberal Party and The Scottish Church Disestablishment Crisis', English Historical Review 79 (1964), pp.318-9.
14. For a typical lecture, see GN 16/2/74.

15. Hutchison (1975), loc cit.
16. The UP's and Free kirk united in 1900 forming the United Free Church, which in turn united with the Church of Scotland on 1st October 1929.
17. Senior, Orangeism: The Canadian Phase (nd), pp.7-8.
18. *ibid*, pp.63-65. He was editor of the anti-Fenian 'Burning Bush in the 1860's in Canada.
19. *Ibid*, p.36 on Clergy Reserves Question.
20. Waller, *op cit* (1981), p.93.
21. De Paor, Divided Ulster (1973), p.46).
22. In Backley, 'History of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland', p.37.
23. See Dewar et al, *op cit* (1967).
24. R. Lucas, Memoir of Col. Saunderson MP (1908).
25. The latter is the author of the pamphlet 'The Message of the Banners', an official 'reading' of Orange Insignia.
26. Parl Report 605 xvii, *op cit*.
27. NBDM 13/7/68; NBDM 14/7/68.
28. For the various clergymen see Appendix H. The names were collected from 12th July and soiree reports in Glasgow News, Glasgow Herald, Greenock Telegraph, Paisley Daily Express, Paisley and Renfrewshire Standard, etc.
29. Bullock and Drummond, vol. 2 (1975), p.112.
30. GN, 6/11/84.
31. GN, 28/8/76.
32. GT, 16/11/78.
33. GN, 8/11/79.
34. See 'The Bailie' 248, 495, 576 with 2 portraits.
35. GT, 3/11/83.
36. GN, 6/10/83; and GN, 8/11/83 for Presbytery meeting.
37. e.g. GN, 21/10/85, 22/11/85, 13/11/85.

38. GN, 4/11/76.
39. GN, 12/9/81.
40. GN, 6/11/74.
41. GN, 12/9/81
42. GN, 3/7/77.
43. GN, 3/11/77.
44. GN, 29/11/81.
45. GN, 11/11/78.
46. Bullock, Vol.2, p.51.
47. GT, 30/12/75, 27/1/76 for Free Kirk meeting.
48. Letter from R. Madill, GT 28/3/76.
49. GN obituary 22/9/79. Funeral 29/9/79. The local Orange Lodges were in attendance.
50. Fleming, op cit (1927). Also see E. King pamphlet, Scotland Sober and Free (1979).
51. GN, 12/11/73.
52. McDonagh, B.A. Thesis, cites Coatbridge Express 7/11/94.
53. GH, 13/7/81.
54. Radical Scotland article, January 1985.
55. Early Begg pamphlets in Murray Collection, Glasgow University Library Special Collections.
56. Miles, op cit (1982), Chapter 6 (Though this point does not bear the major theoretical weight of his argument in the chapter).
57. Life of Professor Flint, p.436. One prominent Kirk minister, Rev. Donald McLeod of Park Church had even attended a service at the English Roman Catholic College in Rome, where Cardinal Newman had preached. S. Smith, Rev. Donald McLeod (1926), p.62.
58. See preceding chapter. D.M. Murray, Ph.D. 1976, The Scottish Church Society 1892-14: A Study of the High Church Movement in the Church of Scotland.
59. Fleming, op cit (1927).

60. Murray, op cit (1976), p.261.
61. Murray, loc cit, and see S. Bruce, No Pope of Rome (1985) on Primmer and early 20th century Protestant leaders outside the churches.
62. R.B. McDowall, History of the Church of Ireland, p.15.
63. 'The Episcopal Church in Helensburgh' in Scottish themes; Essays in Honour of Prof. S.G.E. Lythe, (J. Butt (ed)).
64. Bullock and Drummond, op cit, vol. 2, p.62.
65. Bullock, loc cit.
66. Thatcher, op cit, Butt (ed).
67. Presbyterians were excluded from Trinity College till 1793, but even after this date there was a tradition of Irish Presbyterians coming for higher education to Scottish universities, particularly Glasgow. This may have been Macklin, the Classics professor's background.
68. GH, 14/7/73.
69. Barkley, op cit, p.37.
70. 'Official History of Larne', Guidebook (1979).
71. E.P. Thompson, 'Making of the English Working Class', Chapter 11, 'The Transforming Power of the Cross'. See also R. Currie, 'Methodism Divided' (1976).
72. GN, 12/9/81.
73. See Biographical index.
74. GN 17/3/82. The LOI sought support for W.C. Maughan.
75. GT, 27/1/76.
76. The weakness of Orange links with the Scottish Churches persists to the present day, and in strong contrast to Ulster the last minister of the Kirk to be associated with the LOI was the controversial Allan Hasson in the 1966's. More recently only 2 ministers have been members one, the Rev. Jones of Aberdeen, had a formal petition for his removal presented to the General Assembly in 1984 and resigned in unfortunate circumstances the following year.

CHAPTER 8

RANK AND FILE/LEADERSHIP RELATIONS 1865-c1900.

The heterogeneity of the LOI in terms of class composition, geographical distribution etc., already described, is matched to some extent by internal tensions and conflicts between the Orange rank and file and its directing body, the Grand Lodge, from the late 1860's.

In Scotland, however, such tensions tended to be fairly diffuse, focusing on the conduct of plebeian Orangemen and attempts to mould this to a prevailing ethos of 'respectability'. At the same time they were characterised less by that 'limited class consciousness' Patterson identifies for Belfast. ⁽¹⁾ An important factor, it will be suggested in this Chapter, is the class composition of the Scottish Grand Lodge and its ability to balance more successfully than its Irish counterpart - or indeed its predecessor in the 1830's - the traditional demands of 'combative sectarianism' and Protestant defence, with the simultaneous exigencies of forging political alliances and becoming 'a power in the land'.

'Kick The Pope': Characteristics of the Orange Rank and File

The Grand Lodge, in seeking to consolidate the increase in numerical strength and activity mid-century, was confronted by a veritable triptych of unfavourable impressions, also gained by the Institution, for importing alien Irish party quarrels, for violence and for drunkenness. Whatever the exact resonance of such a reputation in fact, contemporaries' reactions, detailed particularly in the case of

the Scottish churches, do point above all to the salience of a rough as well as respectable element in its membership.

A full reconstruction of this division within the Institution is not possible. Indeed even in general application a definition of terms is difficult, beyond the basic injunction that rough-respectable distinctions should be seen as, "tilted across hierarchies of skill and pay, relating as much to personal qualities and effort in the face of circumstances as it did to the world of work". (2) An excellent example, though, of these nuances is provided in Bone's description, in 1901, of two very different types of 'Protestant working Man'. This is worth quoting at length.

Of the first "his bonnet and blue turned down collar are characteristic". He is a time-served workman, a fitter. "he lives in a tenement in Govan and his house consists of a room and kitchen. He is married and has four children and as likely as not his name is John Macmillan". He is not, however, "a domesticated man. His wife is too much with him in the room and kitchen house", and instead "he takes to football and drink, by way of a reaction against the dullness of a machine-made existence". "His wife aye washing; his own work the same week in, week out....No wonder he took to the streets for his recreation and joined the Kinning Park 'Rangers' club, and drove home in a brake from football matches with a melancholy company that found in barking cheers, a relief from weariness". Yet, "there is another type of working man, whose way of life differs from that of the first, although his character is in essentials the same. This is one of the older type who seems to have adapted himself more perfectly to the conditions of his existence and to have acquiesced without protest

He does not need the excitement for which the other craves, and so does not care for football or whisky...his discussions are political and theological. He is a radical and Calvinist by inheritance and tradition, and though his active interest in Calvinism may have abated, its principles still control his conduct....His in in the pink of respectability from his parlour in Crown Street to his Sunday blacks. He finds his occupations at home, in making model yachts for his grandchildren, or in reading the Weekly Mail, and he and the wife get on fine, with few words. He is the backbone of the working classes....". (3)

Significantly perhaps, neither of these scions of the Scottish working class are depicted as Orangemen, but representatives of such general characteristics were surely present in the movement. Possibly too the rough and respectable elements in the LOI were even distinguished in terms of their actual activities here, with the 'respectable' adhering more closely to the quasi-Masonic Royal Black Preceptory as opposed to the populist Orange. Even within the Orange Institution there may well have been a significant distinction between those who attended monthly lodge meetings throughout the year and became officebearers, and those whose activity revolved around the public and commemorative ceremonies of the LOI, particularly in the marching season. If the proceedings of Campsie LOL No. 105 are any indicator the former meetings were very routinized and not particularly stimulating, save to the most stalwart and dutiful 'Sons of William'; (4) while public outings in contrast offered the opportunity of self-assertion, and of actual physical confrontation with 'the auld enemy'.

One of the most interesting examples in this context is that of 'Orange' bands and their music. Most of these held a semi-autonomous position to the actual lodges, but again the rough/respectable distinction asserts itself, a feature which became particularly prominent in the 1920's and 30's. (5)

On the one hand, for example, were those bands affiliated to the Scottish Flute Band Association, whose aim was to ensure that bands played a good quality of music from light opera to traditional Scottish airs and melodies. Band discipline was strict and controlled by a band conductor, band sergeant, and corporal after a military style. On the other hand, though, were the 'Billy Bands', which seem to have predominated in the 19th century, designed not so much for musical quality as for the production of maximum volume to provoke Roman Catholic onlookers. To this end 12-16 flutes played the melody lines only of party tunes, with little variation in intonation. These were usually preceded by 4-8 side drums, and the Bass drum or 'Ballywalter' with the band name printed on the drum hides: 'The Albion', (6) 'Sons of William', (7) or 'Blue Bells'. (8) Not surprisingly these bands, as noted previously, were at the root of most of the sectarian disturbances in Glasgow and surrounding districts, thus incurring the displeasure of the legal establishment. (9) Kinning Park was particularly effected from the late 1870's, and provoked 'the Bailie' into verse:

"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 the playing of Boyne Water". (10)

Indeed party songs themselves provide the most tangible 'survivals' of the rough/respectable contrasts of the 19th century Order. There are, for instance, 'mild' 'establishment' songs such as 'Sons whose Sires for William Bled', 'The Relief of Derry' or 'The South Down Militia'; the latter written in the early 1900's by Col. the Right Honourable R.H. Wallace, Grand Master of Belfast County Grand Lodge and Imperial President. This Law describes as "the sort of song that is printed in catholic anthologies when an attempt is made not to offend Roman Catholic readers", with "a slightly spurious whimsical quality, not so much a party song as a party piece for a stage Irish Protestant". (11) The chorus:

"Och talk about your king's Guard
Scots Greys and a'.
Sing about your kilties and your gallant Forty twa,
And of every regiment in the king's command,
But the South Down milishey* is the terror of the land".

To this one can contrast 'No. 1 in the Orange hymnbook', 'kick the Pope', which could never be described as 'whimsical' and was a great favourite of the 'Billy Bands':

"Tooral, ooral kick the Pope,
Tooral, ooral kick the Pope,
Tooral, ooral kick the Pope,
We'll kick him intae candie".

Moreover, even the establishment songs were liable to corruption or 'rat-rhyming'. The official version of 'Boyne Water' runs (performing miracles of scansion):

"When that king William did observe the brave Duke Schomberg falling,
He reined his horse with a heavy heart,
On his Enniskilliners calling.
He said 'Brave Boys fear no dismay
At the losing of one commander.
For God shall be your king this day,
And I'll ne gineral under". (12)

* Militia.

Compare this with the more purient and robust version:

"Dae ye mind yon day, the bonnie day,
The day of a' the slaughter,
The wee bulldog put on his clugs
And paddled in 'Boyne water',
Up to his knees in Fenian blood,
Up to his knees in slaughter.
The wee bulldog put on his clugs
And paddled in 'Boyne water'".

The very language of the unofficial version captures particularly well the quality of that phenomenon of 'combative sectarianism' within the LOI's rank and file. For this was in essence a commitment to pugnacious Protestantism, 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. In these circumstances the Grand Lodge's leadership was above all legitimated by action, by its ability to maintain a vigorous public profile in the face of restrictions imposed through statute and by-law.

This general situation, however, placed the Grand Lodge in a compelling dilemma, for to be seen to encourage violence and the infringement of the law by the more unruly rank and file members would be invidious to the standing it sought for the LOI in Scotland in the religious and political establishments. Yet an equally portentous risk of scism, and discipline problems were also presented by inactivity. The discontent of plebeian Orangemen in Belfast in similar circumstances, as Patterson indicates was even translated into class terminology. (13) This may also have been the case in Liverpool where Pastor Wise demanded a rejuvenated Orange Order "free from aristocratic shackles and advancing progressive policies and Protestant rights". (14) In these examples a militant populism

could be asserted which cast the rank and file as the real repository of 'true blue' Protestantism, and found in the effete 'milk and water' Protestantism of the Grand Lodge, a ruling class or patrician 'betrayal' of the cause in its reluctance to press it home in politics or on the streets.

The Grand Lodge's Composition in Scotland

To some extent the predominantly petty bourgeois and artisan composition of this body placed it in better stead to face such difficulties than its counterpart in Ireland, although almost certainly it would not have appeared to Orange contemporaries in this light, to whom the lack of a significant aristocracy, gentry or even industrial bourgeois participation must have seemed a grievous handicap, and a further sad indicator of the movement's relative weakness in Scotland.

Again in this context fact has to be separated from the official accounts, which stress the involvement of notables from the 1870's - or, in Cloughley's case, "a better class of candidate from the 1890's". (15)

Thus, Johnstone of Ballykillbeg enthused at the November soiree of 1876 that "he was glad to find now in Scotland such men as the Grand Master, Chalmers I. Paton, coming forward manfully and boldly to vindicate the principles of the Order, but he could not forget many a time when he had been present at Orange soirees in the City Hall, how loyal and true men in the artisan and labouring classes so long and resolutely held up the Orange banner when the gentry were few in their midst". (16)

The accession of C.I. Paton to the leadership in 1875 was clearly

seen as a great coup. A lineal descendant of that famous Captain Paton of the Covenanting army", (17) he reviewed his troops on horse back at the 12th parades "encouraging them to order and regularity". (18) Beneath the gloss of rhetoric, however, the contrast should not be overstressed between the situation in the latter part of the century and the 1840's-50's". (19) Paton had an estate at Belstane, but his gentry status was funded by his fine art firm in Edinburgh, which he apparently inherited from his father, who had been a carver and gilder by Royal Warrant. Of the other leading Grand Lodge personalities of the 1870's and 80's, George McLeod, Past MWGM, was a tartan merchant; Thomas Macklin, GS, was professor of Latin and Greek (not at Glasgow University but at the less prestigious Andersons College); and Thomas Wetherall, DGM, was proprietor of a cutler's firm having "risen from the ranks". (20) One of the few full listings of the Grand Lodge in 1875 at a special meeting commemorating the Battle of the Diamond, breaks down similarly, showing a strong petty bourgeois/professional predominance. Of 26 names the 15 which could be located fitted this description. As well as McLeod, Macklin and Wetherall, they included: an accountant, a clerk, two shop keepers, a steamship agent, a plumber, a teacher, an insurance agent, two clergymen and a plasterer. The others may have been recent arrivals in the west of Scotland and not included in directories or electoral registers, or representatives from more outlying Orange outposts. (21)

With Paton's death in October 1889 Bro. Edward Saunderson M.P. for South Down became MWGM, but again no overall change in class basis is evident. Till his death in 1906 Saunderson remained as much a figurehead as the Earl of Enniskillen had been in the 1830's, and

indeed through genuine ill health or design hardly attended any public celebrations in Scotland. (22) His duties fell by default to William Young DM, a tailor, who eventually became MWGM; James Rice GS, a housepainter; and James McManus, an insurance collector.

This is not to suggest that there were no active attempts by the Grand Lodge to attract a similar gentry affiliation to Ireland. Such attempts crystallised around the formation of Lodge No. 690 'Beaconfield's Purple Guards' in 1880. This was apparently intended to function along similar lines to the 'gentlemen's Lodge' in the 1830's 'The Royal Gordon', as a more viable incentive to upper class membership than the usual 'plebeian' lodges, as well as a device to strengthen Orange and Tory links. Certainly at a meeting and dinner held in connection with it in 1881 the Grand Lodge had been ambitious in its platform invitations and had gathered a brace of Unionist luminaries. Paton chaired the meeting, supported, for example, by Col. Archibald Campbell, later Lord Blythswood; Sir William and Lady Baillie of Polkemmet; Mr. Ashmead Bartlett MP; Col. Lloyd MP, Co. Monaghan; W.E. McCartney MP, Co. Tyrone; E.S.D. Cobaine, County Grand Master (CGM), Belfast - with apologies from the Duke of Manchester, the Duke of Munster and the Duke of Enniskillen. (23) At its first soiree the chairman, Allan Gilmour, heir to an estate at Eaglesham, proclaimed "whether we call ourselves Tories or Conservatives Orangemen or Loyalists let us be found side by side and fighting against one common foe...and under one common banner - the banner of loyalty, and in defence of our common cause the Crown, which we adore, the Church which we venerate, and the Constitution which we are determined to defend." (24) At last in November of 1881, an 'extraordinary and

special' meeting was held to initiate 'two prominent gentlemen', at which the lodges worthy Master (W.M.) Samuel Geddes was able to rejoice, "The time was...when to be an Orangeman was to be everything low and disgraceful. He was looked down upon by all persons and associations...but now we are entered into a better and brighter era. How so? Simply because we are getting men into our ranks, who are able to lead us, men of education, principle and ability". (25)

Such developments must be viewed soberly, however. "Two prominent recruits" in over a year's existence, when Ireland was again becoming a major issue in British politics is not particularly impressive. Geddes, moreover, who continued as Master of the Lodge and became an Honorary Deputy Grand Master (HDGM) in 1883 was himself of fairly lowly origin, working as a commercial traveller in the Partick area. We are not informed who the two gentlemen were. One possible recruit was Gilmour who was certainly listed as an HDGM at the soiree of 1884, and was active in chairing meetings on the Irish question under Orange auspices. His public links with the Order seem to have lapsed swiftly with his adoption as parliamentary candidate for East Renfrewshire in 1885. The involvement of William Whitelaw, briefly MP for Perth in 1892 and son of Alexander Whitelaw MP for Glasgow in 1874, who was definitely initiated at a youthful age around 1888 followed a similar downward trajectory with increased political involvement.

Another possible recruit, though, may have been Col. Campbell of Blythswood, President of Glasgow Conservative Association, Lord Lieutenant of Renfrewshire and ADC to Queen Victoria, who was a prominent figure at Orange soirees, regularly chairing the event in Paisley from the 1870's onwards. Yet while it is plausible that he

may have taken the step of actually becoming an Orangeman, and while it is his involvement which approximates most closely to aristocratic patronage of the Order, even here this 'patronage' is qualitatively different from that, for example, of the Duke of Gordon, who was at least willing to become titular head of the Scottish movement in the 1830's or from that of the Irish magnates such as Roden and Enniskilling, who had a great deal more unreserved role in the promotion of the LOI. Apart from guesting at the November soirees Col. Campbell was not apparently involved in the counsels of the Grand Lodge or even the Paisley District Lodge, nor did he appear on 12th platforms. If indeed he had been cast in the Irish mould, it would not have been at all surprising for him to adopt the MWGM position on C.I. Paton's demise, thus avoiding the need to import Col. Saunderson as a figurehead.

Disappointment over the Scottish gentry's failure to affiliate to the cause also served to compound a very basic problem for the movement here. The simple fact was, as previously suggested, that the migration of Protestants from Ireland had been to pre-arranged skilled and semi-skilled work in the Scottish labour market, thus filling only rank and file positions in the LOI. Some 'middle ranking' Orangemen, District Masters and Secretaries, for example, and 'Orange' clergymen like the Rev. Robert Gault, were also included, and like Wetherall rapidly assumed pivotal status in the Scottish Grand Lodge. Crucially, however, the class structure of Ulster was not fully reproduced, for the Irish gentry who had been the traditional patrons of the Institution were not part of the migration.

To return to the dilemma set out above between condoning militant

Protestantism and threatening integration into Scottish society; or condemning it and risking class conflict within the Order on a Belfast or Liverpool model, the absence of overt ruling class (and particularly aristocratic) involvement in the Scottish Grand Lodge may well have mitigated against the sharpest expressions of internal class friction. The Grand Lodge in Scotland, indeed, had more in common in its petty bourgeois class composition with the dissident and populist Orange and Protestant Workers' Association, led by William Johnstone of Ballykillbeg, than with the Irish Grand Lodge, which the OPWA berated for its distaste of violence and of the 'true blue' defence of Protestant rights. (26)

This is by no means to suggest that the overall dilemma was successfully solved in Scotland by the lesser disjuncture between the class basis of the Scottish leadership and rank and file. Internal tensions although rather muted were still in evidence, and it seems that the Scottish Grand Lodge could still assume 'patrician' airs with a fastidious concern for the conduct of some of its rank and file.

In general, the tensions and actual conflicts which did arise were waged, firstly, around the rough/respectable axis and, secondly, over the Grand Lodge's strategy in the political area. Nor were they always reducible in a simple sense to explicit class positions. Class antagonisms did at times occur, but it would be wrong to assume that they followed the form of a petty bourgeois, artisan (hence respectable) Grand Lodge against an unskilled (hence rough) rank and file. Besides, this would contradict the empirical evidence of the class basis of the mass of the LOI's membership. The truth was apparently a great deal more complex, probably with tensions over

conduct within the rank and file, regardless of boundaries of skill. There may even have been tacit support for 'combative sectarianism' from some members of the Grand Lodge.

To distinguish why struggle was waged around the rough/respectable division, we must again return to the generally unsavoury reputation which the LOI had acquired by the 1860's. Another 'Glasgow News' editorial, this time of 1878, convincingly captures, for example, the problem presented by bourgeois opinion of the 12th celebrations:

"They disgrace society and originate evils of a particularly far reaching kind. They pander to ignorance and intolerance and excite political animosity and sectarian hate.

They are at best a mischievous anachronism alike degrading and disgraceful - a splendid testimony to our perfect freedom but a sad example of the way even freedom can be abused". (27)

To this must again be coupled a more general feature of 19th century Scottish society, a certain ethos of 'respectability' which animated both bourgeoisie and some members of the working class. This had definite historical roots in the development of the Scottish proto-state and the special position within this of the Scottish religious establishment. In short, an immense challenge was posed to the Grand Lodge in tailoring the LOI to such conditions, and in remonstrating to this effect with the 'rough' element of its mass membership.

Policy: 'Each day an Orangeman'

For analytic convenience, we may differentiate here between concrete actions taken by the Grand Lodge in this context and the more general injunctions and exhortations issuing from various platforms from the

late 1860's. Throughout here attempts to combat the triple pitfalls of 'Irishness', drunkenness and violence are prominently intertwined.

Definite measures, for example, ranged from the awarding of 'Orange essay prizes' in schools for the best writers on the subject of Protestantism, ⁽²⁹⁾ to developing control over public activities, and the establishment of boards of enquiry over alleged Orange rowdiness.

As regards the 12th parades, in the 1860's these had been restricted in many areas including Glasgow by legal prohibitions for fear of violent outbreaks - though significantly the Grand Lodge had also participated in this respect. In Glasgow in 1869, for instance, it "discouraged processions and outward manifestations on the eventful day so that none of the brethren might come into contact with their hereditary enemies or break the law regarding party processions". ⁽³⁰⁾ The Lodge gave instructions along these lines on the understanding that the Sheriff should not issue any prohibitory proclamation.

Clearly some areas seem to have suffered under this regime 'a very feeble attempt' being reported at Maybole, a previous stronghold, to resuscitate the defunct Orange Movement in the locality. ⁽³¹⁾ In 1867 even the normally ebullient Airdrie Orangemen were forced to hold their 12th celebrations indoors. ⁽³²⁾

Some alternative, though, was provided by the soirees held on or around the 5th of November in Lodge rooms and public halls to commemorate the failure of the Gunpowder Plot. Earlier versions had apparently been extremely convivial, but from the late 1860's temperance principles operated. As Sir James Bain commented at the 1879 event "This is not the first Orange meeting I have been at. I was at an Orange supper thirty years ago. But how different a supper

is our gathering tonight. Then the drink was hot punch - now it is the cup that cheers but not inebriates, now wives and sweethearts are present and children too - the Orange infantry....". (33)

Conservative notables and church ministers are indeed far more frequently found on the platform here than at the traditional 12th walks.

The circumstances surrounding the resumption of these walks in 1872 at Glasgow, provide a further good indicator of the leadership's eagerness for co-operation with the authorities and their desire to accord with accepted standards of legitimate and responsible behaviour. (34)

"Arrangements made by the Heads of the Orange Party", responded the Glasgow Herald, "evidenced so strong a desire to observe order that the authorities deemed it inadvisable to interfere and they only stipulated that the route of march should be kept strictly private and there be no party tunes in the street. All of which was strictly adhered to". (35)

T.H. Stewart, secretary of the committee of the Orange Procession, for his part wrote "to tender our sincere thanks to Mr. McCall, Chief Constable, for the impartial and faithful manner in which he followed his official duties along the route of the procession". In conclusion, he stated "whilst we as a body of loyal patriotic men asserted our right yesterday to walk in public procession on William's day, our chief desire was to give offence to none and be slow to take it". (36)

Where, however, events passed less peaceably, such as the rioting which surrounded the celebration of Daniel O'Connell's birthday in Partick in 1875, speedy action was taken to vindicate the character of the lodges. A week after the incident the Partick Orangemen met to discuss Provost Thompson and the Liberal press's allegations about their

role in the disorder. Bro. Alex. McAllister in the chair affirmed that the individual who had pulled down the Home Rule flag was not an Orangeman, nor were onlookers who came into contact with the Roman Catholic processionists. He claimed rather that the Orangemen had been asked by the police to render them assistance and only marshalled themselves into military formation to distinguish themselves from the lawless mob. He went on to rail at "the public press who were attempting to raise general feeling against a brotherhood of men whose only crime is that they are ardently loyal to Reformation principles and law and order...". (37)

The Grand Lodge also seems to have been much concerned over this incident and instigated a commission of enquiry chaired by C.I. Paton. This reported the following month, determining to its own satisfaction that "no Orangeman had anything to do with the inciting of the Partick riots", and repeated its demand to Provost Thompson and the press to make good or retract their statements. (38) Similarly, in 1876 following disturbances in Springburn, (39) an Orange meeting, with T.H. Stewart presiding, demanded a retraction and even threatened legal proceeding against the 'Evening Citizen' which claimed that Orangemen had originated the trouble. 'They considered that the character of the Springburn Orangemen had been slandered' (sic) (40)

Such initiatives are complemented by recurrent themes in Grand Lodge 'speechifying'. Most importantly these indicate the adeptness of the Scottish leadership in maintaining a delicate balance between the desire for 'respectable' status, and the pressing need to slake the most violent anti-Roman Catholic sentiments of the rank and file. Unlike many of their aristocratic Irish counterparts, men like McLeod Macklin

displayed little well-bred disdain for the traditional 'No Popery' concern of the Order, but indeed communicated it with a passionate commitment, dear to the hearts of their listeners.

At the November soiree of 1867, for example, the Rev. Gault delivered a stirring speech which the Glasgow Herald termed as 'offensive', moving it to criticise the whole event as 'unworthy of the name of religion under whose banner it was held' and 'liable to excite the bitterest and worst feelings of other sections of the community'. (41)

"Declaring his vigorous support for Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel he thought that when he read the intelligence the Pope was very much like an old fox" (boos and hisses from the crowd). "That day he declared is not far off when Papist Rome would fall and the banner of the Lord Jesus Christ wave over the Eternal City, and we will be able to march on Rome and strangle the old serpent in his den. His audience were not to suppose from his language that he had any hostility for the priests and people of the Church of Rome...". But rather contradicting this statement he moved on. "He wanted William III's statue to be placed in West End Park with an English inscription for the benefit of his Roman Catholic neighbours". He also linked the Roman Catholic community with the Fenian movement "suppose they come out into the sunlight like real men, they would have to encounter the Fermanagh True Blues" (Cheers). He concluded in the usual style. "I would stand tomorrow and fight for the liberties of my native land, stand as my fathers have done on the walls of 'Derry and do battle rather than Cardinal Cullen and Archbishop Manning (more boos and hisses) or any of the serpent brood of the Pope should have my beloved country and render that land, a land of darkness and spiritual

destitution". (42)

Yet interwoven with such traditional tub-thumping oratory was, for example, a more pragmatic concern, increasingly embraced by the Grand Lodge in its attempts to improve the movement's standing from the 1860's, namely that of mitigating the LOI's impression as an 'alien' movement in the Scottish context.

Thus, "The statue of William III at Glasgow Cross was erected in 1735, a year before the Boyne Monument so that at that time Scotland was in advance of Ireland. Now the heart of Scotland is in a great measure solid for this people suffered more than any other in the United Kingdom from the consequences of Popery". Gault finally concluded that, "a man was not worthy to be called a Scotsman, nor woman, a Scotswoman who did not commemorate in some form the Battle of the Boyne (cheers). Scotland stands forever for the Protestant ascendancy." (43)

This concern continued through the 1870's and 80's and beyond, being particularly prominent in orators' attempts to stress the anti-papal element in Scottish history and link this to events in Irish history and the Glorious Revolution. C.I. Paton, for instance, as befitted his distinguished forbear, frequently invoked the Covenanters in this respect. "It was for no insignificant question", he proclaimed on the 1879 12th Platform, "that they struggled, they contended and they suffered, but for the right to worship God according to their own conscience and to the commandments given in His Word. They contended for the right of freely hearing and preaching the true Gospel....If they had failed the British Isles would have been mere vassal kingdoms of the Pope. The struggle ending in the battle of the

Boyne, however, secured to them, who had been persecuted by Claverhouse and his troopers in the wild moors in which they sought refuge, as truly as it was the crowning victory of the brave defenders of Innskillen and Londonderry." (44)

Even more than the reinterpretation of Scottish history, however, it was the personal conduct of the rank and file Orangemen which was of consummate interest to the leadership. The purpose of the 1877 12th display was explicitly stated by McLeod, "we wish to make recruits. We wish people to take note of Orangeism and our demonstrations draw attention to it...and through that we will receive accessions to our numbers (Applause and a voice: and you will get them)". Accordingly, H.D.M. Wetherall entreated them to end the day in a peaceable and orderly manner and to do nothing which would injure their cause. "In the factory and in the mine, in the workshop, in the country house, behind their counters in every capacity and relationship of life, they should never forget their principles but show they recognised the duties devolving on them". They were further advised on leaving Glasgow Green to roll up their flags and take off their colours "so in no way to offer provocation to their opponents". (45)

Particularly worrying to the Grand Lodge on such public occasions was, of course, the prospect of drunkenness among their membership. Thus Johnstone of Ballykillbeg in 1884 strongly advocated for members the advisability of joining the Blue Ribbon (temperance) movement. "They would not be worse Orangemen on account of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks". (46)

The optimistic vision of Orangeism as an agent of actual moral improvement, and entirely coincident with the respectability ethos, had

been most powerfully expressed in Paton's speech at the regular Grand Lodge meeting the same year. The Institution he hoped, "exercises a beneficial influence on its members and through them on their families...and fulfills its great purpose of promoting the interests of Protestantism...in the land - in other words the cause of truth spiritual enlightenment and moral improvement, of peace, order and good government, of the true liberty of all that tends to God's glory and man's welfare".

"Our lodges", he went on "do not serve their proper purpose if wives at home have any cause to regret our attendance at Lodge meetings and if they do not find that their home is the happier because of it and every duty of home life is more perfectly discharged. Such ought to be the effect of the instructions received in the Lodges and of intercourse with brethren; such will certainly always be the effect of the principles of Orangeism really embraced".

He had, moreover, a clear conception of how this should be accomplished in the lower ranks.

"worshipful Masters of Lodges will allow me to remind them that the prosperity and usefulness of Lodges depend on them, on their sedulous attention to duty and their constant care that the Lodge shall always be well employed during the whole time of their meeting, that nothing shall be allowed which is contrary to our laws and constitution but that these shall be faithfully observed to the utmost degree possible in every particular. District Masters also have it in their power to do much for the general good of our body, by visiting the Lodges of their district in a kindly and brotherly way - to stimulate and encourage them, to correct any irregularities and errors which might have crept in and to make suggestions for improvement and here let me entreat every brother...to be regular in attending at public worship and in the observance of all religious duties and especially to be strict and careful in the santification of the sabbath and diligent in the reading of the Bible".
(Author's emphasis)

With some business acumen he directed that his own "Catechism of the Principles of Protestantism" was to be "put into the hands of every new member and candidates shall not advance to the Purple without a thorough knowledge of it". (47)

Characteristically, however, this message was sweetened for the ordinary Orangeman by the usual strictures on "the great danger of the power of the papacy", "dark and ominous signs" of its continuing encroachments being discovered in ritualism in the Church of England. (48)

From the 1870's additional motivation for an improvement in conduct came, as will be illustrated in the following chapters, from increasing involvement with the Scottish Conservatives. It is fitting then to conclude this section with the speech of the Tory partisan, Col. Campbell, in 1879 to the Orangemen of Paisley. The gallant colonel's advice must have struck home eloquently to the Grand Lodge, if not to all of his audience.

"Their principles (the Orangemen) being based on a sound foundation, they would do more to draw others towards them by moderation than any other way and they would in that way strengthen the Order. It might be hard for some of the fiery spirits to do as he advised, he admonished such men, they did as well as they possibly could. But from experience he could say that exuberance of spirits might better be shown by moderation than by an ostentatious display of their principles in public, and he trusted that the reproaches which had occasionally been thrown at Protestants would be withdrawn on account of the moderation shown in following the principles which Protestants subscribed to on becoming members of the great Orange society". (49) (Author's emphasis).

Outcome of Policy

It is not easy to give a balanced assessment of the success of Grand Lodge policy from the late 1860's. In seeking to reduce the

alien quality of the Order its effects seem limited by the simple fact that by and large it was an Irish movement. Many of its members and officebearers were from Ulster, it was above all built around events in Irish history, albeit in the context of the Glorious Revolution, and as the 1880's progressed it increasingly identified itself with issues surrounding Irish Home Rule. The R.B.P. indeed continued to be under the direct jurisdiction of the Grand Black Chapter of Ireland. (50)

The policy was probably more successful in muting the Institution's reputation for collective lawlessness. Sectarian outbursts did certainly persist, particularly, as noted above, when Orange bands invaded Roman Catholic 'territory', but apart from the Partick riot in 1875 (the last time the Riot Act was read in Scotland), large scale clashes were mostly absent. One might compare Liverpool where such incidents were common throughout the late 19th century and where as late as 1902, for example, thousands of Orange marchers joined battle with Irish Roman Catholics at Seaforth. (51)

Yet while in the Scottish case the Grand Lodge was able to secure a remission from large scale violent activity, it was particularly the conduct of the individual Orangemen which remained a problem and a source of internal friction.

It is interesting to note, for instance, that at the 1877 celebrations when Wetherall had made his pleas for his audience to hold true to their principles, already, "some of them were observed slipping away from the ranks and making tracks, early in the day as it was for convenient public houses", and "A few others demonstrated by their hilarious conduct that they had already been imbibing even earlier". (52)

Indeed, the very frequency of such pleas throughout the period of study is perhaps the most eloquent testimony to their efficacy. The newspapers often with great relish noted that only 200 or 300 out of several thousand marchers actually gathered round the platform to listen to Grand Lodge speakers. In 1874 "the vast majority preferred other enjoyment, mainly dancing". (53) In 1877 at Patna 3 to 4,000 mustered and the C.G.M. for Ayrshire delivered an uplifting address on the history and principles of Orangeism. There were, however, other competing attractions, for "a tent for the sale of intoxicating liquor had been erected and judging by the appearance of many of the brethren on the homeward journey it had been well patronised". (54)

Compared with the situations in Belfast and Liverpool, examined in Chapter 4, such dissent from Grand Lodge policy in Scotland, as suggested, appears to have assumed a less organised and institutional form. In analysing the extent to which these conflicts over conduct also contained an element of class conflict, even of an essentially limited nature, as witnessed in Belfast, considerable caution is necessary. For the danger here is of extracting from rather unwilling evidence to fit some preconceived notion of what form and extent class conflict within the Order should take, and perhaps too readily mould Scottish experience to fit Patterson's analysis.

To move on, for example, a further source for more defined conflict was apparently dissatisfaction with the Grand Lodge's internal structure and its attempts to champion 'Protestant issues' in politics. Tensions in the 1870's focus around the person of William Yuille, interestingly himself then a member of the Grand Lodge of the Orange Association and possibly the same W. Yuille, a Glasgow storeman,

who had been on the Conservative Candidate, Whitelaw's, election committee in 1874.

His public criticism of the LOI leadership, as it stood, began at the annual soiree of LOL. No. 110 Enniskillen. Anticipating the revised constitution by over a year he advocated "frequent periodic changes specially in masterships as more likely to ensure strength and enthusiasm in subordinate lodges". (55) Crucially he suggested this should also be the case in the Districts and Grand Lodge. He was, moreover, discontented with the Order's efficiency as a political weapon for - as will be detailed later - the Grand Lodge had been content at the 1874 election as it was for most of the 19th century and early 20th century to work behind in a rather deferential manner existing political forces, namely the Conservative party in Scotland, rather than assert itself as an independent political power.

As opposed to this lukewarm defence of Protestantism Yuille felt the Order should be radically reconstructed "to make its influence felt throughout the length and breadth of the land". "The organisation should be developed so as to tell heavily on the elections of the city (Glasgow) and compel Romanist and infidel sections on the community to feel the strength of Orangeism in defence of the Protestant cause". (56)

At the next soiree he continued his critique of the Grand Lodge,

"...at least during the preceding year progress had been made and the Grand Lodge were beginning to consider what means would benefit the Order in Scotland....For some time past, however, they had almost thought their laws unalterable and infallible. They were perfect so far as the Word of God was concerned, but there were other things apart from that. (57).

Now, perhaps some similarities here may be drawn between Yuille's

initiatives and those of populist Orangeism in Belfast in the same period, as expressed in the OPWA, with its view of action as the legitimating function of the Grand Lodge. Yet, to raise a previous point, the absence of easily assailable aristocratic and gentry targets mean that the language of class conflict is absent in Yuille's attack. This instead takes a more undifferentiated form which focuses on a fear of betrayal of the rank and file by the leadership's lack of commitment. Yuille may eventually have developed a more general class-based critique but this was probably at one stage removed from the Grand Lodge itself, being more concerned with their dependence on Conservative magnates and failure to develop their own election initiatives.

At the School Board elections of 1876, for example, the Orange Association of Scotland's Grand Lodge again avoided running an independent 'orange' candidate and threw their weight behind the 'Establishment' 'Use and wont' candidates*, including many Conservative notables such as J.N. Cuthbertson and the Rev. Dodds, and behind the general 'Protestant' candidate, H.A. Long. Yuille, however, seems to have dissented and actually chaired the election committee of the rival Orange Institution of Great Britain candidate, Robert Mitchell, who was eventually defeated. (58) At a subsequent meeting which Yuille chaired, a large part of Mitchell's defeat was attributed to the Glasgow News "a paper which had no other object in view...than the maintaining of the aristocratic people of the city"... "No matter what subject they take up whether it is the labour question or the

* In favour of the traditional emphasis on scriptural as well as secular teaching (see Chapter 11).

temperance question, it is always answered as, 'Is this on the side of the aristocracy or democracy'". (59) From this time Yuille drops out of top level Orange activity.

Following this episode, conflicts going beyond the general and persistent tensions between rough and respectable approaches are fairly isolated and sporadic. In Greenock, where indeed Johnstone of Ballykillbeg was a most popular guest, anti-aristocratic sentiment could be displayed but crucially this was directed towards the Irish aristocracy. At the 1880 soiree Mr. John Fergusson, for example, commented "that all here aristocracy dealt with the Protestant yeomanry of Ireland...as providence and justice demanded, their descendants in the South and West would now be surrounded by a phalanx of loyal hearts instead of being a proscribed race and targets for the bullets of the lurking assassin. Like other people in high places they have been too timeserving in their generation". (60)

Perhaps the best aid, however, to conceptualise later LOI conflicts in Scotland as compared with Belfast, for example, is to examine the reception given to the Independent Orange Order (I.O.O.) in the early 20th century - often treated as one of the clearest instances of class conflict in the Protestant bloc. In Scotland, though, we see the need for independent Protestant defence and the attack on an unconditional alliance with the Conservatives, by this stage, and unlike the 1870's, spearheaded by the Grand Lodge itself.

Similar sentiments to those which animated the I.O.O. do seem to have been present in Scotland at the turn of the century. The Irish Protestant, for example, the I.O.O. paper, was sold at a number of outlets, (61) and carried such news as the founding of the Springburn

Protestant Association and the discovery of 'ritualist rats' in the Church of Scotland. (62)

In 1904 it carried a sympathetic letter from one, S.M. McConkey, which expresses well an average Orangeman's discontent. An Irishman, and a sound Protestant and for over twenty years a member of the LOI, it seemed to him that

"the whole energy of members of the Order is spent on contentions among themselves for place and power in the Order and when men get into place and power they simply become dumb ornaments....The rank and file on the other hand do not, on pain of expulsion, make public attempt to defeat the principles of Orangeism. Intelligence, especially in Scotland seems to be a crime, as no man can move without permission of the Grand Lodge which meets only twice a year. It would be well for the Order at large if we could copy the actions of our independent brethren in Ulster whose actions are worthy of praise". (63)

Yet, such discontent in Scotland was still not expressed in institutional terms, for the example of the I.O.O. was not copied. Sloan, for example, boasted of I.O.O. outposts in England and America but without a mention of Scotland, and Col. Wallace, C.G.M. Belfast, was able to congratulate the official LOI accordingly.

"The outposts of the loyalists of Ireland are the members of the Orange Institution and it does us good to see how our Scottish brethren are right in front of the fighting line....I say the men who propound such a doctrine [the I.O.O.'s manifesto] are lundies* pure and simple and as such demand the contempt of all Orangemen. Orangemen will shake them off as a dog shakes his ears when he leaps from water to the land....When the I.O.O. started in 1903 Scottish Orangemen repudiated them root and branch. Your Grand Lodge refused to acknowledge them. We owe you a vote of thanks". (64)

* Traitors. The term refers to Lundie, Governor of Londonderry who attempted to betray the city of James II.

Again important behind this course of events lay the lack of a significant patrician presence in the Grand Lodge. Rather, as suggested above, the Lodge was linked in a much more indirect way to the Scottish ruling class bloc through its general support for the Conservative party in Scotland. These circumstances were more propitious for the Scottish leadership of the LOI to again temper its ambitions for an improved standing here, with a public concern, at least in platform rhetoric, for safeguarding traditional 'Protestant Rights'.

At times this could even lead to a critique of and some distancing from the Conservative party itself. This is examined in detail in the next section for the period, up until 1900. But it is surely significant that at the very time when the challenge of the I.O.O. was being met, the Grand Lodge in Scotland was also pursuing its strongest line of 'Protestantism before Party'. At the July anniversary of 1904, for example, they sponsored the following resolution:

"that believing the time has come when every real Protestant must act independently of either of the great political parties, we hereby pledge to support in every possible way our Grand Lodge officers in the task they have undertaken viz, the forming and working of an independent Protestant organisation unfettered by Party ties and to act either with or against either party, in the interests of free Protestants".

In his speech in support, J.G. Hodgekinson, Grand Chaplain, explained they were not, however, deserting the Unionist cause, "They were and must be unionists..." and he was happy to say "the Orange Order did not intend to desert their colours (cheers). But there was a sense in which the leaders of both the great parties had been weighed in the balance and found wanting....Protestantism must be at the fore

front and everything else was secondary (hear, hear). The wanted men of strong determination...determined to shed their last drop of blood rather than Popery should gain the ascendancy again". (65)

That such initiatives came from within the Grand Lodge in Scotland is interesting, though perhaps one should consider the Irish Protestants' rather cynical comment on the Provincial Grand Chapter of Greenock's resolution in 1906 that "as a Protestant organisation we can no longer have confidence in the Conservative Party". This, Crawford's paper suggested, was in fact consistent with the Grand Lodge's reception of the dissident Liverpool Orangeman, Pastor George Wise, and was "intended only for public ears". (66)

In conclusion, however genuine, the Grand Lodge's concern for the familiar 'religious' emphasis of the Order, seems to have met with considerable success on this occasion, as in the past, in deflecting intra Orange conflict. Its attempts at rank and file regulation also lead on to wider theoretical issues.

Clearly, for example, the existence of internal tensions over competing definitions of respectability and unruliness and over political strategy, undermine the LOI's depiction, often in functional and conspiratorial interpretations derived from James Connolly, as a body of singular integrative significance.

In particular, the nature of leadership/rank and file relations indicate, firstly, how the most successful transmission of bourgeois ideology can come from the most complex and indirect agencies, where fragments of the dominant ideology are 'spontaneously' reproduced by members of the working class. Secondly, it would appear from this instance that the most viable forms of hegemony are those which are

able to take account of the working class's situation and aspirations. Direct control and too intrusive patronage would probably have meant a spoiling of legitimacy, and instead a subtle process of negotiation and definition ensued where the conditional independence of the organisation had to be preserved. In this context it is useful to re-emphasise finally the existence of a large democratic element in the Institution's structure, with all major offices secured by annual election; introducing the revised constitution of 1875, Col. Paton astutely observed. "The interests of the brotherhood were thus better attended to if the management of its affairs does not fall exclusively into the hands of a few". (67)

CHAPTER 8

Notes

1. Class Conflict and Sectarianism: The Protestant Working Class and the Belfast Labour Movement 1868-1920 (1981), p.85.
2. H.F. Moorhouse, op cit (1981).
3. J. Hamilton Muir (i.e. James Bone), Glasgow in 1901, pp.188-199.
4. See Chapter 1, note 5 for full example.
5. Members would usually be Orangemen and Lodges would hire them to accompany them on processions. They were often associated with a particular Lodge or District Lodge. 'Orange Bands' Interview and transcript, John McFarland 8/10/84.
6. GN, 29/7/1878.
7. GN, 15/7/1879.
8. GN, 9/5/1881.
9. The matter finally reached the High Court in Edinburgh with the Gartness Band Case in 1906. Glasgow Herald 20/21/6/1906. D. Carson, a miner, had been arrested when marching with the Gartness Flute Band on the 12th at Shotts in 1905. (They had marched through Holytown playing 'Kick the Pope' and 'The Protestant Boys'). He sued police for wrongful arrest, claiming their action arose from an arbitrary determination to stop Orange processions, the question at stake being the right of the public to form a procession so long as they were not endangering public safety. The Court found in favour of the defendants (the police).
10. The Baillie, 5/6/1878. GN, 17/10/1877 provides a 'classic' incident of the type in Kinning Park.
11. Orange Songs, New Edinburgh Review, No. 17, 1972.
12. The Orange Songster, Neil Graham. Printed in Glasgow n.d. In Linen Hall Belfast. Also Orange Songs compiled by W. Peake, Belfast, n.d.
13. Patterson (1981), loc cit.
14. P.J. Waller, op cit (1981).
15. Belfast Weekly News, 28/11/1929.
16. GN, 4/11/76.
17. GN, 13/7/75.

18. GN, 13/7/78.
19. See Chapter 4.
20. See biographical index for details.
21. GN, 23/9/1875. Glasgow, Paisley and Greenock Directories and Registers were consulted. See also bibliographical index for occupations of leading Grand Lodge officebearers throughout the period of study.
22. Letter of apology for inability to attend 12th in first year as MWGM 1890 also 1891, 92 and 93. GH, 14/7/1896, 11/7/91, 13/7/93. He does, however, manage to attend the more sedate November soirees in 1892, 93 and 94. (For the 12th/soiree distinction see below).
23. GN, 22/10/81.
24. GN, 4/11/81.
25. GN, 29/1/82.
26. Patterson, op cit (1981), Chapter 4, 'Origins of Populist Orangeism 1868-85' passim.
27. GN, 27/7/78.
28. Thomas Wetherall's plea for respectability at the 12th display of 1880. They were to live each day as Orangemen, i.e. live up to their laws and principles. For "they could not expect the Institution to have an influence on society unless the members of the Institution were such as the laws of the Institution declared they must be". GN, 12/7/80.
29. Rev. McNaught was voted £5 annually for 6 years to be distributed as prizes. GN, 4/11/76.
30. North British Daily Mail, 14/7/70.
31. NBDM, 14/7/70.
32. NBDM, 13/7/66, 13/7/67.
33. GN, 8/11/79. Col. Saunderson was less impressed by the Soiree of November 7, 1890. "We have had a great meeting, the largest they have ever had in Glasgow, Crichton [the Earl of Erne] was much pleased with my speech - I was not. It was a difficult audience to speak to, owing to women and babies; the latter caterwauled at the wrong time which is trying to an orator". R. Lucas, Col. Saunderson MP: A Memoir (1908), p.169.
34. See Chapter 5 for form of these parades.

35. GH, 14/7/72.
36. GH, 16/7/72.
37. GN, 10/8/75, 11/8/75. Trial of rioters 11/8/75. Orange meeting 17/8/75.
38. 8/9/75.
39. GN, 12/8/76.
40. GN, 16/8/76.
41. GH, 5/11/67.
42. Ibid.
43. GH, 6/11/69.
44. GN, 13/7/79.
45. GN, 13/7/77.
46. GN, 4/11/82.
47. GN, 13/6/85.
48. Ibid
49. GN, 8/11/79.
50. A. McClelland, The Origin of the Imperial Black Chapter of the British Commonwealth, Journal of Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Vol. 98, Pt. 2 (1968).
51. Waller, op cit (1981), p.192.
52. GH, 13/7/77.
53. GN, 13/7/74.
54. GH, 13/7/77.
55. GN, 5/1/75.
56. Ibid.
57. GN, 4/1/76.
58. He got 2374 votes, a close runner up. GN, 30/3/76.
59. GN, 3/4/76.

60. Greenock Telegraph, 8/11/80.
61. W. Love, 22 Argyll Street, Glasgow; T. Kerr, Eastfield House, Dumbarton; D. McIntosh, Edinburgh and W. Ramsay, Edinburgh. Source 'The Irish Protestant'.
62. The Irish Protestant (IP), Vol. III, March 1903, 26/12/1903.
63. IP, 100/9/1904.
64. IP, 25/11/1905.
65. IP, 16/7/1904.
66. IP, 13/1/1906.
67. GN, 18/12/75. C.I. Paton was re-elected in the June of that year. At the September Grand Lodge meeting he received his seals of office and was presented with a medal, incorporating an equilateral triangle - 'the three sides representing Order, Truth and Love'. GN, 23/9/75.

SECTION 3

SCOTTISH ORANGEISM AND POLITICAL PRACTICE

General Introduction

The preceding chapter discussed the internal politics of Orangeism, the task in this section is to examine the Movement's interaction with external political forces. This, of course, bears further on the question of the Order's general standing in the Scottish social formation, but is also integral to the theme of Orangeism and class relations, for it entails consideration of links over the whole period of study with the historical bloc of gentry and commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, who dominated the Conservative, and later the Liberal Unionist, parties in Scotland.

Some initial analytical and conceptual guidelines will be offered in this general introduction. As indicated above, for instance, the general analysis of the LOI throughout this study is underpinned by a problematic in which are implicit a structural theory of ideology and complementary focus on the concept of hegemony. In particular it was suggested bourgeois hegemony achieves its most effective communication indirectly through complex bodies like the LOI, and that in turn the Order, although apparently corresponding to the dominant ideology, actually reproduced 'spontaneously' a very distinctive version of this in harmony with its own demands and practices; thus it appeared as an incomprehensible and even threatening phenomenon to most sections of the Scottish ruling class.

While assuming this general direction the following discussion must also invoke Gramsci's (and indeed Marx's) original view of a dialectical system in which consent and control are intimately related. Whatever way this is expressed - the active 'organisation of

consent' etc., two points should become clear from the empirical material. First, the 'spontaneity' noted above always operated within the definite limits set by the structural inequality of power rooted in the capitalist mode of production in 19th century Scotland. It is to our cost, amid the more rarified formulations of ideology, to forget Marx's basic observation that, "The class which is the ruling material force is at the same time its ruling intellectual force...and has control over the means of mental production so that, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it...they rule also as thinkers and producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age...". (1) The Glasgow Conservatives, let us remember - however disunited and unsuccessful at times - were able to launch their own daily newspaper 'The Glasgow News' in 1873, a costly venture even in 19th century terms. (2)

Secondly, though, and distancing these remarks from a conspiratorial cast, it should be stressed that the extent of control is circumscribed, in the first instance, by the basic conditions of daily working class life. The dominant ideology cannot after all give a convincing account of every aspect of social experience. To take up 'The News' example again, not even the ample financial resources of Conservative notables, J.A. Campbell and James King of Levenholm, could bolster the paper's weak circulation. Far more popular among the working class was the 'independent' and 'non partisan' Evening News. Slender in content it was brief and untaxing enough to be read after a day's work and reached a circulation of 72,950 in 1888. (3)

A number of further substantive considerations should also inform

the discussion. Conservative commonsense analysis, for instance, functions through traditional definitions and preconceived concepts usually attached to emotive images. In the 19th century the string of associations came easily, 'Crown', 'Constitution', 'Civil and Religious Liberty', 'the Protestant Religion'; and this whole 'True Blue' frame of reference was, of course, shared by the LOI. Yet it is vital to avoid fetishising the LOI's political practice here - whereby antipathy towards radical, or even liberal sentiments, and support for the Conservative party comes to be regarded as a natural, timeless phenomenon.

To take up an initial point, Conservatism itself was neither fixed nor monolithic, for while it is indeed 'less a political doctrine than a habit of mind, a mode of feeling, a way of living...'. (4) More soberly one might suggest that the construction of such a power bloc was not so much the effect of a subjective will or inclination of collective character as the product of conjunctural struggles and negotiation between classes and class fractions. The Conservative party was indeed a great deal more cohesive than its opponents, its funds derived in the largest part from the major territorial magnates in Scotland, Buccleuch and Hamilton for example; but one interesting development during most of the period under study is the evolution of Conservatism from its status as the old 'country party', as it was caricatured after the Free Trade debate of 1846, to the 'patriotic party of the 1880's and 90's with urban bourgeois support.

Perhaps most revealing, however, for the 'inevitability' of an Orange alliance is the Party's ancestry. It is debated, as McDowall indicates, whether it can be traced as a continuous tradition from the

English Civil War, or from Pitt and the great crisis of 1782-4, or even later from Lord Liverpool and Peel in the early 19th century. (5)

In fact, the term 'Tory' itself had originally meant an Irish Papist outlaw and was applied to those who supported James II (VII), despite his adherence to Rome. It was the Whigs, Liberals and Protestants who brought over William of Orange to Britain in 1688. Hill indeed suggests that although Tory loyalty to the house of Stewart was insufficient to raise the English countryside in 1745, the taint of Jacobitism and Catholicism was long felt in the party into the 1830's, when the great Catholic influence of the North was apparently placed on the side of the Conservatives. (6) Roman Catholics, he suggests, were only driven into the arms of the Whigs by the Tory refusal to grant emancipation (Daniel O'Connell being a Tory at heart) but in most other political and social questions they inclined towards the Conservatives. (7)

The paradox of LOI allegiance to the Conservative party in the 19th century was not lost on contemporaries. The moderate Liberal 'Glasgow Herald' gleefully commented in 1880

"...Orangemen turning their coats towards the Tories is a whimsical comedy. If the Orangemen had any political and historical *raison d'etre* it must be sought for its pure Whiggism - i.e. the revolutionary principles of 1688. Orangemen should be pure Whigs and Liberals rather than Tories. The latter party in the old days persecuted Protestants and especially Scottish Presbyterians....Orangemen we suppose resent the Liberal policy which gave justice to Ireland, militated a long period of religious monopoly and sectarian despotism and dealt out equal rights to all."

Orange support for the Tories 'the foes of civil and religious liberty', it re-emphasised, is "the strongest instance of political

blindness that this generation has witnessed". (8)

In reply to an earlier correspondent in similar vein who had suggested that William of Orange had in fact been "a republican, a Whig and a Presbyterian", Grand Master McLeod, floundering somewhat, had stated "that may be so but Orangeism has nothing to do with him in any of these characteristics, but as the deliverer of these lands...from tyranny and arbitrary power...". (9) He went on though to reveal much more pragmatic and contingent motives for seeking Conservative links, "Orangemen have nothing to do with the Whiggery or Toryism of William III they have to do only with the platform he established in 1690 and they will at all times support the political party who defended that platform, whatever name they may be known as politicians." In the context of the early 1870's and the aftermath of Irish disestablishment the religious issues contained here were of primary significance 'a National church, a national creed and national Christianity...' and therefore, "it is because the Conservatives as a party occupy this platform and have done so for many years past, the Orangemen claim to be their natural allies." (10)

Far from being a 'natural' one, McLeod's own words hint, and the analysis below will determine in detail, that this alliance had to be sought out, actively constructed, defined and redefined on both sides in accordance with definite historical circumstances, including the Home Rule and Scottish Disestablishment crises.

Moreover, the McLeod passage also suggests the fundamentally conditional nature of the relationship which resulted. On the one hand, dependent on several factors, including the position of the Roman Catholic Irish vote, the numerical strength of Orangeism in particular

localities, and the extent of the Institution's "respectable" status, the Conservatives both from sympathy and expediency patronised the political capacity of the LOI - while often fatally neglecting the central religious dimension. On the other hand, the LOI loyally supported the Conservative party as long as it was recognised to be the true champion of Protestantism: as the Rev. Robert Gault, G.C., commented "we must be on alert, and Protestants of every denomination must sink their peculiar differences that long may put in sound Protestant representatives for Glasgow. I don't care one farthing it be for Benjamin Disraeli or William Gladstone provided he is a sound Protestant. I don't care - and I call myself a progressive Conservative - unless the Conservative party conserves and strengthens sound Protestantism." (11) In particular when the Conservatives were in government and the dangers of Home Rule and Disestablishment were past, its record was open to continuous scrutiny over issues such as ritualism and convent inspection, of greater prurient interest to Orangemen than their patrician allies.

Finally, this conditional element - varying historically in extent but always in evidence during the period of study - raises another, more general, point. Namely it suggests that while the dominant classes can prescribe and proscribe the mental and structural limits within which subordinate classes 'live', their incorporation cannot be total. The latter group has its own objective basis in the system of production relations. It has, too, its own distinctive forms of social life and class practices - and in the case of the LOI a particularly powerful and cohesive structure - which are separate, albeit contained.

INTRODUCTION

Notes

1. German Ideology (1965), p.60.
2. I.G.C. Hutchison, Ph.D. (1975), Section 4, 'The Conservative Press' in his discussion of Glasgow Toryism, Chapter VI.
3. Ibid. Perhaps the points above are best captured in the concepts of 'encoding' and 'decoding' described by Hall 'Culture media and the Ideological Effect' in Curran (ed) 1976, pp.344-6, and most frequently used in the context of the modern media. Encoding then is the selection of codes which assign meanings to events, this selection operating within the repertoire of the dominant ideology, so as ultimately to reproduce the structure of dominance of a particular society. The preferential codes contain premises, states Hall, "...which embody the dominant definitions of the situation and represent or reframe the existing structures of power, wealth and domination." Their effect above all is to set the parameters of legitimate debate, supplying alternative forms and defining the 'meaning' of terms. Crucially, however, decoding will inevitably reflect the material and social circumstances of the 'audience', who do not necessarily decode ideas and events within the same ideological structures in which they were encoded, and while not counter hegemonic, readings will tend to be negotiations within the hegemonic framework.
4. He then goes on to signify it very much as a political doctrine, 'Aristotelian in method, in temper Sceptical'. R.J. White, The Conservative Tradition (1950), Introduction.
5. British Conservatism 1832-1914 (1959).
6. Toryism and the People 1832-46 (1929), p.15. Lord Egerton to Peel 6/8/1837 (MSS. 40, 424).
7. Ibid. He cites 'Life and Letters of J. Ligard 1771-1851', M. Haile and E. Bonney (eds).
8. GN, 31/3/1880. See also Greenock Telegraph editorial 'Jacobites turned Whigs', 25/2/1877.
9. GN, 28/7/1874.
10. Ibid.
11. GN, 12/11/73.

CHAPTER 9

'ONE OF THOSE MURDEROUS FACTIONS' 1799-1865

A previous Chapter noted the paucity of sources for the early decades of Orange activity - a fact which extends to its political involvement. One can surmise, though, with the general weakness of the early century Order, its proletarian membership, and the limited nature of the franchise, that this would be negligible. The convivial function of the early lodges in all probability outweighed their potential for intrigue and partisan mobilisation.

Unrequired Overtures

It is not until the early 1830's that the Orangemen first come to political prominence in Scotland. This period is particularly important in that, like the Irish Institution in the period of the '98 Rebellion, Scottish Orangeism at this juncture seemed liable to attempts at control or even manipulation from sections of the ruling class, aligned with the Conservative party.

Unfortunately the danger here is one of assuming that such attempts were always successful, thus allowing social control to shade into 'ruling class conspiracy' with a rather functionalist slant. (1) Basically what this neglects is that the Orange Institution, just as much as any other working class movement, Trade Unions, Friendly Societies, of the period operated within the general context of the achieved complementarity between subordinate and hegemonic classes and their cultures. This ensures, even in the Orange case, that the

victory of the dominant ideology, is not 'given' or permanent. Ideological hegemony must be won and sustained through the existing ideologies, encountering previous systems and sedimentations. In the case of the ordinary Orangeman the most important 'prior' system centred on the traditional 'No Popery' shibboleth and this could in fact prove a decisive block on more political conceptions of the lodges' role received from above.

At the outset, however, evidence supporting at least the potential for outright manipulation and conspiracy seems persuasive. First the Institution's structure and the diversity of membership in the period appear to lend themselves to this: a proletarian rank and file; the Royal Gordon, a leading lodge apparently composed of merchant gentry and professional interests; the patronage of an Ultra Conservative Magnate, the Duke of Gordon; and leadership of the zealots, Tory publicist William Motherwell. Secondly, the narrative of events in this period, the involvement of Orangemen in anti-reform activities at Girvan in 1831, for example, seems close to the paradigm of 1798 and the Irish gentry's pragmatic use of the Institution against the United Irishmen's rebellion.

Thirdly, and even more explicit however, would appear the Orange leadership's stated purposes. Thus, "against the ferocious gabble of liberal journals, and for the information of these abettors of treasonable clubs and disseminators of sedition", Motherwell's 'Courier' set out to expand on the principles and progress of the Institution. Orangeism rallied round, "the sacred standards of the Protestant church and Protestant king", and its intentions were identical with Col. Fairman's tours of inspection in the 1830's, "to

counter the insidious attempts of those societies who have been so actively at work inculcating seeditious principles into the minds of our well disposed and illustrious countrymen....Every means must be used to enlist in Orange ranks the most wealth and influential members of Conservatism in our neighbourhood and a fund realised for counteracting such levelling principles...". "With the assumption of such a fact", the Courier trumpets on, "we warn the daily practitioners on a nation's virtue, to take heed lest they fall; for if every honest man but does his duty, such a storm will be blown about their ears as will advance the enthusiasm of loyalty from one end of Scotland to the other; and the adversary caught in his own snare, we will see everywhere the Orange ribbon banishing the tricolour ensign of revolution." (2)

Craigie, the 'Royal Gordon's' secretary's correspondence to Fairman is indeed even more damning. Referring to Airdrie as 'a hot bed of sedition and treason' and commenting on the success of Fairman's visit there he believes, "it will be easy by such shows of condescension and liberality to make a complete conquest of the lower classes...". Later responding to Fairman's explicit suggestion of using the lodges to quell insurrection he concurs only stating that "we are going to proceed very quietly and secretly here". (3)

There does emerge then a clearly articulated desire to manipulate - to employ the lodges for very definite political ends. The problem is, however, whether this desire is actually congruent with the reality of the 1830's Orange body. To appreciate this first a closer analysis of the state of the leadership and their relationship to the rank and file in the early period is necessary. (4)

A convenient place to begin is with the condition of the 'Royal

Gordon' the 'de facto' Grand Lodge in Scotland. Membership list notwithstanding, this was less than flourishing. It suffered, for instance, from a chronic lack of funds, with no money being transmitted to the British Grand Lodge for 1833 or 34. This may reflect the generous spirit of its members - Motherwell notes ruefully that at the meeting of November 17th 1833 no collection was taken for the Irish Conservatives, since, "Scotsmen are not very ready to part with money". (5) More surely it indicates the failure of the ambitions behind the Royal Gordon's original founding - namely, as noted above, to recruit comprehensive support from wealthy and influential Conservatives in Scotland. With such support Craigie hoped rather unrealistically, that a Conservative club could be organised, associated with the lodge, and that this could control Glasgow politics, "uniting the party in a more numerous force than could be mustered under the banner of Orangeism." By bringing prominent Conservatives into contact this would also materially assist to lessen their prejudice as regards Orangeism, even tempting some to join the lodge. The latter would then "embrace in its ranks all the county gentlemen and dashing young fellows who would be attracted by uniforms and Orange balls. The influence of the ladies", Craigie believed, "will also be very powerful in our favour." (6)

What ensued, in fact, was frustration and recrimination amongst the Orange leadership. Craigie, who had attempted to persuade Lord Douglas, the Marquis of Graham, Lord Cathcart and Sir Archibald Campbell of Succoth to no avail, in his correspondence railed eventually against "proud aristocrats" and "sluggish Tories". Also (giving perhaps a better insight into the Royal Gordon's

membership than the official list) he comments

"...is it not a crying disgrace to see petty poor clerks and broken down merchants devoting time, character, and the whole of their fortunes to propagating constitutional principles, while the sons of luxury and wealth are content to have their battle fought for them by those disinterested agents without doing ought to reward them." (7)

Such material difficulties militate against the implementation of a clear and effective strategy for manipulation. They were, moreover, compounded by conflicts with the rank and file Orangemen. References to this are again frequent in the 1835 evidence of Motherwell and Fairman. At the time of the latter's tour in 1833 fines had been increased to purge the lodges of 'bad characters'. The payment for admission rose from 3/- to 5/- with annual contributions of 2/- in half yearly payments and a Master's Warrant costing 5/- now rose to £1.11/6d. (8) Certain lodges refused to accede to this and were suspended by Motherwell. At the time of the report in fact only two Paisley lodges and the Royal Gordon remained officially operative - although the rest persisted regardless.

The 'intemperate' behaviour of some of these 'proletarian' lodges also did not fit the aspirations of the leadership towards political credibility, but although Motherwell expelled 'a great number of immoral and dissolute characters', again the lodges continued to meet, albeit without authority. On this whole subject Craigie is contemptuously outspoken.

"The scoundrels in Donalson's lodge [a Paisley lodge warrant No. 178] are a set of thievish gamblers who spend all their money on drink and pay very little respect to their deputy Grand Secretary [i.e. himself]...we must hold a court martial on these mutineers and suspend them from their privileges."

he further detests the idea of publishing the accounts to any but the Grand Committee since "the base villains who compose some of the town lodges are apt to become presumptuous upon the sacrifice of dignity thus made by the principle officers of the Institution." (9)

The minutes of the Grand Lodge at this time also produce similar evidence of serious difficulties regarding discipline and disrespect. At the meeting of 4th June 1834 Deputy Grand Master Thompson of Neilston reported, for example, that in consequence of their reprehensible conduct he had been under the painful necessity of expelling certain disorderly members, 'the leaders of the cabal'. On this occasion the Grand Lodge in London again felt it its duty to stress "the need for a strict obedience to the laws which were suffered to fall into laxity", stating that, "without due observation of regularity and cheerful submission to the relevant authorities, it was impossible the society could go well". Clearly the Scottish rank and file appear to have been less than tractable material for conspiratorial purposes.

To fully understand this basic divergence between the Royal Gordon and the proletarian lodges, as in the case of the Irish Institution, one is required in the first instance to challenge the conception that such Orange watchwords of the period as 'Protestant Constitution' and 'preservation of the Protestant Religion' held a unitary meaning for the groups concerned. The Laws and Ordinances of 1826 state expressly "In the present era our religion is menaced by the arts of Popery and the attacks of infidelity; while our constitution is assailed by fanaticism and faction. Against this double danger the Orange Institution was formed". (10) The relative weight to be given to

each of these dangers was, however, open to interpretation.

Although not lacking in genuine anti-Roman Catholic sentiment, for the leadership of the Scottish lodges, as for the ultra Tories the Duke of Cumberland Lord Chandos, 'Protestant Principles' were underpinned by a basic political understanding and motivation. (11) 'The Protestant Constitution' then, was considered a safeguard against new democratic movements and populist influences and the 'Protestant ascendancy' was understood as the ascendancy of Protestant Anglo-Irish landlords over Irish peasants, and the right of the Protestant aristocracy to govern Britain. The frequently invoked 'foreign Catholics' phrase similarly implied not only resentment against the separate religion of the Irish, but the difficulties this presented for their political control. Lastly, 'preservation of the Protestant religion' was thought by most aristocratic defenders to refer to the preservation of tithes.

These considerations help to explain, for example, the nature of the Duke of Gordon's involvement with the Institution. Fairman describes him as "an Orangeman from top to toe", but qualifies this by saying he does not think, "he gives himself much trouble", though he wishes the movement to be promoted. (12) In 1833 Craigie has to beg Fairman to impress on His Grace the advantages that would accrue from him paying a single visit. (13) His patrician restraint in his dealings with the Scottish lodges is, however, to be contrasted with his frequent involvement in the proceedings of the British Grand Lodge, as indicated in the minutes from 1831-5 - here the aristocratic social and political milieu must have seemed a great deal more familiar. For Gordon it seems the proletarian Scottish body represented merely a

third line of defence for the maintenance of the status quo, behind the House of Lords and the Royal court, and he maintained a well-bred indifference to this form of extra-parliamentary resistance.

Even the adherence of District Secretary Motherwell seems to have had political undertones and astonished his biographer McConechy. "There is no event in his history" he stated "which it more perplexes me to account for than this...few men in my opinion were less qualified by habits of study to appreciate the value of the mixed qualities of civil and ecclesiastical polity which that body professed to discuss." Like many literary figures in the 1830's, Coleridge, Southey, Wordsworth, he was rather "a Tory of the old school and all the tendencies of his mind gravitated towards the creed of that old and respectable party." (14) In his regard for "monarchical principles" and in his poetic works 'Harp of Renfrewshire', etc., it is indeed possible to discern a certain lingering and romantic Jacobite sentiment, which would have been ill received by rank and file Orangemen.

To return to the 'Royal Gordon', the declaration made on introduction also contained a distinct political emphasis. (15) After very briefly declaring himself to be a believer in the Protestant religion, the candidate proceeds to further solemnly declare his abhorrence at length of "all political doctrines which seek to impair the glorious constitution, given to by our illustrious deliverer William III, of all levelling doctrines which have as their object to destroy the influence of hereditary rank and file distinctions of society, and of all revolutionary innovations which are calculated to seduce our countrymen from that loyal and constant spirit which has

ever given the proud character of the British people." The master then addresses him, "You engage that you will never abet or assist such illegal associations as political unions, Jacobin clubs or other societies which have as their aim the extermination of veneration of our civil and religious institutions, that you will do all in your power directly and indirectly to put a speedy stop to such a pernicious system of revolutionary organisation." (16)

This rhetoric, directed against 'sedition' and 'treason', where 'Protestantism' rather like 'Brunswick' or 'Hanover' assumes a largely symbolic function, a rallying point for deeper motivations on constitutional and general political retrenchment, offers the impression that the Royal Gordon Lodge was basically an artificial creation, something akin to the Old Revolution Club mentioned earlier, and grafted uneasily onto the existing structure of Orange lodges in Scotland. It therefore existed in a difficult relation to these. (The 'Brunswick clubs' formed in the late 1820's after the dissolution of the Orange Grand Lodge in Britain shared a similar political emphasis and also failed to capture grass roots allegiance). (17)

From the largely working class membership of the ordinary Scottish lodges a much more literal interpretation of the 'Protestant' in 'Protestant principles' was prominent. In this respect the ritual of Orange introduction generally in use in the period presents quite a contrast to the one noted above, employed in the Royal Gordon. A considerable amount of Scripture is present in it, for example, sometimes of a rather dubious relevance. "At the moment of introduction the Chaplain or Brother appointed shall say 'when thus it shall be in the midst of the land among the people, there shall be as

the shaking of an olive tree and as the gleaming grapes when the vintage is done. They shall lift up their voice: they shall cry for the majesty of the Lord; they shall cry aloud from the sea (Isaiah xxiv 13, 14). (18)

This attachment to a more explicit religious basis was, of course, fueled by a virulent hatred of Roman Catholicism, yet, as suggested in Chapter 1, this was paradoxically not without some 'democratic' input. The key to the anti-Catholic hostility was found in a representation of that religion as an absolutism that had been overthrown by some form of Protestant democratic alliance - so preserving 'the freedom of individual consciousness' and 'civil and religious liberty'. Living examples of Catholic 'mental slavery' were found in the power of priestcraft over the Irish peasantry and their veneration of O'Connell. For the rank and file Orangemen then 'Protestant ascendancy' could frequently mean not aristocratic domination but the ascendancy of the people over 'Popish' influence, of a religion of freedom over a religion of spiritual timidity and ritualistic observance. (19)

The two camps of ultra Tory constitutional defence and the pugnacious Protestantism of the rank and file Orangemen united more or less solidly over the issue of Catholic Emancipation. The Tories saw this as a threat to the purity and safety of the Constitution and ultimately 'to aristocratic power', while for the latter group it presented above all a potential encroachment on their Protestant religion.

The alliance, however, seems to prove less sure over the reform controversy and its aftermath. The Girvan Orangemen, as previously

described, were involved in anti-reform activity in 1831, but against this must be balanced some, unfortunately rather oblique, references by Orange officebearers in the 1835 report. Fairman, for example, comments that he broke up one or two lodges because he did not like the way they were being conducted thinking they were, "a little irregular not only as Orangemen but as good and loyal subjects." It is also the case that the main object of his missions in 1833 and 34, besides countering trends towards stagnation and assessing the resources of the brethren, was precisely, "to inculcate obedience to the laws of the Institution" and secure a strict discipline among those who "under the taint of revolutionary and republican notions had become refractory and mutinous". (20) (Author's emphasis). One must also conjecture whether it was not this motivation which lay behind Craigie and Motherwell's structures against what they termed the lodges rowdy and inebriate members. Certainly in England after the 1829 Emancipation Act Orangeism was temporarily removed from the political stage by "a certain penetration of democratic ideals among its followers". (21)

That such 'democratic ideals' could actually check the fulfilment of the highest ambitions of Tory Orange notables, such as the Duke of Gordon, to directly control the Orange body and shape it into a nucleus for a new ultra-Tory grouping, again return us to the views expressed in the discussion on leadership/rank and file relations on the dangers of too intrusive patronage in predominately working class movements. It also re-emphasises the extent to which the reception of dominant ideology was mediated by the 'lived experience' of subordinate groupings.

As regards the latter point, it is interesting to remember that

Scotland until 1832 had been a vast pocket burgh which the Tories had controlled through the notorious political management of Dundas. It is likely that this played an important part in guiding some Orangemen's perceptions of a Conservative alliance. The high Tory paternalism of Ostler and Wood who lamented the passing of a pre-industrial 'golden age' and opposed the creeping tendrils of utilitarian philosophy, had few Scottish exponents. (22)

Finally, though, in this section, given that the Orange/Conservative relationship as stressed above is a doubly conditional one, it remains to account for the unwillingness of the 'sluggish Tories' to identify with the Institution in the early 1830's. This was not a phenomenon unique to Scotland. This 1835 parliamentary report confirmed frantic Orange attempts throughout Britain to create a Tory alliance, citing the 'Address to the members of the Calton Club and the Conservatives of England'. Again the appeal made here was a political rather than a religious one:

"The Orange Institution is the only society peculiar to Great Britain and Ireland which already includes individuals of every rank and grade, from the nearest to the throne to the poorest peasant. The society is useful for the purposes of intercourse between higher and lower orders...and time may come, nay is not far distant, when a combination against all property...must be repelled by organised loyalty; what better means of co-operation can be offered than the Orange Institution." (23)

In fact, as Hill points out, this does not suggest that the official Conservative party organisation were party to such a formal alliance. When Col. Fairman told the Committee of Investigation that the LOI and the Carlton Club were so interwoven that the difference of name was of no consequence, he was "artfully attempting to gain

prestige for Orangeism by the Conservative connection" and "the committee declined to make play with the Judas kiss of this doubtful friend of Conservatism". (24)

Several factors were at work here, including notably many Conservatives' mistrust of friendly societies and convivial fraternities in general. Although ethical rather than political bodies, a particular source of misgivings were the lodges affiliated to federations like the Oddfellows and Foresters, which aroused their prejudices against centralisation. (25) It was, of course, these which, in structure at least, the Orange Institution most resembled.

Specifically in the Scottish context, the apprehension of local aristocrats Montrose, Douglas etc, probably focused more on the Institution's status as an alien importation. Motherwell's biographer is eloquent here.

To his own mind, Orangeism was really "a particular form of one of those murderous factions into which Irish society was divided." It would not have appeared to occur to Motherwell "that whatever the merits real or imaginary of the Orange Confederation might be, its introduction to Scotland could be attended with no benefit whatever and that if it was intended to achieve benefits of a permanent kind, it was only on the soil which had generated it and nourished it that this could have happened. As an antagonist to Popery and Jacobinism it was certainly not wanted in Presbyterian Scotland, and a little reflexion might have satisfied him that the civil and religious rights of the people of this country were not to be upheld through the instrumentality of a Hibernian political fraternity which had outlived the necessity which gave it birth...". In short, opined McConechy,

"it had too many of the characteristics of a sectarian club to be agreeable to sober minded Scotsmen". (26)

Tory Papophobia

By no means were such prejudices overcome in the years from 1835 to the early 1860's. This period in fact presents an interesting paradox. It marks a lacuna in Orange/Conservative relations; yet this is contrary to what might be expected from two important developments. First from 1835 the LOI in Scotland, as indicated in a preceding chapter, positively regrouped and expanded following the debacle of the Parliamentary enquiry, forming a separate Grand Lodge probably more in harmony with the sentiments of the rank and file than the Royal Gordon had ever been.

Secondly, the mid 1830's and 40's mark a growth in xenophobic anti-Roman Catholic ideology particularly fostered by the Conservatives from the last years of the Melbourne administration. Cargill suggests indeed, "Because of the close association between Protestantism and British nationalism, Conservative leaders by treating the Irish question as a religious one could capitalise on an emotional complex which influenced the public mind. By their manner of presenting the Irish question they directed the patriotic sentiments for Conservatives and against radicals, Liberals and Whigs" (27) - though this perhaps exaggerates the conscious element of such a strategy and certainly understates the splits within the party, with the Liberal Tories, Peel, Huskisson etc., holding aloof from the worst excesses of 'No Popery'.

The fact that such optimum conditions did not produce an Orange/Conservative alliance again, of course, counters the notion that

such an alliance is 'natural' and inevitable. It also reiterates that a considerable body of militant Protestant and 'anti-Popish' sentiment existed outside and independently of the structures of the LOI. This is emphasised in considering the example of the Conservative Operatives Societies and Orangeism.

The development of Conservative Operatives and Working Men's Conservative Associations were not, as Hill notes, an isolated event in the domestic history of the Party but "an integrated phase of Peel's policy for widening the basis of Conservative support in the constituencies". (28) The Glasgow Conservative Operatives Association (GCOA) had been formed by a meeting of 'operatives' in the Tron session house in December 1836 and was originally engaged in composing a congratulatory address to Peel on his visit to Glasgow to assume Lord Rectorship of the University. (29)

Its object was "to maintain to the utmost of its power the British Constitution as established at the Revolution of 1688 - that a prominent object of the association shall be to defend the interests of the ecclesiastical and educational establishment of Scotland as an integral part of that Constitution." (30) Besides its attachment to 'Revolution principles', its vainglorious motto, 'Fear God, honour the king and meddle not with those that are given to change' also closely resembled that of the LOI, though the final injunction in the latter case is 'Love the Brotherhood' - both based on the Biblical 'Fear God...' of the King of Israel. The Association, moreover, co-operated, 'with great cordiality' in a subscription in aid of a fund for trying the validity of several of the Irish elections before a committee in the House of Commons, 'as the only method left to friends

of Protestantism...of vindicating their rights as citizens against the intrigue of enemies of the Constitution". (31)

Crucially, however, despite such congruences, and despite Peter Mackenzie's strictures against this 'abominable gang the Orange Tories', there is no evidence of any substantial LOI involvement in the organisation. This must be impressionistic, of course, since no detailed membership lists of the Glasgow Orange Lodges are available for the 1830's, but none of the officebearers mentioned in the 1835 Parliamentary Report are represented, nor are Richmond or Clements, Secretary and Deputy Master respectively in the 1830's and 40's. Certainly the minutes give no indication of an alliance, formal or informal, and the LOI, in fact, receives not a single mention. This is indeed coherent with the overall national picture. Ward suggests there may have been Orange involvement in Bandford and some Lanarkshire towns, (32) but, as Hill notes, none of the correspondence quoted by the radical Hume indicates the least connection between Orangeism and the Conservative Operatives Societies, and Peel's own attitude towards the Orange movement remained suspicious. (33)

To account for this, briefly, on the Orange side one factor may have been that some of the rank and file were comparatively recent migrants from Ulster and were ill-prepared to become embroiled in Scotland's ecclesiastical problems which seem to have obsessed the GCOA in its latter days. (34) One should also recall the total nature of the environment offered by the lodges, so that the worthy debating society atmosphere of the Operatives Association may not have been at a particular premium.

On the part of the Conservatives their absence was probably not

unwelcome. Since the 1832 Reform Act had given the vote to any £10 householders in Glasgow, resulting in 7000 electors from the rising middle class, the proletarian Orangemen could not have appeared as a special electoral asset. Indeed they may have proved a definite liability, for as well as their particular 'alien' quality the Order in the 1840's was, of course, fast acquiring a lawless reputation in Scotland.

The general pattern remains similar in the late 1840's and 50's. The LOI was further expanding in this period particularly in Lanarkshire and Glasgow and Tory 'No Popery' was still prominent. Derby, for twenty-two years leader of the Party and briefly Prime Minister for three spells, was, Blake notes, "thoroughly hostile to Papal pretensions and as an old Whig regarded the triumph of the Italian Nationalists with satisfaction. He called on Garibaldi when he visited England in April 1864, and went on to compare Roman Catholics with "dangerous dogs that need muzzled." (35)

Yet again no definite Orange/Tory links can be traced (though Derby did have a lodge in Ayr named in his honour, LOL No. 32, 'Lord Derby's True Blues'). The factors above probably held good, though an additional difficulty for Orange involvement was provided by the eventual disintegration of Conservative organisation in the West of Scotland in this period, promoted by controversies over Free Trade and schisms in the Church of Scotland. "The speed and extent of this disintegration" was, as Hutchison states, "a commonplace among contemporaries by the mid 1840's." (36)

In 1846 the GCOA finally collapsed over church questions. In 1847, Hutchison further notes, the Conservative 'Courier' declared

itself uninterested in the 'narrow and sectarian' general election in Glasgow and a meeting of Tory electors could not decide on any course of action. (37) In the two elections of 1852, moreover, the Party did make a contest nor in 1859 nor 1865. (38) In short, these developments denied Orangemen, even if they were so inclined, a basic 'point of entry' into political involvement with the Conservatives of the period.

CHAPTER 9

Notes

1. See, for example, Young, op cit (1979), p.80.
2. Glasgow Courier, 26/12/1833.
3. 1835 House of Commons Report, Appendix No. 22.
4. For Leadership/Rank and File relations from 1865--, see chapter 8.
5. Parliamentary Report 1835, Motherwell's evidence, p.161.
6. P. Mackenzie, 'Letters of the Tory conspirators in Glasgow', Pamphlet (1835). "Our charming friend, Mrs. Dale, has promised to wear Orange ribbons in some of her parts of the stage" comments Craigie. Letter dated 30/5/33. He begs Fairman to bring "Orange ornaments for the fair sex: shawls, ribbons, laces, bags, parasols. Letter dated 3/7/33.
7. loc cit.
8. 1835 Report, Appendix 12.
9. Mackenzie, op cit, letter dated 3/7/33.
10. Lord Eldon was most outspoken on his fears not only for Protestantism and the Protestant ascendancy but for 'freedom as he conceived it'. Cassirer, Ph.D., op cit (1938).
11. ibid.
12. 1835 Report, Fairman's evidence.
13. Mackenzie, op cit (1835), letter dated 24/7/33.
14. 'Draft of a memoir of William Motherwell' (Holograph) J. McConechy in Robertson MSS, Glasgow University Special Collections.
15. Craigie, the Secretary, cuts an even more pathetic figure. He was, for example, extremely deferential and ingratiating towards Fairman in his correspondence; and again touching on the sources for Orange Motivation, rather than 'papal encroachments' his main concern with the Orange body is apparently in projected uniforms and regalia. To Fairman: "Remember and bring a uniform with you, as we are resolved to want that no longer..." on 22nd of June; a week later "...will you bring a pattern of a uniform with you? I am getting some king William head buttons over from Belfast. Do you think your waistcoat is sufficiently military for the Institution?; July 15th "Are you getting a uniform prepared?"; finally with a note of desperation on July 24th, "I hope his Royal Highness has sanctioned the project of the uniform. (Craigie's

emphasis). See Mackenzie's letters 22/6/33, 1/7/33, 3/7/33, 15/7/33, 24/7/33.

16. 1835 Report, Motherwell's evidence.
17. Sibbet, op cit (1939), Vol. 2, p.26.
18. Ritual of Orange Introduction c1830's, Linen Hall, Belfast. See Appendix A of this thesis for fuller text. The only difference between the Irish and Scottish rituals was apparently that in the latter no kneeling took place (too 'ritualistic' for the Scots probably!).
19. See Cassirer, op cit (1938) and C. Hill, 'Robinson Crusoe', History Workshop No. 10, 1980, for a discussion of 'Popery and Slavery' in the late 17th century and early 18th century identifying the absolutism of Catholic monarchs and governments as the more specific object of hostility.
20. 1835 Report, Fairman's evidence.
21. Cassirer, op cit (1938); Senior, op cit (1966), the 1835 Report also contains the example of Oldham Orangemen expelled for voting for Reform candidates.
22. See Wilson, 'The Chartist movement in Scotland' (1970) for detailed treatment of repercussions for Chartist activity.
23. 1835 Report in full, Appendix xiv, p.14.
24. Hill, op cit (1929), p.61.
25. Hill, loc cit.
26. Robertson, MSS., Motherwell Memoir, loc cit.
27. G.A. Cahill, 'Irish Catholicism and English Toryism', Review of Politics (1957), p.64.
28. Hill, op cit (1929), p.57.
29. GCOA Minute Book Annual Report 1837. In Scottish Conservative and Unionist Association Offices, Edinburgh.
30. ibid.
31. GCOA minutes, 3/10/37.
32. In 'Scottish Themes - essays in honour of G.E. Lythe' (1976).
33. For Hume, Hill cites Hansard xxxi 779, February 23, 1839.
34. See GCOA 4/4/42, 28/7/42, 10/3/42 for examples.

35. Blake, *The Conservative Party from Peel to Churchill* (1970), Chapter III, for a detailed discussion of Derby's leadership.
36. Hutchison, Ph.D., *op cit* (1975), Chapter VI, 'Elements of Glasgow Conservatism'.
37. *Glasgow Courier*, 3, 13, 31 July 1847. *North British Daily Mail* (NBDM) 30/7/47 cited by Hutchison.
38. *Glasgow Gazette*, 28/2/57. *Mercantile Advertiser*, 10, 24/3/57.

CHAPTER 10

'THE MAINSPRING OF CONSERVATISM...' EMPIRICAL CONTOURS OF
ORANGE/CONSERVATIVE RELATIONS 1865-85.

Introduction

In marked contrast with the preceding period, these twenty years now witness an acceleration in the LOI's political activity and in particular the development of an informal alliance with the Conservatives in Glasgow and the West of Scotland. This chapter is intended to illustrate empirically the conduct and extent of this relationship - a predicate for explanatory analysis in Chapter 11.

Given the scanty nature of secondary material on the LOI in Scotland it is gratifying to find a semblance of debate in this respect, although from commentators whose focus of interest is considerably wider than the Institution itself. Joan Smith focusing on class consciousness in late 19th century, early 20th century Glasgow, suggests that "Conservatism did not develop an Orange base..." (1) and, as noted, attributes this to Glasgow's expanding economy from the 1880's; 'labour aristocrats'; self perceptions; the predominance of friendly societies; and finally an overwhelming 'liberal commonsense' for whom the enemy was 'the landlord and the despot and not the Irish'.

Now, there may be some explanatory value in these as regards the LOI's relative weakness in Scotland as a whole - though the assumption of a 'Liberal commonsense' unproblematically blocking Orange development has already been challenged. And there are local examples, such as Greenock, where a Tory/Orange caucus is absent.

However, if attempting to generalise on relations with the Conservatives in Glasgow and the West, the broad tenor of Smith's arguments is contradicted by empirical evidence and leads to a crucial understatement.

This may stem from her rather dismissive stance on the actual strength of the Order. It was, she states, "largely confined to the shipyards of Glasgow and the coal and iron mining towns ringing Glasgow". (2) Even if this were the case this is the major population and industrial centre of Scotland - but actually the statement seriously underestimates the Order's presence in Glasgow and neglects important concentrations in Ayrshire and the South West.

In some contrast, though, Hutchison in his encyclopaedic work on politics and society in 19th century Glasgow suggests that the Conservatives put little emphasis on such social and economic issues as tariff reform, but appealed to the strong ultra-Protestant sentiment in the city, a strategy typified in a semi-official alliance with the LOI. The considerable power enjoyed in party circles by the Order, he further suggests, affected the Party's appeals to the electorate in a very decided manner, since, "the stridently Protestant tone carried over into the Party's utterances meant the virtual jettisoning of the hopes entertained by some local Tories of winning over Whiggish Liberals, as evidence mounted that wild radicals controlled the Party." (3) The result for the Tories was, in short, an 'electoral cul de sac' from which they were saved only by the realignment of forces around the Home Rule crisis of 1886 and the emergence of the Liberal Unionists.

On the whole, for general applicability this analysis errs more on

the side of truth than Smith's. Major qualifications should be made though. First, Hutchison, understandably perhaps from the focus of his work, neglects the conditional element, described previously, in Orange allegiance to the Conservatives. Secondly, he over emphasises and misinterprets the nature of Orange involvement in the 1880 general election in Glasgow. This tends to direct attention away from events in subsequent years in the Home Rule period, which are particularly instructive for the real dynamics underpinning Orange/Conservative relations. These dynamics, in turn, indicate considerable conditionality and reserve on the part of the Conservatives in their dealings with the LOI, and discount the 'cul de sac' type of approach.

In the general circumstances of debate it is vital to specify accurately the relationships in question - as expressed, for example, in the establishment of Conservative Associations, Orange power at local ward level and in electoral activity. This is done first for Glasgow, but remembering the heterogeneous character of the Institution in Scotland, Paisley and Greenock are again given separate consideration as contrasting case studies.

Glasgow

The general pattern here is one of substantial development in Orange/Tory links at local level, but less impressive and less unilinear progress in the Party's directing bodies.

The construction of a viable electoral framework for Conservatism in the 1865-85 period received a substantial impetus from the foundation of the Glasgow Working Men's Conservative Association (GWMCA). Unlike its predecessor, the GCOA (q.v.), this had

significant Orange involvement from the outset. The organisation, for example, seems to have originated from a newspaper advert in November 1868 from a Mr. W. Cadman, "a working man convening his fellow working men for the purpose of forming among them a Conservative Association". (4) This is most likely the same W. Cadman who presided at an Orange meeting at Johnstone in 1871 to commemorate the relief of Londonderry. (5) Other prominent Orangemen were certainly represented in the new GWMCA, James Wyllie DGM (6) and Rev. Gault GC, (7) and in turn at the Orange and Protestant soiree of 1868 GWMCA luminaries, J. Paul and James Frazier, can be identified on the platform. (8)

The organisation's early activities are also revealing in this respect. Through the work of 1869, for instance, "...in various ways", it was reported, "the Association endeavoured to arrest the progress of the Irish Church Bill* and continues to hope and labour to the end that religion - the Protestant religion - be nationally maintained within the institutions of the country". (9) Leading Grand Lodge figures also featured prominently in the early days among the association's publicists, its third annual report for 1871 noting that, "through the vigorous and manly stand of George McLeod (then Orange MWGM) and a few of your members the Association was enabled not merely to protest against secular education at the Grand City Hall Demonstration...but to obtain the complete overthrow of the same by carrying a resolution in effect declaring the Bible was a national and not a secular book". (10) Rev. Gault and Wyllie were also popular

* To disestablish the Church of Ireland.

lecturers to the Association, the former on 'Martin Luther', the latter in a more practical vein on 'The function of the skin in reference to cleanliness'. (11)

The closeness of links in this early period had already been witnessed in electoral activity in the 1868 parliamentary context. At the Orange soiree of that year, Grand Master Leech had strongly suggested to the brethren and Protestants of Glasgow, "to use their utmost endeavours to secure the return of the Protestant candidate for the city. It might be considered invicious for him to mention names but he had no hesitation in recommending that candidate who would uphold the good old Protestant Church of Ireland (tremendous cheering), that had been heretofore the bulwark against the inroads of Popery with its fire and faggot rule (tremendous cheering again). There must be no compromise with Popery and No Surrender." (12)

Again an indication of conditional support is given from references to 'The Protestant candidate', but in practice the Tory Sir George Campbell, whose address on the Irish Church (the test question of the whole election) had declared that "considerable alternatives are required to fit and adapt it to the wants of the Protestant population of that country..." but he "would certainly be opposed to complete disestablishment and disenfranchisement. Such a counsel would be unfair to the Protestants of Ireland who have always been distinguished by their loyalty." (13)

Accordingly Orangemen were prominent in organising 'Irish church' public meetings indirectly in favour of Campbell - the one on October 28th being packed with Orange notables, McLeod, Macklin, Reid and Wyllie, for example, and these figures also come to his support at an

important meeting in the working class ward of Mile End. (14)

Perhaps most telling in the '68 campaign though was McLeod's role in the nomination meeting for the Glasgow candidates, where along with Muir, another Orangeman, he appeared as an official supporter for Campbell. When the meeting declared against the Tory, McLeod was in the forefront of demands to put the election to the poll - in the event also unsuccessful for him. (15)

To anticipate detailed discussion in the next chapter, in this early stage in the development of their fortunes, it seems the Conservatives could afford no qualms about indulging Orange involvement. The LOI throughout the period of study was identified as a bulwark of the working class Conservative vote and the early GWMCA was dominated precisely by, "the need to spread the Conservative gospel, consolidating and deepening existing Conservative tendencies among working men." (16) Although notables such as J.A. Campbell of Strathcarro presided over its Annual General Meetings from 1869, amid the more routine and robust business of lectures and demonstrations the Orangemen's 'No Popery' stance would not have caused particular embarrassment, being probably fairly congruent with the sentiments of many of its working class members.

Developments in this situation can be discerned, however, as the Association began to expand from its fairly humble beginnings around the mid 1870's. Gilbert Heron presiding in 1875 reported that the previous year 'pecuniary support, especially from the middle and upper classes, has exceeded that of any former year...', (17) and it is now indeed that this group begins to take a more active managing role in the Association. It had dropped to 'working Man's' from its title

in 1873. Never again, in fact, do Orangemen quite recapture that intimately influential position they held in the pioneering days of the GWMCA.

Perhaps an indicator of this is the lecture committee's decision in 1875 that "lecturers should as much as possible be confined to subjects bearing upon politics, and that just a few decidedly good ones were preferable to many on less important though popular subjects." (author's emphasis). One of the lecturers in the previous year, for example, had been given by Sir Andrew Burry on 'Impressions of America from a Conservative point of view in relation to free trade and commerce' - in some contrast to Wyllie's contribution of only two years earlier. (18)

By no means is this to concur with Smith in arguing the absence of a significant Orange base for Glasgow Conservatism, for this base was becoming increasingly formidable at the level of the local wards. Indeed another important development at the same meeting in 1875 was a programme of re-organisation in which the wards were given a more direct interest in the central association. 32 of its general committee were to be chosen annually by ward committees sending two representatives, whose duties were also to be the creation of bodies for registration etc at local level. (19)

Clearly here one must recognise a paradox which, as will be shown, dominated the development of the LOI/Conservative relationship elsewhere in Scotland. On the one hand from the national franchise and electoral reforms of 1867 and 72 came an impetus felt by the more perceptive Tories to reorganise and 'democratise' organs of the party, such as the Glasgow Conservative Association (GCA), making them more

responsive with the demands of a mass electorate. As far as this increased the involvement of 'working men' in the party, it provided favourable conditions also for the LOI as a predominantly working class movement, to translate their local presence into more tangible institutional forms in central committees, divisional councils, etc.

Against this, however, one must set a broader structural realignment and absolute expansion in the basis of Tory support in the 1870's, 80's and beyond, with the increasing presence of the urban bourgeoisie in the party, perceiving it as the true representative of their class interests. This group, as emphasised in previous chapters, had little favourable inclination towards the populist Orange movement and was unlikely to be enthusiastic for Tory organs which were perceived as 'Orange dominated'.

A sustained treatment of these points will be offered shortly, but sufficient to stress here that in the tension between the two sets of developments it is the latter which increasingly exercises a determining role. This is expressed essentially in the transition from the earlier 'organic' relation between LOI figures in fledgling associations like the GWMCA to the position where 'the Orange vote' becomes a dependent variable in the electoral calculations of the mature Conservative party.

Thus, to return to the empirical material, another early indicator of change is the 1874 parliamentary election in Glasgow. Like 1868 'Protestant' issues were stridently in the forefront, notably focusing on Disestablishment, the Irish Education Bill and a perceived threat of secularisation in Scottish education. As the Tory 'Glasgow News' explained it, "...Our people have not forgotten the hard times they

had of old with the Pope and the church militant...the old Protestant feeling is aroused and their sense of freedom outraged. (20)

The first Conservative candidate selected, Alexander Whitelaw, a member of the Baird Ironworks family closely followed these themes, standing foursquare for the established churches, "regarding the endowed territorial church as essential to the spiritual interests of the people", as well as supporting the "use and wont" platform in education. (21)

Certainly the Orange Association of Scotland was in no doubt where its loyalty lay, and in this period the conditional nature of its political alliances is much underplayed. In its address to the brethren it stated,

"at this important crisis in the history of this country we, the members of the GRAND LODGE COMMITTEE, desire to urge on your attention the duty of SUPPORTING NONE BUT CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES; but where no Conservative candidate comes forward concessions against popery and who will vote for the Bible in the school or old Scotland's use and wont: but vote for no man who will not make these pledges." (22)

In practice in Glasgow, however, considerable confusion arose. Gossip in 'The Bailie' the previous year had suggested that the Orangemen wished H.A. Long, the militant Protestant publicist and missionary as candidate, but in the actual event, suggesting their timidity in preferring to work behind established power bases, they seem to have been behind overtures to Hector McLean, a local gentry figure from Carnwath. (23) Certainly his address employs familiar terms, "if returned it will be as a member of the great Conservative party, upholding civil and religious liberty - being a warm supporter of the Protestant religion."

McLean's candidature was a brief one - he was approached on the 29th of January and withdrew on the 31st - but it astonished the Glasgow Conservative establishment. (24) Significantly they had settled on a much more credible candidate, and like Whitelaw, one more representative of the new forces becoming more prominent in the GCA, Mr. James Hunter of Glenapp, a managing partner of the Coltness Ironworks. (25) The Orangemen swung round behind him and rather shamefaced were forced to issue a disclaimer on 4th February

"Orangemen of Glasgow do not be divided. All of our committees are united for Mr. Whitelaw and Mr. Hunter. We have no connection with Mr. McLean. Every man who votes for him, votes against the Conservative cause." (26)

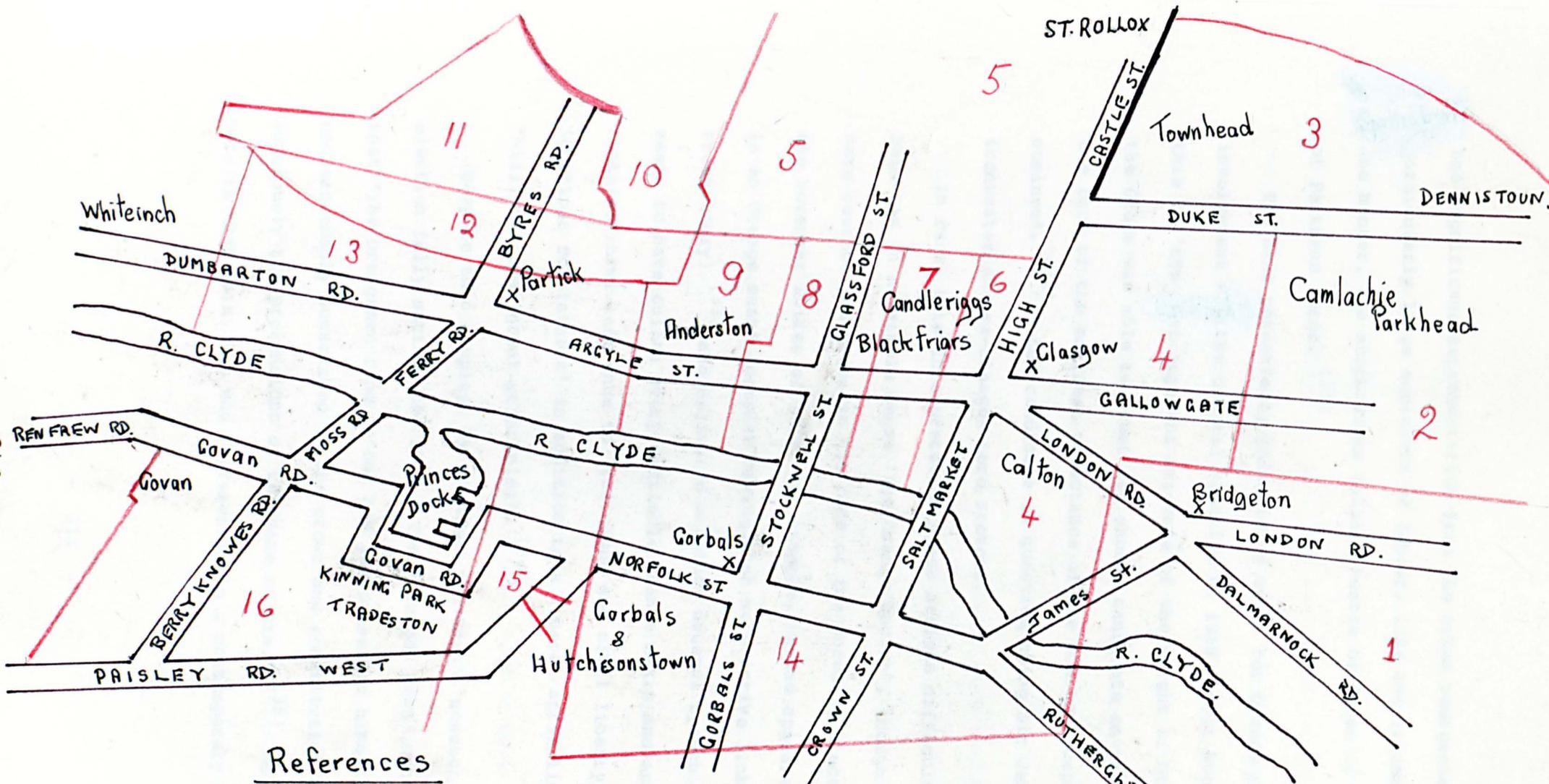
Also looking closer at Orange activity on behalf of these candidates, it is possible, in fact, to discern some initial 'marginalisation' of the LOI from the real heart of the GCA. Clearly though, Orange influence should not be under-rated. Orangemen seem to have done considerable canvassing and public work in the local wards. A typical Conservative bill at polling ran (strongly suggestive of Orange involvement) 'Glaustonism or present day Liberalism is a hybrid and is dying out, it is a compound of Radicalism, Romanism, Ruffianism, Fenianism, Jesuitry, Ultramontanes, Secularists, Unitarians, Republicans, Disestablishmentarians, Lowism, Blagardism. It intended to assault our Protestantism, rob us of our Bibles and Catechisms, to give us Home Rule for Unionism, Conventualism as against Inspectionism." (27)

Six prominent members of the Orange Association of Scotland, or the Orange Institution of Great Britain, sat on Whitelaw and Hunter's general committees, as well as around a dozen Orange office bearers on

eight of the local ward election committees. (28) Yet this must be set against the fact that the Conservative electoral machinery of 1874 was much expanded and more efficient than in the preceding election, and that this Orange group are in a very small minority, even in general committee and ward election committees which involve several hundred Conservative supporters in toto. Interestingly also, Orangemen did not number among either candidates, vice presidents, ward agents or ward conveners, (29) nor apart from the seasoned performer H.A. Long were they prominent on public platforms.

Moving on, it is useful to ask how far this situation was altered by the 1875 re-organisation of the GCA general committee noted above. In the committee for 1876 four Orangemen are ward representatives and already a certain degree of concentration in the working class wards of the East End, particularly No. 4 Calton and in 15th and 16th wards South of the River - in the latter William McHaffie, Past WGM of the Royal Black Preceptory, is representative. Four other Orangemen are also on the committee including George McLeod and Thomas Wetherall DGM. (30) This level of representation remains fairly constant over a number of years. In 1879, for example, five Orange ward representatives can be identified, including both delegates from No. 4 ward, with H.A. Long also on the committee (see Map 4 for distribution of wards in the city).

Here again, though, it is vital to stress how this is balanced by the fact that the predominately bourgeois residential wards like No. 11 in the West End or those in the central business area of the city, Nos. 7, 8 or 9, have no Orange representatives. Orangemen, moreover, were held at bay from vice presidential positions in the GCA which now



References

- | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1 - Bridgeton | 6 - | 12 - |
| 2 - Camlachie | 7 - | 13 - } Anderston |
| 3 - Dennistoun / Mile-end | 8 - } City Centre | 14 - Hutchisonstown |
| 4 - Calton | 9 - } | 15 - Gorbals |
| 5 - St. Rollox | 10 - Cowcaddens | 16 - Tradeston. |
| | 11 - Park / Hillhead | |

Map 4: Glasgow Wards c. 1880.

had significant representation from the urban bourgeoisie, particularly large employers of labour, like the ironmasters, Whitelaw and Hunter, the shipbuilder William Pearce of Govan or Isaac Bearmore of Parkhead forge. (31)

The next potentially galvanising event for Orange political involvement was the General Election of 1880. For Hutchison indeed this is 'the most apparent evidence of the weight of Orangeism...when the Order was able to trust its chosen candidate on the party, in the face of the manifest reluctance of the GCA to accept their nominee'. (32) - the candidate in question being Sir James Bain, ironmaster and ex-Glasgow Lord Provost.

In fact, this interpretation poses serious difficulties. First Bain was in no simple sense 'the Orange choice', though he seems to have courted the Order in the face of the oncoming election. At the November soiree of 1879, for example, he had appeared 'arrayed in an Orange sash' (despite having much more active links with Freemasonry) (33) and delivered a rather unusual speech in which he seems to have culled every available Orange maxim and aphorism - it contains three reference to 'religious and civil liberty', four to 'glorious forefathers' in addition to a liberal sprinkling of 'williams' and 'great principles'. (34)

Despite this display, by no means did Bain's conduct at the actual election fully satisfy the LOI. The 'Glasgow News' noted at the time that "The Orangemen find no one has yet presented himself who has unquestionably subscribed to the crown and constitution and rejected absolutely the pretensions of the Home Rulers." (35) The point here is that Bain, who was represented in a contemporary cartoon as a

weathervane, was widely perceived as "the type of candidate who superciliously tries to impose upon electors by promising everything to everybody...". (36) His address, described as a 'model of tergiverisation' attempted to appeal both to Orangemen and Home Rulers. On the one hand he supported the Established Church but on the other, while unable to support Home Rule in 'matters of Imperial concern', he was in favour of local matters being investigated 'on the spot' and was 'directly opposed to the policy of centralism'. (37)

The Orangemen were eventually reconciled to Bain, but their representation on his committees seems actually less marked than on his eventual running mate's, a more orthodox Tory the shipbuilder William Pearce. Bain did have George McLeod as his vice chairman but Pearce's central committee - although containing no Orange vice chairmen - had Orange Grand Secretary Thomas Macklin and Thomas Wetherall DGM. As for the ward election committees, Pearce's has at least eighteen identifiable Orangemen of whom nine are not on Bain's committees, while Bain has twelve, at least four of whom are not on Pearce's committees. Again Bain had prominent Orange support on public platforms, particularly from McLeod and T.H. Stewart (ex secretary of the OI of GB) (38) but Pearce too has a strong Orange representation - at the St. Andrew's Halls meeting on the 25th of March it is Wetherall who is chosen to second (at length) the resolution commending Pearce as a 'fit and proper person'. (39)

Most significant in this context, though, are the notices which appeared before polling day. Hutchison cites the notice instructing Orangemen to vote for 'the other Conservative candidate as well as Bain' signed by McLeod and F.Y. Henderson, but more revealing is a

further notice in the same issue of the 'Glasgow News' signed this time by Grand Master, C.I. Paton, which stated that 'at a meeting of District Masters and Worthy Masters of Lodges of the Orange Association of Scotland held in the Orange Hall Glasgow on the 20th of March it was unanimously resolved that the Orangemen of Glasgow divide their votes between the two Conservative candidates, Pearce and Bain.'" (40) (Author's emphasis). If this meeting was on the 20th of March it anticipates the two Conservative candidates' tardy decision to run on the same ticket by no less than ten days. (41)

Not surprisingly then, the evidence is not convincing that official Conservative resentment of Bain stemmed largely from his Orange links. In fact this had a wide variety of sources. For one thing, Bain seems to have been an eccentric character. He had dabbled in spiritualism and produced a pamphlet on the subject and, even more culpable in the eyes of the local Party establishment, he had shown an unseemly enthusiasm to become Lord Provost, even chartering the Buchanan steamer 'Eagle' and taking an 'influential party' on a cruise down the Clyde to further his cause. (42) At the parliamentary election, as Hutchison notes, Bain also proved an extremely inept and unorthodox candidate. His views on the Eastern Question, the Local Option and the Franchise question were hardly Party policy and he seems to be a very poor public speaker. His meetings often degenerated into beargardens - at Finneston he was pelted with peas from the gallery and a hooting crowd followed after his cab. (43)

Even more decisive, however, for the Conservative leadership was the way he had forced himself on the GCA as candidate, as detailed

above by Hutchison, without due attention to the official channels of selection and 'driving of the candidate of their unanimous choice'. (44) (J.A. Campbell who had opted for the safer Universities seat). The impetus here seems to have come more surely from Bain's own ambitions than the prompting of Orangemen in the GCA. (45)

Yet it would be unfortunate, through his misinterpretation here, to overlook some of the insights Hutchison does offer. First, it is certainly plausible that Bain's campaign with its populist overtones drew in a number of 'working men' to the Conservative fold. These need not have been Orangemen but some of them were, like T.H. Stewart who becomes prominent in the GCA after 1880. Secondly, 1880 marks a clear upswing in Orange electoral involvement compared with 1874, though again it is strongest at local level. Thus the 'Herald' gives a typical example of Orange activity of the period in providing vehicles for the conveying of voters in the 12th and 14th wards (Anderston). "The deathless sons of William" apparently "attracted particular attention as they careered along the street in a couple of handsome brakes carrying aloft the harp of Erin in gold, on a ground of Green". (46)

For the next few years progress in Orange/Tory links persisted. For this period, Hutchison insists that fusion between the two bodies continued to grow apace and that "the process of integration seemed complete on the occasion of Salisbury's visit to Glasgow in 1884, when he was presented with an address from the Grand Lodge of Scotland immediately after the GCA's one and before any other body." (47)

However, not only does such an analysis neglect the reciprocally conditional element in the relationship, which militates against the

LOI's complete 'integration' or 'fusion'; but it also fails to grasp that despite its increasing strength at ward level, the Institution was becoming regarded by local Conservative leaders as a reliable but not ultimately indispensable ally.

At first acquaintance though there does seem persuasive evidence up to 1885 for Hutchison's case. Following Bain and Pearce's, not unexpected, defeat at the polls and after an initial spell of depression in which a winding up of the GCA was considered, the Glasgow Conservatives in 1881 again began to remould the organisation's structure. Affiliation, for example, was to be encouraged from other Conservative associations in the city, such as the Dennistoun C.A. Even more crucial was "the reorganisation of the organisation on a wider basis" since it was felt, according to Col. Campbell that the GCA "had not been sufficiently in rapport with the great masses of working men" and the new structure would "place themselves more in a position to assist them in an organisation which would be worthy of their numbers and make them a power at the time they were required". (48)

Accordingly the city wards were to be grouped into five districts East: wards 1, 2, 4; North East: wards 3, 5, 6; West: wards 10, 11, 12, 13; South: wards 14, 15, 16; Central: wards 7, 8, 9. Members of the Association in each ward were to meet in January to appoint ward committees of ten to fifteen, a chairman, vice-chairman and secretary, who would represent the ward in the committees of the district in which it was situated. (49)

Again as in 1875, in so far as this promoted working class involvement and increased the strength of the wards, it promoted the

Orange political presence. Thus in 1882 six Orangemen become ward officials including Wetherall and T.H. Stewart, six also were represented the following year, including Peter Morrison who became chairman of the 15th Lauriston/Gorbals ward. In 1884 their numbers increased to seven, with another Orange chairman, J.E. Fairlie, of No. 2 (Camlachie) ward. (50)

Also apparently supporting the 'integration' thesis are closer Orange/Conservative links on public platforms, particularly from 1881 and the revival of the Home Rule issue. Thus at the Orange soiree of that year two Conservative notables appear on the platform W.C. Maughan, an accountant and treasurer of the GCA and J.N. Cuthbertson a merchant and prominent GCA vice president, who paid a warm tribute to the Institution. He had "never looked upon a finer assembly and more glorious demonstration, and was glad to acknowledge the sympathy and support that he had personally received from many of them in Glasgow and elsewhere on different occasions, and was glad also to have the opportunity of thus publicly giving expression to his heartfelt sympathy with the great objects of their Association." (51)

Another local Conservative, Allan Gilmour of Eaglesham, indeed presided over two soirees at Busby and Thornliebank. (52) In turn George McLeod was present at the GCA Western District AGM of 1882 proclaiming "The Conservative party was the party to which the country looked for the protection of life and property on established principles." (53)

Amid the flurry of Conservative and Orange meetings in the 1881-4 period, the language of integration is at times overt. Wetherall, for example, at a distinguished political meeting under the auspices

of the LOI, suggested "they were met that night to endeavour to consolidate the parties belonging to the Conservative interest and bring them together in a firm and compact body in spite of all opposition. He need not remind Orangemen, although it might be necessary to remind other Conservative gentlemen that Orangeism was based on the Bible and the Crown." (54) William Johnstone of Ballykillbeg reminded his listeners at the 1884 soiree that "they had taught all men that the Orangemen of Glasgow and of Scotland were a power in the state; they had shown that the Conservatives could not do without Orangemen; that Orangeism was a motive power - the mainspring of Conservatism - and must be so throughout the British Empire." (55) (Author's emphasis). Of course, the real question here is how closely this Orange rhetoric corresponded with political reality.

In the first place, against it one can set the statement of a leading Conservative, Gilbert Heron, which has a quite different emphasis.

"You are an organised army of industrious loyal subjects of the British Crown and as such eager and prepared to co-operate when invited with Conservative associations against the machinations and open assaults of misguided enthusiasts - of radical republicans and atheists....I am here to say for myself, and I may venture on behalf of my Conservative friends in Glasgow, who like myself have come to know your political principles and influence at the polling booth that we fully appreciate the services Orangemen have rendered to the cause of Conservatism in Glasgow and the west of Scotland and we will look to you as allies we can count on, on the day of battle." (56). (Author's emphasis).

To return to the post 1880 reorganisation this also must be set in perspective. Thus in an expanding GCA, almost doubling from 1880-4, the Orange presence is still, of course, very much localised in the

working class eastern wards, No. 2 (Camlachie) being a particular growth point with an Orange chairman and vice-chairman in 1884, and in the Southern wards 15 and particularly 16. Again no Orange representatives can be identified for the bourgeois residential and commercial wards.

Similarly with the local Associations some like Shettleston and Tollcross in the East and Pollokshaws in the South did initially have strong Orange bases, ⁽⁵⁷⁾ but the Conservative Association founded in Maryhill in November 1884 - then largely a residential suburb - has only one Orangeman involved, a 'working man' William Angus. ⁽⁵⁸⁾ It is also significant here that there are still no prominent Grand Lodge figures among the central GCA's distinguished vice presidents, whom T.H. Stewart at the 1883 AGM hoped "would pay more attention to ward committees than in the past". ⁽⁵⁹⁾

Perhaps most decisive though, against Hutchison's case is the LOI's own disparate campaign to rally Conservatives to its standards and tempt them to become actually members of the Order. If 'fusion' had been so pronounced, as he suggests, surely the establishment of a 'gentlemen's lodge', LOL No. 690 'Beaconsfield's Purple Guards' in 1881 would have been met with notable success. ⁽⁶⁰⁾ As it was, as described in Chapter 8, despite platform declarations of common principles and mutual support, the episode was largely an unhappy one for the Orange leadership, with few actual 'converts', who were willing to assume an active and sustained role.

Nevertheless, the Orange contribution at ward level did in the period gain recognition beyond rhetoric from Tory leaders, namely as Hutchison notes, in the presence of Orangemen such as Thomas Macklin,

William Young, etc., on the welcoming dais for Lord Salisbury in 1884 and their presentation of a very lengthy loyal address. Again though this was not through their command of any high offices in the GCA but simply by invitation in their capacity as Orange officials and allies of the party. (61) Similar was the way in which the new Conservative candidate Somewell of Sorn, chosen by the general committee of the GCA in January 1884, (62) is 'introduced' to what now seems to constitute the Orange 'interest group' in Conservative support. Thus at a meeting of Irish Loyalists in the Gorbals in February (anticipating the candidate's visits to local Conservative associations), (63) George McLeod called Somervell to the chair expressing the hope that "ere long he would occupy a still more important chair", and Macklin, seconding this and making McLeod's allusion perfectly clear to his audience, declared "he hoped for his part that the electors of Glasgow by their votes would put Mr. Somervell in a chair in the House of Commons". (64) With a general election impending, Somervell also appeared at the 23rd Annual Orange soiree - which had in fact a significant Conservative representation with Col. Campbell and J.N. Cuthbertson also present - cordially expressing his "every sympathy with the loyal association to which you belong". (65)

It remains finally to discuss the extent of Orange involvement in this election, called in November of 1885, though this can be done briefly, since the following chapter will examine LOI/Tory relations here in more detail.

An important initial point is that this contest had been preceded by the Franchise Reform Act of 1884 and Redistribution Act of 1885,

resulting in an enlarged electorate and a redistribution of parliamentary seats which divided Glasgow into seven constituencies: Central, College, Bridgeton, Tradeston, Camlachie, St. Rollox, Blackfriars and Hutchesonstown⁽⁶⁶⁾ In turn the GCA again reorganised. In each of these new constituencies, existing ward committees were fused into a single divisional association with its own set of vice presidents and sub committees. The seven divisional Conservative associations in turns sent representatives to the GCA's general committee. (67)

Again an increase in the Orange presence resulted from these organisational developments. Orangemen began to figure to some extent among local vice presidents, as well as more notably among the representatives to the GCA in areas where Tory/Orange links were traditionally strong, such as Camlachie and Tradeston, but increasingly now also Blackfriars and Hutchesonstown⁽⁶⁸⁾ College and Central, though, still were immune.

Most significantly, on these new divisional associations, was devolved the power of candidate selection. This too was favourable for an increase in Orange influence. At Blackfriars and Hutchesonstown⁽⁶⁹⁾ for example, in September 1885 W.C. Maughan was selected as candidate, with T.H. Stewart and H. Houston prominent on the platform. (69) In Camlachie the electoral committee was actually chaired by an Orangeman, J.W. Fairlie, and settled on Mr. Arnot Reid of the 'Glasgow News'. (70)

In this way in the actual election, which was dominated both by the Scottish Disestablishment question and by issues surrounding the economic depression of the mid 1880's, Orange involvement, though

localised, was at its highest point since the 1868 contest. Throughout the campaign, for example, Orangemen chaired election meetings - T.H. Stewart on behalf of W.C. Maugham at Blackfriars on October 15th, and again 13th and 16th November. (71) (Maugham, in turn was present at the November soiree delivering the first resolution on the 'Gordon Killing' vacillation of Gladstone Cabinet*). (72) J.E. Fairlie also frequently presided at Camlachie meetings assisted by various other Orange worthies, H.F. Loundes and William Martin, and Peter Morrison was influential at Tradeston Conservative Association when Somervell of Sorn had been eventually adopted as candidate. (73)

Even now progress is not unqualified; and it is useful to close this section with a sample of the type of statement heard from some of the Conservative candidates. At first sight rather puzzling, this again suggests that less than a unanimity of purpose prevailed between the Tories and their Orange supporters. Arnot Reid, for example, despite his attachment to the 'Blue Banner of the Covenant' invoked frequently in his speeches, displayed views on monastery and convent inspection (a cause dear to Orange hearts) which must have seemed extremely disturbing to the Order. In answer to a question whether he would support such a measure he replied

"I understand the whole of the Roman Catholic party are bitterly opposed to the inspection of convents, and I think that in these days when secularism and infidelity are making progress it would be a wrong and injudicious thing to irritate the feeling of a great body of men who are followers of Christ with ourselves". (74)

* Khartoum had fallen on January 26th, 1885.

Paisley

Orange/Conservative links here, in fact, approximate more closely to the 'integration' posited by Hutchison, though even here the integration is not total, and in the course of the 1880's the relationship grows increasingly to resemble a strong but informal alliance. With a strong radical tradition, Paisley was initially an even less promising base for Conservative mobilisation than Glasgow. In these circumstances from the 1860's and the crisis over Irish church Disestablishment, the LOI's membership in the town which, as previously suggested, included a significant artisan and petty bourgeois component, formed an important enclave of potential support.

In the first instance, however, this potential was not translated into electoral activity, as the Conservatives were not sufficiently confident to contest the Burgh constituency of Paisley till the 1880's, and the county franchise applying to the neighbouring west Renfrewshire seat, repeatedly contested by Col. Archibald Campbell from 1868, excluded most Orange voters. (Though Campbell was, of course, a frequent visitor at Orange soirees). (75)

Yet an interesting indicator of what Conservatives could hope for from an alliance was the brief appearance of the 'Paisley and Renfrewshire Standard' from 1869-70. Published by an Orangeman, Alex Gardiner, this was committed to 'promoting constitutionalism' particularly on the Irish Church issue. "Our experience", stated a characteristic editorial, "testifies that in Paisley so long a stronghold for Radicalism, a band of good and true conservatives who have always leavened the community, is being constantly recruited, and if those who call themselves Conservatives are but true to themselves

and the cause a brighter future shall be in store for us." (76)

In fact, the loyal band had to wait nearly ten years till their strength warranted the formation of the Paisley Conservative Association (PCA). The resulting organisation, established at meeting of 400 interested parties in March of 1878, was Orange dominated - even more so than the GWhCA in its earliest days. Present were Orangemen Thomas Fraser, J. Kerr, A.R. Pollock, T. Muir, Peter McCluskie, Thomas Graham, Hamilton Coats, J.N. Gardiner and Peter Burt. A.R. Pollock moved that the PCA be set up, Burt seconded, J.N. Gardiner submitted the rules of management and Fraser seconded. A.R. Pollock was appointed one of the two vice presidents, while Gardiner was treasurer and secretary. McCluskie, Fraser, Graham and Muir were elected to the management committee. (77) The Liberal 'Express' was scathingly sarcastic "A Live Tory in the streets of Paisley! - a real out and out True Blue! The thing is almost too delicious to realise, a rarity of rarities in our midst, a live walking bipea." (78)

A reaction to this domination was possibly expressed in the formation of a further two Conservative bodies, including the Beaconsfield Club, 'designed to give Conservatism maximum scope among intelligent young men' and apparently with less Orange representation; only two Orangemen, Gardiner and Parlane, can be identified at its inaugural meeting. (79) A Habitation of the Primrose League, the first in Scotland, was also established in 1883, its first annual supper indicating no Orange involvement. (80)

More certain is the public recognition gained for the Orange political contribution in Paisley at Lord Salisbury's visit here in 1884. The LOI deputation of James Browne District Master, Adam

Thomson District Secretary, Burt and others presented their address "looking confidently" to the noble lords, "patriotic and statesmanlike policy", immediately after the PCA's and before the Beaconsfield Club and Primrose league offerings. (81)

This liaison had one of its most important tests at the Paisley by-election in 1884 when the Conservatives at last put up a candidate, the young aristocrat Lord Ernest Hamilton. Orangemen were prominent through his fairly lacklustre campaign, W.J. Bell seconding the usual 'fit and proper person' motion at his first meeting and Burt and Mckimmon appearing on subsequent platforms. (82) Hamilton was eventually soundly defeated though, the absence of 'an intimate association with the electors' being cited as a stumbling block. (83)

Already by the general election of 1885, however, some of the dislocation which had already beset Orange/Conservative relations in Glasgow, can begin to be identified. Orangemen do figure notably on election platforms of the new Conservative candidate Robert Mckerrel of Hillhouse, Browne and Thomas Graham at his nomination meeting for example, but somewhat less than in 1884. (84)

Potentially even more significant though is Mckerrel's appearance after the election chairing the Orange soiree. Eschewing any formal connection with the Institution he spoke warmly of its "unflinching loyalty and devotion to the Crown", and remained "deeply conscious of what he owed to their generous support and cordial assistance during the political contest...they had just accorded him such personal kindness that he could always regard the Orange body of the town with feelings of personal affection." (85)

Yet amid Mckerrel's blandishments there is also an early impression

here, particularly when one recalls the Orangemen's intimate involvement with the PCA, of 'the Orange body' now being regarded as something separate.

"One significant feature of the election", he believed, "was that the Irish were united in a body supporting the candidates who supported the Constitution. Not only did the Orangemen come forward as they had always done to support the good cause but Roman Catholics also joined hand in hand and stood shoulder to shoulder for maintaining Constitution and Empire....He was under deep obligation to the leaders of the Irish party generally and the Roman Catholic clergy of Paisley for the support they gave, and he trusted the support would continue." (86)

Greenock

This commercial and distribution centre presents a further marked contrast with Glasgow and Paisley - on this occasion through the relative weakness of LOI/Tory institutional links.

The Greenock Conservatives had not made it their practice to contest parliamentary elections till the by-election of 1878. This had been immediately accompanied by the formation of the Greenock Constitutional Association - an event which fits neatly a contemporary description of a typical Conservative inaugural meeting with "the worthy gentlemen passing round positions along with the snuff box". (87) These 'worthy gentlemen' from the outset, however, were drawn largely from the professional, commercial and manufacturing bourgeoisie rather than the LOI. For although the Liberal 'Telegraph' was anxious to implicate the new Association with an Orange taint, only one Orangeman J. McDougal can be positively identified on the platform, and none of the major Orange officebearers of the town, District Master Johnstone or Deputy District Master William Hyde, for example, are mentioned. (88) At the same

meeting James Fergusson, formerly governor of two Australian provinces, was selected as candidate and electoral subcommittee appointed. Again no Orangemen are included though its class composition is interesting, William McClure, solicitor; J.T. Caird, shipbuilder; J. Scott, sugar refiner; James Glen, banker.

Throughout the actual campaign, although this was in the midst of the Disestablishment controversy and the restoration of the papal hierarchy in Scotland, a similar distance was maintained. Orangemen were apparently active in local wards and providing vote support for Fergusson, ⁽⁸⁹⁾ but they are not prominent on his public election platforms, though they occasionally appear like William York as token 'working men'. ⁽⁹⁰⁾ Fergusson was unsuccessful but perhaps recognising that the Orange lodges could prove a useful auxiliary rather than a positive input into the Constitution Association itself, there is a Conservative turnout at the next Orange soiree. ⁽⁹¹⁾

The pattern was repeated in 1880 but another by-election four years later does indicate some progress in orange/Tory links. The Tories now at least seem prepared to give local Orangemen some public recognition on their platforms, at the nomination meeting for J. Scott, the new candidate, Robert Johnstone and Robert Chestnut, District Master and Treasurer respectively do appear. ⁽⁹²⁾ Again though this does not indicate any significant increase in Orange influence in the Constitutional Association. It is notable too that Scott's election address and subsequent speeches choose not to dwell on traditional 'Protestant issues', even in his opposition to Disestablishment, but much more on the depression in trade and manufacture. ⁽⁹³⁾

Finally, the general election the following year sees the public

profile of the LOI at Conservative meetings confined to a fairly similar level. (94) The keynote issues of the campaign, moreover, local government reform and local and imperial taxation increasingly bore on the economic depression. Thus, at the one meeting when an Orangemen does 'speak at length' for Scott, it is not on account of his 'No Popery' stand but for his position on 'stagnation in the sugar trade'. (95)

Summary and Substantive Problems

While unsuitable for Glasgow, neither can Smith or Hutchison's analyses, from these brief samples, be unproblematically extended to give a comprehensive picture for Scotland as a whole. Rather what emerges for the west, is that the unofficial liaison noted at the outset ranges along a continuum, with Paisley and Greenock at opposite poles. Moreover as the period 1865-85 progresses whatever degree of 'interpenetration' of forces does exist, generally tends to be supplanted by 'alliance' with the 'Orange body'. (At the same time in the East, it should also be noted no Orange/Conservative links are apparent - neither in the Edinburgh based Scottish Conservative Club, for example, nor in the Edinburgh Working Men's Conservative Association). (96)

To a large extent, of course, this latter fact can be attributed to the limited presence of the LOI there. For the other areas above though the exact contours of the Orange/Conservative relationship present a variety of more difficult substantive problems. To give some examples, why was Orange influence considerable in the forming of the Glasgow and Paisley Conservative Associations and why not in Greenock?; why does the nature of this influence and support alter,

notably from the mid-1870's in Glasgow, and why is it on occasion less flaunted by the Tories at critical elections such as 1885?; and perhaps most perplexing, how does one account for the conciliatory statements of Conservative politicians towards the Roman Catholic Irish, again at the 1885 general election?

There has already been pre-emptive discussion of some of these points, but Chapter 11 will give the issues full consideration, examining both parties in the relationship, Conservatives and Orangemen, in turn.

CHAPTER 10

Notes

1. Smith, op cit (1982), p.186.
2. ibid, p.183.
3. Hutchison, op cit (1975), p.384.
4. GWMCA Annual Report (GWMCAAR) 25/1/1870, Conservative Offices, Edinburgh. For reports of meetings, GH 30/11/68, 2/12/68.
5. GT, 14/12/71.
6. GH, 2/12/68.
7. GH, 5/4/68.
8. Gh, 6/11/68.
9. GWMCAAR 25/1/70.
10. GWMCAAR, 9/1/72. For report of 'secularist meeting' see GH, 12/4/71.
11. GWMCAAR, 9/1/72, 14/1/73 respectively.
12. GH, 27/10/68.
13. GH, 29/10/68.
14. GH, 5/11/68.
15. Gh, 17/10/68 result 18/10/68.
16. Glasgow Conservative Association Annual Report (GCAAR) 16/2/75.
17. GCAAR, loc cit.
18. GCAAR, loc cit. A lecture on 'John Knox' had also been given but by Rev. Jas. Dodds, a thoroughly respectable figure, later Minister of St. Georges Glasgow and a Conservative rather than Orange partisan.
19. GCAAR, loc cit.
20. GN, 27/1/74.
21. GN, 29/1/74.
22. GN, loc cit.

23. This is not conclusive, he was apparently approached by unspecified 'influential parties' but is an extremely shadowy figure. No biographical information was found for him.

24. GH, 2/2/74.

25. See Appendix G.

26. GN, 4/2/74.

27. Gh, 2/2/74.

28. GN, 5/2/84. The six are: R. Gault, H.A. Long, R.G. Loundes, D. Lang, G. McLeod, T. Macklin. The others are: J. Haddock, W. Sloan, J. Reid, J. Rodger, A. Thomson, P. Hutcheson, R. Steward, S. Geddes, W. Yuille, D. Black, R. Mitchell, J. Wylie.

29. GN, 27/1/74 - 4/2/74.

30. GCAAR, 12/2/77. The representatives are: W. Sloan (Ward 4), W. Hamilton (Ward 3), B. Kenney (Ward 15), W. Mchaffie (Ward 16). Others on the Committee: H.A. Long, G.C. Rankin, G. McLeod, T. Wetherall.

For 1879: W. Hamilton, C. Summers (Ward 4), G. McLeod (Ward 7), J. Nichol (Ward 13), T. Wetherall (Ward 16).

Again these are known Orangemen, and may understate representation.

31. GCAAR, 17/1/79 (See Appendix G for details).

32. Op cit (1976), p.384. For Bain see Appendix G and 'Bailie' 27/11/72 for Portrait.

33. GN, 17/5/80. He became Provincial Grand Master of Glasgow in the Masonic Lodge.

34. GN, 18/9/79.

35. GN, 10/3/80.

36. GN, loc cit.

37. GN, 15/3/80.

38. GN, 26/3/80.

Pearce's Orangemen: *J. Adamson, *W.J. Anderson, J. Brown, *R. Gault, *P. Hutcheson, *J. Haddock, *J. Johnstone, H.A. Long, *R.G. Loundes, *T. Macklin, G. McLeod, W. Mchaffie, *W. Orr, J. Reid, C. Summers, T.H. Stewart, W.G. Taylor, J. Wylie.

* Not on Bain's committee.

Bains Orangemen: J. Brown, *J. Davidson, *S. Geddes, H.A. Long, G. McLeod, W. Mchaffie, T.H. Stewart, C. Summers, W.G. Taylor, J. Wyllie, *W. Hunter, *H. Kennedy.

* Not on Pearce's committee.

39. GN, loc cit.
 40. GN, 2/4/80.
 41. GN, 3/4/80.
 42. The Bailie, 27/11/74. (He eventually became MP for Whitehaven but was defeated in 1892). For the 'Eagle' R.J.S. Patterson, Victorian Summer of the Clyde Steamers 1864-88, p.24.
 43. For example, GN 18/3/80, 19/3/80.
 44. GCAAR, 17/2/81. For example, GN, 23/3/80.
 45. GN, 15/3/80. The NBDM noted joyfully that Bain's candidature would be more accurately described if one were to say he adopted the Tories rather than they adopted him, 18/3/80.
 46. GH, 3/4/80.
 47. Op cit (1975), pp.384-404.
 48. See GCAAR 17/3/81 and GN report of special meeting 10/11/80.
 49. ibid (1881).
 50. GCAAR, 13/2/82, 17/2/81, 13/2/84.
- The six ward officials in 1882: W. Hutcheson (ward 2), S. Geddes, T.H. Stewart (ward 14), P. Morrison (ward 15), T. Wetherall, H. Houston (ward 16).
- 1883: W. Hutcheson (ward 2), G. Phair (ward 10), T.H. Stewart (ward 14), P. Morrison (ward 15), T. Wetherall, H. Houston (ward 16).
- 1884: J.W. Fairlie, T.H. Gilmour (ward 2), J. Wyllie (ward 11), T.H. Stewart (ward 14), P. Morrison (ward 15), H. Houston (ward 16), J. O'hara (ward 6).
51. GN, 5/11/81.
 52. GN, 19/11/81, 26/11/81. See also Orange meeting GN, 26/3/81 for platform packed with local Tory notables.
 53. GN, 26/1/82.
 54. GN, 27/6/81.

55. GN, 4/11/84.
56. GN, 13/2/82.
57. GN, 3/12/84 and 23/3/85.
58. Minutes of Maryhill Conservative Association, Conservative Office, Eainburgh. Angus was a moulaer and DM of LOL No. 442.
59. GN, 10/2/83.
60. For example, GN 9/6/81, 29/11/81.
61. GN, 1/10/84, for description of ceremony and text of address.
62. GN, 28/1/84.
63. He went to address the North East Conservatives 29/2/84 and North West 10/4/82 (GN).
64. GN, 15/2/84.
65. GN, 6/11/85.
66. For very useful account of their economic and social structure McCaffrey Ph.D., op cit (1970) Partick, Govan etc., were separate divisions at this point.
67. GCAAR, No. 17.
68. See GCAARS 1884-6. T.H. Stewart was becoming particularly prominent in Blackfriars.
69. GN, 9/9/85.
70. GN, 10/10/85.
71. GN, 16, 14, 17/11/85.
72. GN, 6/11/85.
73. GN, 17/10/85, 7/11/85 for example. For Morrison 20/8/85, 3/9/85.
74. GN, 23/11/85.
75. Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette 5/11/70, etc.
76. First issue 1/5/68. Religious issues and Ireland dominate Nos. 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 20, 23, 25, 34, 43. On Irish Bill, Irish Protestantism and Irish Popery. Retrospective view No. 14 Irish endowments No. 22, Fenian clippings 32, 34, 35, 37. Tenant right in Ireland No. 76.
77. Paisley and Renfrewshire Standard, 23/4/70.

- Daily
78. Paisley, Express, 29/3/78.
 79. 3/7/79. The Gazette mocked 'never did a mountain labour so long and with such portent and yet produce such a small mouse in the end'.
 80. GN, 21/4/84.
 81. GN, 1/10/84.
 82. GN, 6/2/84, 14/2/84, 5/2/84.
 83. GN, 16/2/85.
 84. GN, 9/11/85, 28/10/85, P & R.G. 23/11/85.
 85. GN, 12/12/85.
 86. GN, loc cit.
 87. 'Why Conservatism Fails in Scotland', W.E. Hodgeson, National Review 2, 1883-4.
 88. GN, 25/12/77, 28/12/77.
 89. GN, 25/1/79.
 90. GN, 5/1/78.
 91. J. Alexander, Secretary of the GCA, is present, GT 16/11/68.
 92. GT, 9.11.84.
 93. Gt, loc cit.
 94. e.g. GN, 23/10/85, 7/11/85.
 95. GN, 11/11/85.
 96. Scottish Conservative Club list of members 1877. Annual Reports 1878-85, Conservative Office, Edinburgh. GN, 27/9/73 for EWMCA its objects are markedly more 'political' and less 'religious' than its Glasgow counterpart.

CHAPTER 11

DYNAMICS OF MUTUAL DISTANCE AND SUPPORT 1865-85.

The Conservatives

The first task here is to specify the initial attractions the Orange Lodges held for many Scottish Conservatives.

For Hutchison, as already indicated, the central motive factor was provided by the failure of Conservative overtures to the Whiggish Liberals. This approach, he suggests, had little substance to it at the time of the 1874 election, and by 1880 'the respectable solidarity of Liberal voters' hastened the lurch towards the Orange movement, the result being an electoral 'cul de sac' for the Tories.

On the surface this appears fairly plausible, yet serious doubts must be raised over its ability to explain the early Orange influence in the GWMCA which was, of course, strongly evident in the late 1860's and early 70's. Its wider value too is doubtful - if the thesis is extended to Paisley, for example, one must query whether this could be the only factor in the extent of Orange dominance of the PCA there in 1878.

There is in fact rather too much 'neatness' in positing 1880 as a decisive break in attempts to win right-wing Liberals. And Hutchison's weakness here may be seen as partly the product of attributing to a party something of individual subjectivity. In practice the factors behind Tory/Orange links were more makeshift, unstable and contested.

One predisposing factor must have been the staunch Protestantism

of many of the Scottish Conservatives, hutchison indeed views this as the 'central binding factor' of Glasgow Conservatism in the 1870's and 80's. The 'Glasgow News' is certainly replete with corroborating references from its first editorial onwards, (1) and even Disraeli, who in his 'Young England' days had forged an admiration for the English Roman Catholic tradition, on his visit to the city spoke uncharacteristically (but with a characteristic flourish) on 'the simoon of sacraotal usurpation' in the intolerant claims of infallibility and temporal sovereignty for the Papacy. (2) Nor can one doubt the genuine piety behind the professions of William and James Baird and their nephew, Alexander Whitelaw. This is clear from Whitelaw's own surviving correspondence and from the Baird's biographer McGeorge, who recounts that every Sunday as children they were assembled and the shorter Catechism gone through, each child answering a question in turn and each further being required to repeat a new psalm every Monday morning. (3)

Yet to attribute a marked causal role to such religious sentiments is very misleading, for as the preceding chapter indicates these had also characterised Toryism in the early 19th century, precisely when the notion of an Orange alliance had been most invidious. Clearly then some rather novel contributory factors are in operation.

here an interesting initial point is the working of the 'Ulster factor'. This, it has been suggested, often had adverse results for the LOI, leading to perceptions of Orangemen as 'alien imports' - in the 1830's, of course, it had been a major obstacle to the projected alliance with the Glasgow Tories. Now from the late 1860's, however, some of the leading Tories such as W.C. Maugham, James Hamilton and

later Andrew Bonar Law were themselves from Ulster or of Ulster descent. Maugham, for example, secretary of the GCA in 1880 had only arrived in Scotland in 1874. While not members of the Order they were at least familiar with the role of the Orangemen in the province as stalwart Conservative allies in various crises over the established church and the Union. Again, though, this should not be overstressed. It does not, for example, seem very noticeable in the case of Paisley. Even in Glasgow it was not irreversible and when the Orange/Tory relationship proceeded unfavourably, the familiar stresses on Orange 'fanaticism' and rowdyism could surface from those Conservatives without Ulster links (see Kilmailing letter, below). Perhaps, then, it is better to view it as a supplement to a much more basic and pragmatic impetus to Orange/Tory links.

This impetus was provided by the historically weak position of Conservatism in Scotland and the further exigencies imposed on the Party by electoral reform from the late 1860's.

The evaporation in the 1840's of the feeble Conservative organisation that had existed in the West of Scotland has already been noted. Even in 1874 the Party carried only nineteen out of sixty seats in Scotland despite substantial victories in England. The debility of Scottish Conservatism led to a variety of diagnosis and remedies, ranging from the cautious reports of Party workers in 1885, detailed by Crapster, ⁽⁴⁾ to Disraeli's injunction to the Scots to "leave off mumbling the dry bones of political economy and munching the remainder biscuit of effete Liberalism." ⁽⁵⁾ In particular, additional pressures were imposed by Disraeli's 1867 Reform Bill, which for the first time potentially enfranchised sections of the

working class.

To examine the full debate as to why the Tories tampered with reform is really beyond the range of this study. Though it does seem plausible that the more perceptive and adventurous sections of the Party, including Disraeli, were able to realise the dangers of the continued dominance of the traditional aristocratic wing, which had given the Party its 'stupid' epithet. Accordingly, they may have felt the need to prove themselves, like the Labour party in the 1920's, by staying in office; more indirectly they may too have realised the potentially beneficial effects of such a measure for social stability.

The consequent need for organisational reform, to promote working class mobilisation, seems well recognised in the West of Scotland. (Considerable effort was required, for example, simply to secure registration among the new electorate, to enable them to secure their votes). Hutchison suggests there was no confidence that they would actually vote Tory, but the major industrial bourgeoisie, rapidly assuming a directive role in the GWMCA, ⁽⁶⁾ certainly did not shrink from explicit working class links. Nor did the 'Glasgow News' display much hesitance on the issue "...the mass of respectable working men are Conservative at bottom. It is quite natural that it should be so, for there is a strong strain of commonsense running through the character of working men of average intelligence." ⁽⁷⁾

Such general developments promoted Orange involvement in Glasgow in two ways. First as detailed empirically in the preceding chapter 'democratisations' of the GCA such as occurred in 1875, '80 and '85 were beneficial in an indirect sense, in so far as they promoted

involvement at local level from working men, who also composed the largest part of the LOI's membership. Secondly, though, and more directly the proletarian LOI must have impressed the Conservatives as itself a useful repository for working class votes - and one which, if 12th demonstrations were any indicator, had been visibly expanding from mid-century. More than that, it was in its own right a valuable organisational mechanism, already well developed for the actual canvassing and delivery of such votes. Even with the introduction of the secret ballot in 1872, the local weight of Orange officebearers could still be considerable. A useful insight into how this might operate was given at a GCA meeting in 1882 when the Orangeman, T.h. Stewart, secretary of the No. 14 (Hutchestown) Conservative Ward Committee, confided they had adopted the Liverpool system of 'captains' and 'sub captains' for each street, assigned 'to pull every man to the poll'. (8)

The situation with the founding and early development of the Paisley C.A. seems to follow fairly similar lines. Though here, as indicated, the Party was even more marginalised by the radical tradition of the town and consequently in need of working class support. Moreover in this respect the Orange lodges in the town may well have proved more palatable to local Tories, given their significant skilled, artisan as well as petty bourgeois elements. (9)

Conversely this link between mass electorate demands and Orange links may go some way initially to explain the seemingly anomalous case of Greenock, where from the outset the Constitutional Association was bourgeois dominated and 'working men' frequently had to form their own committee at election time. Thus a real 'point of entry' to the

selection and control of candidates was not so available to the Orangemen here. In addition, the LOI's membership in the town was residentially concentrated, and moreover reflected most strongly the casual and unskilled nature of much of the local working population. (10)

This, overlaid with the fact that many have been fairly recent arrivals from Ulster, may have given rise to doubts among local Conservatives over the ability of this rather disreputable group to even qualify for the franchise. (11) Even those working men who were involved in the Conservatives' organisation were anxious to distance themselves from an 'Orange' cast - a member of the Working Man's Committee in 1877 protesting indignantly that there were 'working men as well as Orangemen who are Conservatives'. (12)

This is only a partial explanation at this stage but the Greenock case does lead us on to consider the more negative moments of the Tory/Orange relationship, including the shift of the LOI, as detailed above, towards the status of an ally to 'mainstream' Conservatism.

Here it is useful to venture beyond the public pronouncements of certain stalwarts in the Conservative cause, such as Col. Archibald Campbell, W.C. Maugham and J.N. Cuthbertson who seemed quite unabashed by close Orange links and the discomfiture these caused among other Conservatives. Reference has already been made, for example, to the jaundiced opinion of the 'Glasgow News' on the Orangemen and their 12th celebrations, but the paper also carried a letter from one 'Kilmailing' on the 'incompleteness of Conservative organisation' which offers interesting insights on Conservative apprehensions and is worth quoting at length.

"Orangeism", he stated, "is the prevailing sentiment

on some of these [ward] committees. Now none will deny that the patriotism of Orangeism is admirable, their devotion to the Empire praiseworthy, their love of her Majesty deserving of hearty approbation....But they are sworn to opinions which must at times be harmful to the Conservative cause, especially among Scotchmen (sic). Orangemen is believed by many men, good and true Conservatives to be the fanaticism of a religious party, not the fundament of a political one. It would only be fair then, on behalf of all supporters, that less Orangeism prevail on the committees. It is hurtful to the association numerically and hurtful to the Party politically. It grieves one again who feels a deep interest in the Party to find men in the committees whose perception does not allow them to judge between candid controversy and slanderous imputation - who mistake calumny for invective and rashness for enthusiasm. Why not have more discreet and influential men on ward committees." (13) (Author's emphasis).

With these tears for the LOI driving off potential support and the rather oblique references to 'discreet and influential men', we should return to that paradox, stated in Chapter 10: the dynamic conflict between the structural 'democratisation' of Conservative associations, on one hand, which promoted grassroots Orange involvement; and on the other hand, the increasing attraction such organisations held nationally from the 1870's and 80's for the urban bourgeoisie, in particular in England for its professional and commercial sections. In the west of Scotland, however, these groups might remain at a distance if an 'uncontrollable' populist movement like Orangeism was seen too obviously to dominate Conservative councils.

In Glasgow the impression offered by GCA proceedings and officebearers of the period is, as stated, a dominance by the industrial bourgeoisie. Professional and mercantile groups were represented (Maughan and Cuthbertson were typical) but McCaffrey states their involvement was not considerable. (14)

They do seem more influential though in the local Conservative Associations such as Maryhill or in the expanding middle class suburb of Dennistoun - the strength of Conservatism in the suburbs generally in the 1883 election the 'Bailie' suggested was surprising. (15)

In Paisley in the early 80's they also became increasingly prominent in the PCA itself and in the increased activity of the Beaconsfield club and Primrose league, while in Greenock the Constitutional Association was dominated from its outset by all sections of the bourgeoisie. (16)

Besides, even if the exact extent and composition of bourgeois involvement is open to doubt, more certain is its potential to build a new Conservative heartland, as the 'aristocratic' era of politics drew to a close, and as the controversies of Scottish Disestablishment and Home Rule challenged existing class alignments behind the political parties. These points could not have been lost on the more perceptive sections of the local leadership.

Beyond bourgeois participation, actual or putative, in Party associations, a further indicator of the perceived importance of this group were Conservative overtures to disgruntled right-wing Liberals. To counter Hutchison by no means did these overtures cease in Glasgow after 1880. (17)

As McCaffrey noted, for example, by the 1885 election Liberal unity was still severely tested, superficially over policy but in a reality from a long standing rivalry between radicals and right wingers over policy. (18) This had been brought to a head by the redistribution in seats prior to the election, which meant that candidates from contending camps were no longer being run in tandem.

Accordingly, each side strove frantically to control constituency Liberal associations and influence the selection of candidates. (19) Whiggish Liberals were upset both by plans to abolish the House of Lords and to promote land nationalisation, but in particular in Glasgow they resisted policies to disestablish the Church of Scotland, replying to Church Defence Associations which rapidly expanded as the election loomed.

These circumstances were most opportune for Conservative exploitation, raising the standard of 'The Church in Danger', as widely perceived in the campaign. (20) Although the Glasgow News protested stridently to the contrary, this seems to have met with some success, with abstentions and votes cast for the Tories by the Liberal Churchmen contributing to the narrowness of Liberal majorities in Briarleton and St. Kollox, and the size of the overall Conservative vote as against the Liberal's. (21)

It is not possible to specify exactly how much this affected Orange links in the Glasgow case, since the predominantly bourgeois constituencies where Church Defence was most at a premium, like Central and College, had little Orange involvement from the outset in ward committees, etc. Certainly, as indicated in the last chapter, Orange support was not automatically dropped, and a feature of the Conservative campaign on disestablishment is, as McCaffrey notes, its popular nature stressing the dangers for Scotland's Protestant heritage, and 'being sufficiently all embracing to appeal to a variety of differing and often incompatible groups'. (22)

Yet these developments do suggest the error of the 'cul de sac' approach where the LOI was the only potential Tory ally. In fact

something of a practical dilemma presented itself for the Glasgow Tories, with on the one hand the tested support of the plebeian Orange lodges and on the other welcome tactical votes of the right-wing bourgeois Liberals. The latter might be converted into a more permanent presence but crucially could also evaporate if the Orange input to the campaign seemed too intrusive. In this rather fluid situation the Orange/Tory links which did exist, though considerable, could never be unproblematic or unchallenged within the Party.

The effects of the Liberal wooing can be more positively assessed in the case of Paisley. Here, as noted, the originally marked LOI penetration of the Conservatives began to suffer some decline also around the 1885 election. Significantly the new candidate, Mckerrel was of a traditional background, a local landowner and major in the Ayrshire Volunteers, but a 'moderate' Conservative whom the 'Paisley Daily Express' stated explicitly was brought in "to influence the weak-kneed Liberals".⁽²³⁾

Similarly in Greenock hopes for rapprochement with right-wing Liberals may be cited as a further contributory factor in the weakness of the Orange/Tory alliance. Here, such hopes predated the 1885 election, for Liberalism in the town seems to have been particularly prone to fissiparous tendencies, as a result of which Conservatism became less precariously based. In the 1877 bye-election, for example, the Liberals ran two candidates, Mr. Stewart a rather 'advanced' Liberal supporting Voluntaryism and Temperance, and Mr. Currie a moderate though supporting a measure of Disestablishment. The 'Telegraph' described it as "one of the most alluring invitations given to the Conservative party".⁽²⁴⁾ In the 1884 bye-election

the selection of Sutherland 'a reasonable Liberal', "no socialist and confiscator" sounded the death knell of Tory hopes, though in 1885 the Liberal churchmen seem to have gone solidly for Scott, the Tory, and Sutherland was barely returned with a 103 majority. (25)

The 'cul de sac' thesis encounters even more serious problems from a surprising source. For it appears not only did some Conservatives realise the potential of dissident Liberal votes but also, at certain points, those of Irish Roman Catholics.

Three factors were at work here. First the Conservatives and the Roman Catholic clergy were in harmony over the evils of 'free education'. In order to maintain their denominational schools Roman Catholics had kept out of the state system and hence did not benefit from the school fund set up in the 1872 (Scottish) Education Act. The burden of maintenance, therefore, was heavy but would be even heavier with 'free education' through indirect tax. In addition there would be the difficulty of countering the attractions of the new state system.

Secondly, Tory policy on Ireland at this stage was more subtle than the downright opposition to Home Rule which prevailed after 1886. As Macdowal notes, some Conservatives from the 1870's had begun to consider transforming the Irish agrarian system. Eventually in 1887 Salisbury's second government passed a Land Act providing for the revision of judicially fixed fair rents, thus raising the wrath of Irish Tories. There was even a hint before the 1885 general election that some Conservative leaders might have been tentatively considering an imaginative solution for the Irish question, involving the creation of a local legislature - thus best protecting the interests of

property and at the same time 'dishing' Gladstone and the Liberals. Randolph Churchill (later of 'Orange Card' fame) claimed he "had not educated the Party as yet" along these lines. (26)

Such views may have found some resonance with the more 'advanced' Conservative candidates in 1885 like Mckerrel and Arnot Reid, whose conciliatory remarks towards the Roman Catholic Irish population were noted above. The latter's general attitude to Ireland, he stressed, was "considerate, loving and respectful and that must be the national attitude. We must foster Irish industry, help the Irish to become prosperous...we must find them profitable employment, not here among aliens and strangers but in the land and soil that they love and among their friends and kinsmen." (27)

Thirdly, by 1885 Parnell and the leaders of the Irish party had become disillusioned with their traditional allies', the Liberals, failure to deliver significant concessions in the direction of home rule. According to their manifesto of 1st November they were prepared to direct their party's vote tactically for the Conservatives, hoping for Tory support in return for the Irish vote. (28)

This bound the Irish in Glasgow, for previously at an Irish National League (INL) meeting in Glasgow, addressed by T.P. O'Connor, motions had been passed supporting Parnell and pledging to vote as directed by the league's executive. (29) Given the evangelical Protestantism which had been a hallmark of Glasgow Conservatism this was clearly an anomalous position, and nowhere more than Blackfriars and Hutches^{town} where the sitting Liberal MP, Michael Henry, had been forced to move from Galway after his opposition to Parnell but where

the Tory candidate was the familiar figure of W.C. Maughan. The local INL branch sent a telegram begging an exception from its directing body, but none was granted. (30)

In these circumstances the Conservatives obviously had to exercise considerable caution over their Orange links. Such links in the GCA or local associations could not in practice be broken or denied during the '85 campaign. Orangemen, as noted, had even participated in the choice of candidates earlier in the year. However, it was crucial that all candidates, and particularly those in constituencies with the highest Irish settlement were not perceived by Roman Catholic voters as 'under Orange control'. In consequence, diplomacy and the desire not to offend the Roman Catholic Irish community were frequently the characteristics of Tory addresses and public utterances. W.C. Maughan was an exception here, placing his approval for Convent inspection in the heart of his address, perhaps calculating that even with 1800 Irish votes in his constituency he would not unseat Henry. (31)

In Camlachie, with 13% Irish born (in 1881) (32) Arnot Reid proved more dexterous, as with Convent inspection, he was wary on the education question. When asked at a public meeting by an Orangeman, H. Hannay, if he was in the position to do away with Roman Catholic schools he stated, "I am thoroughly in favour of voluntary schools and think that all schools that follow the government inspector's requirements should get the same grant as board schools. (33) Even J.N. Cuthbertson, that frequent visitor to Orange soirees, was forced to tread carefully in his constituency of St. Rollox which had the highest percentage of Irish born of any Glasgow division, 14.5.

Asked whether he would approve of the inspection of nunneries he was deliberately ambiguous, "That would depend on the circumstances, if it were to annoy the Roman Catholic Church I would be the last man to do it. At the same time I have my own private opinion that all Institutions of the country should be on the same footing and open to inspection." (34)

A similar situation prevailed in Paisley where, as noted, McCherrel fully acknowledged support from the Roman Catholic clergy at an Orange soiree, but an even clearer example is offered in Greenock which, of course, had a particularly large percentage of its population Irish born (19.1% 1876-1901). (35) Here we have another major contributory factor in the weakness of the Order's political presence there.

Again the alignment of the Irish vote behind the Tories in this case predated the 1885 election. To take a couple of examples, as early as the 1878 by-election the 'Baillie' had reported that, 'the Orange lion and Catholic lamb were found lying down together at the recent election' and that 'the Tory platform showed how forcibly extremes meet in political warfare'. (36) In fact, dissatisfied with the Liberal candidate's position on Home Rule, Parnell at the eve of poll meeting had explicitly stated, "The advice I give tonight - the advice I give in sorrow and humiliation - is that tomorrow evening every Irishman in Greenock shall go to the poll and vote for Fergusson...", and this the Irishman apparently did like "dumb driven cattle" according to the 'Baillie'. (37)

Here the Tory candidate Fergusson who had previously got into parliament on a 'No Popery' ticket had accordingly to moderate his

views and assert his independence of Orange influence. Thus on the question of the restoration of the papal hierarchy in Scotland he explained, "I am not at all jealous of seeing the Roman Catholics have their bishops in Scotland. I think it would tend to better government of a religious community and anything that tends to better government of the church must be good for the state", though as a sop to Orange electors he added he was firmly against stripping away "the Protestant character of the state" through disestablishment. (38)

A similar if more confused situation also accompanied the 1884 by-election. Now the Irish were left at liberty by their political leaders to choose a Liberal or Tory candidate, but many decided to follow Cardinal Manning and oppose every candidate who did not pledge himself to get money from public funds for Roman Catholic schools. A deputation from the Irish district of Carstairs were dissatisfied with the Liberal Sutherland's refusal to sign a document against free education and instead pledged themselves for the Tory Scott, who notwithstanding his attendance at an Orange soiree earlier the same month, "had pledged himself to do his endeavours to get Catholics a fair share of the school rates". There followed, according to the Telegraph, "a regimented march of the Irish to the Tory side", a phenomenon repeated in the 1885 election. (39)

To sum up here, we have examined the political contingencies which influenced the nature of the Conservative/Orange relationship, from the former's viewpoint. The scope of the study has been limited to the three cases. Some guidelines from the material above can be drawn, however, for the shape relations in the other Orange Centres, Ayrshire and Lanarkshire, might have assumed.

Thus the optimum conditions for cohesive links between the Conservatives and Orangemen exist:

- i). Where Conservatism in a particular district has assumed an enclave character amid a radical tradition, whereby the Orange Lodges are seen as one of the few bulwarks of Tory support.
- ii). When Conservatives in an area realise the potential and challenge of an increasing working class electorate and see the Lodges as useful pre-existing agencies for reaching it.
- iii). Where the class composition of the local LOI displays a more acceptable artisan and petty bourgeois component.

On the other hand the least favourable conditions exist:

- i). When Conservative organisations are increasingly attracting or hoping to attract bourgeois support which might be alienated by a publicly vaunted alliance with the populist Orange movement.
- ii). More specifically, where Conservatives aspire to attract Whiggish Liberal votes which might be similarly alienated.
- iii). Where there is a significant Irish Roman Catholic community and when definite political situations render its vote volatile.
- iv). Where local Lodges draw particularly on unskilled and casual labourers, who may not even have qualified for the franchise.

These conditions are not exhaustive (and the next chapter will analyse more general contributory factors located in Scottish society bearing on Tory/Orange relations) but they do at least provide a starting point for future research.

The Orangemen

We must now turn to some of the initial dynamics of political involvement for the Orangemen themselves. In the first place here, while not wishing to reduce the argument 'ad hominem' it should be pointed out that many of the Grand Lodge figures in the forefront of forging Orange/Tory links were themselves thorough Conservatives by conviction as much as pragmatism. For men like McLeod, Macklin or Wetherall, this may indeed have stemmed from their class position. Wetherall, a 'self-made man' and proprietor of a cutlers' business, was particularly representative of this group. J.N. Cuthbertson, in delivering his obituary, spoke warmly of him as "a man of moderate opinions and at the same time held to the cause of constitutionalism and the Conservatives of Glasgow have cause to regret his absence...". (40)

Clearly, though, from the points above on leadership/rank and file tensions we must also question whether the latter shared Wetherall's Conservative convictions and examine the extent and dynamics of their support. This is extremely difficult for the 1865-85 period. Despite its wealth of source material compared with preceding decades, we actually know more about the rank and files' political sentiments and basic intractability in relation to the Royal Grand Lodge in the 1830's - thanks to the 1835 Parliamentary report. Some judicious reconstruction is necessary then.

One must first ask, for example, how many of the Orange rank and file were actually in a position to vote, even at the 1885 election. Following the Reform Bill of 1884 the great majority of the adult male population would have qualified in theory for the

vote, and McCaffrey suggests for the areas for which records are extant in Glasgow, 7.5 for every 10 qualified got their names on electoral registers. This may be a considerable overestimation, however. Moorhouse, for example, argues that only half of adult males had the vote prior to 1916, with disenfranchisement occurring as a result of registration schemes and patterns of working class housing tenure. (41) The Orangemen would have been particularly affected here, a large number of them being Ulster migrants and, in the case of Greenock and some areas of Glasgow, workers in low paid and casual labour.

Of those who did vote it is even more difficult to specify how many followed their leaders directives at the polls. One Greenock Orangeman certainly repudiated them..."it seems very generally admitted that Orangemen in a body are on the Conservative side and are interested in having a Conservative representative. But that this should be so appears neither consistent with the Constitution of the Order nor the objects for which it was originated. Its leading ideas: fidelity to the Throne as long as it is Protestant, fidelity to the brotherhood for the defence of Protestantism, fidelity to the lawful and Christian means for the propagation of Protestantism. what, we may ask, is there in any of these ideals that would hinder an Orangeman from being a Liberal in the truest sense?". (42)

In stark contrast to such claims, however, it is a compelling fact that this is the only dissident voice to be discovered against the Tory liaison from ordinary Orangemen. By this very silence it seems reasonable to assume that large numbers of them were hindered from being Liberal supporters. They may indeed have followed the

Tory colours in a fairly disciplined fashion, the example of the 1862 School Board election in Glasgow suggesting just how effectively the Orange vote could be directed.

Here W.C. Maughan was firmly the Orange candidate... "it was at the invitation of certain gentlemen who stood high in the councils of the great Orange brotherhood that he was induced to consider whether he might not venture to offer himself as a candidate, and if they succeeded in sending him to the school board, he would endeavour to prove himself worthy of their confidence." (43) Orangeism was indeed his only base of support, for he was thrown over by the Church of Scotland slate in favour of a candidate who would attract Liberal churchmen, and was not accepted by H.A. Long's Protestant 'knoxite' voting confraternity. His share of the vote though, which operated on a cumulative principle was still nearly 10,000. (44)

Plausibly, a considerable part of this must have come from the Glasgow Orangemen themselves, resisting the temptations of 'plumping' for other militant Protestant candidates like Long or Cuthbertson and accepting the Grand Lodge's preferred candidate, though they must have known that Maughan's cause was already a lost one without broader backing.

To understand this, first the existence of potential mechanisms for control, both internal and external to the Order, must be noted. The system of 'captains' and 'sub captains' for each street which the Traceston Conservatives had pioneered under T.H. Stewart, and which probably mirrored the authority structure of officebearers/rank and file in the Lodges themselves, is surely significant in this respect.

Pressure may also have been placed on the Orangemen in their

capacity as industrial workers to vote Conservative. The leading Glasgow Tories, as suggested, were frequently major employers of labour, like Pearce, Bearmore and Whitelaw, and the radical North British Daily Mail was replete at election time with reports of threats and blandishments employed on their workforces. At the Govan bye-election of 1889, for instance, foremen of the Liberal Unionist candidate Sir John Pender, a local shipbuilder, were said to be canvassing for him and putting a cross against men refusing support. (45) Conservative meetings, moreover, were frequently held with employers' blessings at factory gates. On polling day 1885 at Camlachie forty men were dispatched from Duke Street Tannery marching four abreast with a blue flag and 'Vote for Arnot Reid' placards. (46)

Such coercive factors must not be overstressed though. Something of a limit on electoral manipulation was, of course, set by the 1872 Ballot Act. Moreover, judging from events of the 1830's, naked attempts at the coercion of unwilling Orangemen from their Grand Lodge would have incurred considerable resentment and probably publicly expressed opposition.

In fact, here it is essential to grasp that the relevance of strategies like the 'Street captain' system was as mechanisms for the efficient organisation of already existing support for the Conservatives. The wellsprings of such support are two-fold, as neatly expounded by T.H. Gilmour in 1892 in opening the new Coatbridge Orange Hall. Why vote for the Conservative Party? "It is beneficial to the working classes it got one-third less tax for them" and moreover "because it is Protestant in its character, and

got Protestant legislation for them". (47)

To elaborate, first, the distinctive version of the dominant ideology contained in 'Conservative principles' from the 1870's and 80's was able to take adequate account of many Orangemen's real social experience as wage labourers in a system of capitalist production - which from mid-century had assumed the character of a relatively fixed environment. Secondly, though, and more importantly, Conservatism could accord with their world view as Orangemen, presenting a 'true blue' bulwark of evangelical Protestantism against the papal encroachments the LOI increasingly identified from the 1860's. This second factor, however, was always rather precarious and could be seriously undermined when a Conservative government in office was perceived, for example, to have cynically exploited the Lodges' political resources at the expense of their fundamental religious motivation.

To return to the Tories as employers of labour, one can now see that this could have a double edged effect. Orangemen employed by Pearce or Bearmore might well believe that their best interests lay with the personal prosperity of such industrialists and further that such prestigious figures were best suited to the efficient management of Britain's fortunes. Thomas Wetherall's explanations of why his audience should support Pearce in 1880 are instructive in this context.

Mr Pearce is the very gentleman to represent us in Parliament....I am addressing working men, a great body of working men and allow me to tell you that Mr. Pearce has increased the great credit that has always accrued to Clyde-built ships. A short time ago he constructed here two of the quickest going ships in the world, the 'Arizona' and the 'Orient' and for

having done that he deserves your good support". (48).

The 1885 election fought amid a severe economic depression is also interesting in this respect. Here, amid the campaign to save the Church of Scotland and 'the Protestant character of the state' from Disestablishment, Tory candidates in most Orange areas and their Orange supporters on election platforms had to focus strongly on the Liberals as a 'bad trade government', and the need for protective tariffs. This stood at the head of Arnot Reid's address in Camlachie and in his first speech to the working men of the division. "You are suffering a mad, stupid, soul destroying thing called free trade - but which is not free trade", he proposed instead "Free trade in reality" and "poverty will fly at its magic touch". (49) Even Maughan displayed some economic pre-occupations in Blackfriars. Thus at a meeting chaired by T.H. Stewart at which he pursued his more familiar theme of opposing government grants to Roman Catholic institutions, he also felt compelled to state that "Conservatives were the real and true friends of the working man, ever alive to ameliorating the conditions of the working man." He "could point to a large number of measures...by the Party to which he belonged which had raised the social status of the working man, which had increased wages, diminished the dangers to life and limb in daily work and Conservatives were also alive to the need to provide proper housing". (50)

In this general context the rough/respectable distinctions in the Order may also have made a contribution, though again evidence is scanty. Thus for some Orangemen a measure of 'pride' may actually have attached to loyally following their Conservative employers to the polls and the hope that (as if in itself a ticket of entry albeit to a

very minor stake in the ruling elite) a Tory vote might be a further element of their decent and respectable status in the community and the workplace - though there was also the danger of being known as a 'boss's man'. For the more rowdy elements in the Institution these considerations were probably outweighed in a more uncomplicated fashion by the fact that the volatile atmosphere of election time provided frequent opportunity to exercise their combative zeal. At the Bridgeton by-election of 1867, for example, fighting between Orangemen and "certain Irish Nationalist parties" broke out "amid such ejaculations as 'Billy Gladstone's a murderer' and 'Don't forget General Gordon, you salpeen'...". (31)

however, such factors as the Conservatives striving to present themselves as 'working men's friends', their ability to frame competing definitions of reality within their repertoire, or even the excitements of polling day, operate on a very general level and are not in themselves sufficient to explain the specific alignment of the mass of Orangemen behind the Conservative party, as opposed to any other 'working men'.

For this we must return to the second set of factors, a series of politico-ecclesiastical issues which arose from the late 1860's, dramatically convincing Orangemen that their 'Protestant faith' and 'the Protestant nature of the British Constitution' were seriously in danger. Crucially, these further convinced the LOI that the Liberal party had profound 'popish' sympathies and the Order should be politicised by offering their active support to the Tories as 'the Protestant Party' - this, of course, marking a seachange from the 'Glorious Revolution' when Toryism had Catholic and Jacobite

undertones.

In the first place, as previously suggested, increasingly Ultramontane tendencies had become apparent in the Roman Catholic church, during the reign of Pius IX. This movement, in essence, towards papal monarchism, had already become dominant in the increasing centralised church under Gregory XVI but was particularly well represented in one of the Order's favourite ^Abête noires, Paul Cullen, who became Ireland's first Cardinal in 1866, a champion of triumphant ceremonial and religious absolutism, which until then had not distinguished the Irish Catholic church. (52)

Such tendencies, the Orangemen and many other Protestants genuinely believed, set native Roman Catholics on the offensive, removed the Papacy from the domain of mere religion, and this threatened the 'civil and religious liberty' of Protestant Britain. (53) "They were two parties", explained H.A. Long, "Protestants and Catholics and they could not be put on an equality - that thing was impossible. The Roman Catholics must rule the Protestants or the Protestants the Roman Catholics...". (54)

For them such fears received confirmation not only from Fenian activities (which were actually condemned by Cullen) but also from what was seen as an alliance between Gladstone and the Liberals and the Ultramontanes. "Mr. Gladstone had sold himself to that party (the Ultramontanes) to obtain power" stated Long "he obtained power by a compromise with the papal party and he was bound to continue a line of policy favourable to the papal party". (55)

The issue which held the key to this alliance was the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of Ireland. For

Glaostone this was "the discharge of a debt of civil justice", for the establishment of this body of which under one eighth of the population were members was the "root of the evils of that country". The policy had already been adopted by the more advanced sections of the Party in the 1830's but finally became the major issue at the 1866 election. After a Liberal victory an appropriate Bill was introduced in March 1869 and eventually passed. (56)

The LOI was outraged and organised various protest meetings at which the rhetoric of crisis and struggle dominated, "pledging to maintain and assist our Irish Protestant brethren in maintaining Protestantism in Ireland against papal aggression...". (57) Even more crucial, as indicated for Glasgow in 1868, the Order was most vociferous in its support of Conservative candidates who, although vacillating over the specific case of Ireland (Col. Campbell bluntly proposed a 'pruning knife' be taken to the Irish Church), (58) nevertheless in principle supported the church and state connection as a foundation of national religion. (59)

Therefore at this very juncture when working class votes seemed particularly at a premium following the 1867 Reform Bill, Orangemen, both ordinary members of the proletarian Order and their leaders, were experiencing what they saw as a threat to the very heart of the Protestant faith in Ireland, as constitutionally guaranteed. This was felt all the more deeply since many Orangemen were of Irish origin and, as noted in Chapter 7, predominately former communicants of the established church.

The sense of threat from papal encroachment, and its favourable effects for the Conservative connection, received a further impetus in

the early 1870's, this time located firmly in the Scottish context, from the question of religious education in state schools. For many Protestants the 1872 Education Act, again introduced by the Liberals, gravely undermined the 'godly upbringing' of the young, or more specifically the existing practice in Scotland (Use and Wont as it was termed by contemporaries) whereby Bible reading and the shorter Catechism had a pivotal role in educating pupils. For in establishing a national system of democratically elected school boards, with full management powers, it removed control of curriculum and staffing from the hands of the established church.

For this body then, one of the greatest fears was the loss of "that...great principle of Knox - the connection between Religion and Education" ⁽⁶⁰⁾ and that without rigorous spiritual instruction, the Bible being a national not a secular book, education would not be sufficient to combat sinfulness in the rising generation. ⁽⁶¹⁾ Although the positions frequently overlapped, for the Orangemen, however, the dangers had a more definite emphasis. How much the Ulstermen among the rank and file could empathise with 'Aula Scotia's Use and Wont' is open to doubt. More certainly they feared in the schools controversy 'Romanists on the vigil as ever to their religious interests' promoting the 'effete Italian superstition' to undermine their children's moral training. ⁽⁶²⁾

This was threatened directly by the participation of Roman Catholics in the elections for the new school boards. In Liverpool, for example, H.A. Long typically recounted "Rome topped the poll with five. The names and numbers were sent on to...the infallible Pope. Not understanding the cumulative vote he took on the notion that

Papists outnumbered Protestants on the Mersey and wired back 'The sun of Catholicism is setting in Ireland but rising in England'." (63)

More indirectly though, as Hutchison notes, it was also feared that if children were deprived of spiritual instruction, they would become more susceptible to the emotional appeal of Roman Catholicism, thus ultimately severing the link between the Protestant nature of the Crown and Constitution upon which British 'religious and civil liberty' depended.

In these circumstances the first School Board elections of 1873 were important in various ways. First, being based on an extremely low franchise qualification of £4 ratepayers they allowed the LOI a particularly useful opportunity to feel the extent of its electoral potential. The Orangemen's votes (and probably their wives', women made up one-fifth of the school board's electorate) played a vital role in returning H.A. Long to the top of the Glasgow poll with over 600,000 cumulative votes, though both the Orangemen and Long himself pointed out he had the support not only of the LOI but 'the sound Protestants of Glasgow'. (64) Secondly, though, since the Roman Catholic vote was also well marshalled and three of their candidates were returned second, third and fourth (including two priests and a layman, Francis Kerr 'late of the Pope's zouaves') the threat of Papal involvement was hardly eclipsed. (65) Thirdly and most importantly, however, for the future direction of increased Orange self-confidence, it could hardly escape the attention of the average Orange voter in these elections that many of the candidates who stood on the Use and Wont platform, such as J.N. Cuthbertson, William Kingston, and Alex Whitelaw, (who became the first chairman of the new

Glasgow School Board) were also stalwarts of the GCA. The 'Use and wont' position subsequently headed the election addresses of Whitelaw and Hunter in 1874, when Orangemen were explicitly asked by their Grand Lodges to vote only for those pledging to uphold 'the Bible in the School'. (66) This identification of the Conservatives with 'the correct position' on religious education was continued in subsequent triennial elections for some time, and received, of course, its clearest articulation in the invitation to Maughan to contest in 1882 in the Orange interest.

The confluence of Orange and Tory inclinations was not so pronounced over the next 'Ultramontane challenge' with the restoration in 1878 of the papal hierarchy in Scotland. Generally, Conservative criticism was muted and the Orangemen resorted to a memorandum to Lord Beaconsfield protesting that 'the establishment of the Popish hierarchy would be a direct violation of the Constitution and the laws of this Protestant kingdom'. (67) Another crisis in the early 1880's though, again for the LOI, indicated the advisability of Conservative links.

This was provoked by the attempts of radical Liberals such as Dick Peattie, MP for the Kilmarnock Burghs to sever the Church/State connection in Scotland and disestablish the kirk. For the Orange Grand Lodge these 'Liberationists' were quite clearly 'the allies of papists' again intent on dismantling the foundation of the nation's Protestantism and "the best way to oppose their activities...was to do all they could in the parliamentary elections to return not Liberal members but those candidates who were opposed to and would vote against the disestablishment of the church. (68) In effect these

were, of course, the Conservative candidates such as J.G.A. Baird or Arnot Reid who to a man supported the Establishment in Scotland with much less reserve than they had in the case of the Irish Church in the 1860's. For J.N. Cuthbertson, for example, it was "the one link which connects us to the days of the Old Kirk and the Covenant...defended by your fathers and by my fathers at Loudon Muir and Bothwell Brig." (69) For Reid, paraphrasing Dr. Chalmers of the Free Kirk, the results of disestablishment would be, indeed, that "the innumerable hamlets would be forsaken...our peasants again would become pagans or under the name of the naked ritual of Christianity would sink into the blindness and brutality and stern alienation of paganism. (70)

To sum up at this point then, even before the crisis over the Home Rule Bill in 1886, the groundwork for the Orange/Conservative relationship had already been laid - so solid apparently that the Tory alliance was already perceived by some Orangemen as 'natural' rather than, as has been stressed above, the product of definite historical conditions.

Conflict and Conditionality - An Orangeman's Political Duty

The material above raises a further range of important issues, however. First, Orange response on disestablishment, religious education etc., underlines that with the Institution in general 'No Popery', the basis of its traditional 'religious' emphasis, retained great relevance in the later 19th century. The great appeal of the old warcry is, indeed, indicated by the fact that in political contests and debates where it is not appropriate or in abeyance, LOI

involvement becomes at best peripheral.

To take the example of the School Board elections then, interest wanes to a great extent after 'the Bible in the School' controversy of the 1870's yields increasingly from the late 1880's to questions of teachers' salaries and the cost of textbooks. In Greenock, for instance, 'little popular interest' of any sort was reported in 1885 "in contrast with the excitement and sectarian rivalry of 1879 and 76. Few laymen of culture and influence are seeking election and as a consequence the contests are becoming the happy hunting ground of 'pottering' jellyfish types of local politicians". (71)

Local and municipal elections are also interesting here. Occasionally sectarianism did rear itself, particularly in the early 1870's. In 1873, for example, in the 5th ward elections (St. Rollox) 'principally a working man's ward', a candidate, Mr. Lamberton, 'called all staunch Protestants to help him in his warfare' with bills also calling electors not to support 'the beast and the Church of Rome'. (72) Moreover, since the elections in Glasgow tended to coincide with the LOI's November soirees, a few candidates in wards with a significant Orange presence were willing to sit on the platform. The noted opportunist, Councillor Neil who represented Candleriggs and also claimed strong Temperance links, was a frequent visitor in 1874 and 5. (73) Generally, though, during the period of study local elections were felt to be a wholly inappropriate place for religious issues, and were, moreover, not even contested along Party lines till the early 20th century.. When the Orange partisan, Rev. Robert Thomson, contested the 3rd (South Dennistoun) ward in 1883, the 'News' commented that "the town council, Mr. Thomson should

know, is not a place for sectarian disquisition but for the transmission of public business to the best advantage of all citizens, irrespective of class or creed." And Thomson had in practice to mute his anti-Roman Catholic line at public meetings in favour of officials' salaries, free libraries and the fruitmarket. (74)

Under these conditions LOI involvement in municipal contests is very insignificant (and this no doubt further impressed on their contemporaries the Institution's poor adaptation to Scottish conditions). One exception to this rule is itself revealing, though. Thus in Greenock in 1874 the municipal elections had run their usual placid course, but a storm arose over the election of police commissioners when Skivington, a local publican and Roman Catholic, was put up as candidate against the ratepayers list. The Orangemen were duly outraged - as if their sense of 'territory' had been invaded by local papal incursions. Holding "that as a Protestant country Protestants ought to have the direction of Protestant affairs" they threw their weight behind another candidate who was also an Orangeman and he eventually headed the poll. (75)

We have already examined some of the initial economic and religious contingencies which promoted Orange/Tory links. Given this continuing salience of traditional 'No Popery' in the broad ranks of Orangeism, we must proceed to further analyse the relatively harmonious internal relations which prevailed in the Order over its political initiatives, and also to examine what is, in fact, a related issue, the limitations of Orange support for the Conservatives.

The stress on 'No Popery' and 'Protestant Issues' in the early 19th century proletarian Lodges had, of course, been the keystone of a

certain autonomous capacity, which had invalidated direct control or patronage from the Ultra Tories. A central difference with the 1865-85 period, however, is that this stress was now echoed in a Grand Lodge body which, as Chapter 8 suggested, was now able to combine its ambitions for political credibility with an advocacy of the average Orangeman's concern for 'Protestant Defence' - as indicated in its handling of the ecclesiastical and educational issues above.

A more specific factor though, was at work in mitigating leadership/rank and file tension, namely that for the majority of those at Grand Lodge level the support the LOI gave to the Conservatives, as stressed at the outset here, was fundamentally conditional in nature, dependent on the latter's reputation gained during Irish Disestablishment etc for the maintenance of Protestantism. This ensured that the 'fusion' or 'integration' between the two bodies, already empirically refuted, was simply not a viable option. For this would have threatened the LOI's status as above all a body for the promotion of religious principles and in reducing it to a political adjunct would have in turn threatened the Grand Lodge's legitimacy. (76)

It is true that the elements of conditionality and distance are not always easily apparent. The Orange/Tory relationship, as indicated, involved close personal links between the Grand Lodge and bodies like the GCA and provoked characteristically sweeping declarations of loyalty. George McLeod, for example, in 1874 stated "All Orangemen are Conservatives, or if men in our ranks profess radicalism, they are what Luther called honest Italians - black swans - and are very rare indeed". (77) It is also the case that

increasingly from the late 70's, early 80's functions held under Orange auspices became an opportunity for Conservative figures to make speeches on foreign policy rather than religious issues. Col. Campbell had little hesitation in using Paisley soirees for this purpose. (78) Resolutions along similar lines were also common at public demonstrations, a typical example deploring "...the wreck of prestige which the present Government (Liberal)...have brought on the nation in the case of the Transvaal Boers...and generally their unBritish conduct towards the colonies". (79)

Yet away from the perorations of 12th platforms, in Grand Lodge counsels sentiments over political allegiances were by no means unanimous. In Liverpool the 'Protestant Standard' identified two types of Orangemen, in fact: 'Christian Protestant Orangemen' and 'Nominal Protestant Political Orangemen', the former embracing independent representation on class and sectarian grounds, the latter waiving everything for political ends such as the legislative union. (80) In Scotland, tensions were not made so explicit but it is possible to distinguish differing emphasis in the various fulminations of C.I. Paton, Rev. Robert Gault, H.A. Long (religious) and George McLeod, T. Macklin and Wetherall (political).

Thus, although during the 1865-85 period it is the latter which dominates the stance of many of the Orange leadership in their day-to-day dealings with the Tories, the conception of Orangemen as 'Protestants first' before Party remained the official policy of the Scottish Grand Lodge. There was no doubt here, for example, in the mind of H.A. Long, though he later became a vice-president in the GCA "...our wisdom as Protestants lies in being loyal to our common

Protestantism and supporting either party only in so far as their professions and their actions harmonise with our particular stand....". (81)

Even McLeod later stated in contrast to his 'black swans' speech that, "They were compelled to co-operate with the Tories - they could help themselves if they were willing. They were willing to go with any political party who would uphold the principles which they held". (82)

A further important text here though, is C.I. Paton's inaugural address as Grand Master. Delivered in January 1875 it offers a most sustained exposition of the 'Christian Orangemen' position in its quite precise prescription for the Institution's correct role in politics. He opens then, in considerable contrast to the 'Royal Gordon's' ambitions, denying the LOI to be the fodder of party political machinations by its very superiority. "It is no political participation which is the bond of our union. The principles which animate us belong to a higher and nobler sphere. Political parties are always fluctuating and changing, their watchwords and battlecries are soon forgotten but our principles are not changeable and our course of action must be the same till victory crowns our efforts and till the cry arises 'Babylon is fallen, fallen...'. (83)

As above all a religious organisation, the LOI, he believed, was nevertheless reluctantly called into the political arena because of its deadly foe 'Popery' was essentially a political beast - and one, as indicated in the preceding section, 'on the offensive'. "...More a political system than a religious one it pretended to have as its object the salvation of the souls of men, but it was a system of

priestcraft with the object of the complete subjugation of all men under the priests, at the head of whom was the Pope who sought to be supreme and arbitrary master of the whole world". (84)

In these circumstances the course of action Paton recommended was to exercise pressure working behind existing political forces and institutions and mobilising them in support of 'Protestant issues' and 'Protestant rights' - a persistent feature throughout the period of study and beyond. Such activity, moreover, was wholly in accord with the Grand Lodge's desire for respectable status in Scotland. "The use of strictly constitutional means", was invoked, "to make points known to government...". For, "thus we shall make our influence felt most powerfully and increase it every day, and gain the co-operation of those who have not joined the brotherhood but have the cause at heart. How? One, by petitions from each Lodge signed by the WM and members; two, laying wishes and views before parliamentary representatives. Those who are already decided in favour of the course which a true regard for Protestant interests requires will thus be encouraged; the hesitating may be led to decide in the right way and those inclined the opposite way may be induced to change their course or at best, if they will not vote as we would wish, to abstain from voting". (The examples Paton gives of Bills on which Orangemen ought to petition are themselves revealing, being the type of robust 'Protestant issue' beloved of ordinary Orangemen. Newdegate's convent inspection measure and the Prison Ministers Bill permitting convicts Roman Catholic chaplains).

Electoral activity too was vital. School board and municipal elections were worthy of "constant attention to secure the election of

'men of the right principles and views'." As for parliamentary elections, Orangemen should put forth their utmost efforts "to secure the return of members of sound Protestant opinions. let us renounce minor considerations and unite in support of Protestantism...". (85) (Author's emphasis).

Finally, it is important to analyse how this conception of Orange support functioned on a practical level. A useful instance here is the Home Rule issue. For frequently in 'commonsense' narratives Orangeism and Conservatism assume a close identity of interest and expression on this. From a close examination of the Irish crisis in the early 1886's, however, it becomes apparent that once again the Conservative world view, as in the 1830's, encountered among many Orangemen another picture of reality based on 'Anti-Popish Principles'. This in turn encouraged from the Lodges a separate articulation of elements of the prevailing ideology. Moreover, in that this articulation came most frequently from McLeod, Macklin and the more 'politically' orientated Grand Lodge figures, the Home Rule case also indicates that even here incorporation in Conservatism could not be total.

Some Conservatives, the more flexible and intelligent sections of the Party as represented by Randolph Churchill, as noted above, adopted a fairly Machiavellian attitude to the issue of Home Rule in the early 1880s. For the vast majority though - and this eventually included Churchill and Salisbury after Gladstone's determination "to do something for Ireland" became public at the end of 1885 - opposition was total and entrenched.

As in the case of the Ultra Tories of the early 1830's,

understanding of the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland had profound political rather than religious overtones and was very clearly rooted along class lines. Thus the behaviour of Irish Nationalists and Land Leaguers (and Liberal remedial measures in Gladstone's first and second administrations) were seen not only to undermine the rights of property in Ireland but to threaten these rights in the whole of the United Kingdom. As Somervell of Sorn stated, "it is not a question of religions, it is a question of measures...". (86) Coupled with this, Irish Nationalist opinions ran contrary to the growing sense of British national pride and urge for imperial consolidation, fostered by the Conservatives from the 1870's. This viewed Ireland as merely an integral part of a great nation, as Somervell again expressed it "the brightest jewel in the imperial crown". Nationalism, then, could be dismissed often with strongly racist overtones as the artificial agitation by ambitious politicians among an ignorant peasantry. "The Celtic people had no senses" explained Mr. Keown Boyd, High Sheriff of County Down, "the way to treat them was by the strong arm of patient government". (87)

For the Orangemen, however, while opposition to Home Rule was equally intense, the interpretation underlying it had the familiar religious emphasis. This was now given a certain sense of immediacy and desperation from the fact that the site of struggle with the old enemy had again shifted to Ireland, where many expatriate Orangemen had left friends and relations. Their fears are neatly captured in Col. Waring, DGM of Ireland's evocation of "the smoke of burning homesteads...seen from Galloway to Kintyre". (88)

The leadership ably echoed these fears and resulting

frustrations. In this way, besides Gladstone's government 'practically placing a parliamentary value on outrage, violence and murder', (89) the real root of Ireland's crisis was in the Roman Catholicism of the mass of her people and the hold over them enjoyed by the 'popish priesthood', rather than political agitators. Roman Catholic priests, the Rev. Dr. Kane a Belfast Orangeman believed, stood behind the agitators in the belief "any old stick will do to beat a dog with" using the Land League to knock the Protestant church. (90) For the Rev. Thomson priests were "the curse of Ireland" and would do well "to take and marry some farmers' daughters and emigrate to the far west of America.". (91)

Similarly, Paton demanded of his audience "what is the cause of the evils that affect Ireland? - Popery! If the Bible were better known and read there, there would be fewer outrages". (92) Elsewhere he elaborated, specifying the list of concessions that had been made to the Irish Catholics, Emancipation, disestablishment, Maynooth, Land Acts..."each concession made in the hope that...it would satisfy the papists and make Ireland peaceful. And what had been the result? (Murder). Peacefulness, loyalty, contentment? No! but louder and still louder the cry of the daughters of the horseleech 'Give, Give'. The truth must be spoken the British government and legislature had not been faithful to the Protestant Constitution of Britain...It behoved all true Protestants to set themselves with all their might to the resistance of further popish aggressions". (93) (Author's emphasis).

In concluding this chapter, it would be false to argue that these differing political and religious analyses resulted in anything like open conflict between the LOI and the Conservatives at this point.

They could indeed be sometimes combined in a single resolution. "The present state of Ireland simply proves the chronic disloyalty of papists and that the Orange Order is the only effective defence of life and property in that unhappy country". (94) Also some Conservatives like J.N. Cuthbertson tended to approximate more closely to the Orange position than to that of their fellow party members.

However, given that the Conservative picture of reality did have to co-exist here with a different picture, formed largely through many ordinary Orangemen's 'lived experience' of what was regarded as a papal onslaught from the late 1860's, this indicated that the potential for disjuncture was present - again negating the 'natural' and 'fixed' quality of their relations.

While threatening Liberal governments were in power and especially when Home Rule was on the horizon this potential was unfulfilled and Orange/Tory links were relatively prosperous. When, however, the Conservatives formed a government and the Irish crisis temporarily subsided, Orange and Conservative demands might not be so harmoniously combined. At this point, the Tories record as the party which 'upholds the Revolutionary settlement, prefers nobility to nihilism, and goes in for a Protestant government and constitution, a House of Lords and for the established national religion' came under closer Orange scrutiny.

CHAPTER 11

Notes

1. GN, 15/9/73, 8/10/73, 13/6/74, 6/3/75, 4/1/78, 30/7/79, 3/7/80 for sample editorials.
2. GN, 27/11/73.
3. Whitelaw Correspondence Strathclyde Business Archives Mss. "The Bairds of Gartsherrie" 1875.
4. Scotland and the Conservative Party in 1876, Journal of Modern History xxix (1957), p.357.
5. GN, 27/11/73.
6. See C. Levy, Conservatism and Liberal Unionism in Glasgow 1874-1912, Ph.D. Dundee 1983. She notes they still relied on the aristocracy and army for many parliamentary candidates.
7. GN, 30/9/73.
8. GN, 16/2/84.
9. See preceding chapter and Appendix F.
10. See Appendices D and E.
11. McCaffrey, Ph.D., op cit (1970) and Innes Review, XXI article for details on the (predominately Roman Catholic) Irish and the franchise.
12. GT, 21/12/77.
13. GN, 25/7/84.
14. Ph.D., op cit (1970), Chapter V for full discussion.
15. Bailie, 9/12/85.
16. See preceding chapter X of this thesis.
17. See GN editorials 24/4/80, 5/9/80, 23/4/80, 12/5/80 using the Braulaugh controversy in this respect.
18. McCaffrey, op cit (1970), Chapter II and his 'Origins of Liberal Unionism in the West of Scotland', SHR 50, 1971, p.47-71.
19. *ibid*
20. NBDM, 27/10/85; GH, 17/10/85.

21. GN, anxious to boost the Tory performance in its own right, called it "this most preposterous claim" 30/11/85. But see contrast in GH, 2/12/85; NBDM 2/12/85.
22. Op cit (1970).
23. Paisley Daily Express 9/11/85. For campaign and address see PE, 26/11/85; GN, 20/10/85, 28/10/85.
24. GT, 12/11/77.
25. GT, 31/10/85.
26. R.B. Macdowall, 'Conservatism in the Age of Reform', W.S. Church 'Life of Lord Randolph Churchill'.
27. GN, 24/10/85.
28. See F.S.L. Lyon, The Irish Parliamentary Party 1951.
29. GH, 12/10/85.
30. Glasgow Observer, 28/11/85.
31. Address GN, 28/11/85. He obtained 3137 votes, Henry 3759. In the event Shaw Maxwell a Liberal Radical and the only candidate supporting Home Rule scored 1156.
32. McCaffrey, Ph.D., op cit (1970), Chapter I for useful treatments of all the Glasgow constituencies.
33. GN, 23/11/85.
34. GN, 20/11/85.
35. R.D. Lobban, The Irish Community in Greenock in the 19th century, Irish Geography, Vol. 6, No. 3.
36. The Bailie, 6/2/78. 'What Greenock folk are saying' column.
37. ibid, GT, 25/1/78.
38. GT, 5/1/78, 8/1/78.
39. GT, 18/11/84.
40. See biographical index, 11/11/80.
41. Ph.D., op cit (1970), p.35; Moorhouse, op cit (1973).
42. GT, 14/1/78.
43. GN, 23/3/82.

44. See GN, 17/3/82 for Knoxite meeting, GN 21/3/81, 22/3/82, 23/3/82, 24/3/82 for Maughan's meetings, 25/3/82 for result and editorial comment.
45. NBDM, 11/1/89.
46. GN, 25/11/85. At this election William Pearce, Conservative candidate for Govan apparently address a Lodge of his own boilermakers "There were plenty of political associations outside of trade unions who could deal with all political affairs, what they as Trade unionists wanted to have was something regarding trade...". GN, 3/12/85.
47. McDonagh, B.A. Dissertation, op cit (197?).
48. GN, 26/3/80.
49. GN, 17/10/85.
50. GN, 16/10/85.
51. NBDM, 3/8/87.
52. D. Bowen, 'Paul Cardinal Cullen and the Shaping of Modern Irish Catholicism 1882'. Review 'Irish Times', 22/10/1983.
53. GN, 6/10/75.
54. GN, 2/2/74. For Orange inspired anti-Ultramontane meeting GN 8/10/74.
55. H.A. Long, *ibid.* There were even suggestions that Gladstone himself was a Jesuit. The Rev. Potter and Johnstone of Ballykillbeg nearly came to blows on the issue on a public 12th platform, GH 16/7/73.
56. See MacDowall, 'History of the Church of Ireland' for a detailed account.
57. GH, 29/10/68. See Paisley and Renfrewshire Standard reference listed in preceding chapter, Note 76.
58. GH, 12/10/68. Address, GH, 14/10/68.
59. White, 'The Conservative Tradition' especially selections from Disraeli and Lord Hugh Cecil.
60. J.H. Roxburgh, The Glasgow School Board 1873-1919 for general background (1971).
61. *ibid* and Hutchison, op cit (1975), p.400.
62. e.g. GN, 29/1/74 typical comments from H.A. Long.

63. Long, 'The Glasgow School Board Elections' n.o., p.11.
64. Long, loc cit. The Knoxites as stressed elsewhere were not simply a mechanism for organising the Orange vote. (Unless 'Orange' is taken in its most undifferentiated sense, not referring specifically to the LOI).
65. He had been a very shadowing candidate in the 1874 general election. Result of first election, GH 31/3/73.
66. GN, 19/1/74.
67. GN, 25/12/77.
68. GN 30/10/78. See also regular communication of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 10/5/82.
69. GN, 23/10/85.
70. GN, 7/11/85.
71. GT, 26/11/85.
72. GN, 5/11/73.
73. He is lampooned in the 'Bail ie' 22/4/74. A biscuit maker and self made man. Temperance rather than Orangeism was his stepping stone into the council and he was described by a 'News' editorial as 'a serious evil and great public scandal', 16/11/80.
74. GN, 6/11/80, 31/11/83.
75. GT, 11/11/74, 14/11/74.
76. The barriers against fusion would have been further reinforced at grass roots level by the total nature of the provisions the Looges made for many rank and file members. This limited the appeal of local Conservative Associations, which themselves were attempting to develop more all embracing social and recreational provisions for their members, in the form of Association rooms, draughts and cycling clubs, summer outings and even flute bands. See MCA minutes for discussion of provision of rooms, 7/3/85, 17/3/90, 22/2/93.
77. Gh, 3/7/74.
78. e.g. GN, 10/11/79.
79. GN, 13/7/84.
80. Waller, op cit (1981), p.96.
81. GN, 21/11/73.

82. GN, 13/7/81.
83. GN, 11/85.
84. GN, 13/7/82.
85. GN, 23/1/75.
86. GN, 6/11/84.
87. GN, 22/10/81.
88. GN, 8/11/84.
89. GN, 12/7/82.
90. GN, 12/3/81.
91. GH, 13/7/81.
92. GH, loc cit.
93. GH, 13/7/84.
94. GN 6/11/84.

"TRUCKLING TO POPERY" AND "PROTESTANTS FIRST".

The next fifteen year period is important in that it witnessed a decisive realignment of political forces, with the division of the Liberal party over Home Rule. In this chapter the effects on Orange political practice will be assessed, examining in turn: relations with the Liberal Unionist grouping; continuing and developing links with the Conservatives (whom it will be illustrated became much less abashed by their Orange taint); and most significantly the flowering of the conditionality implicit in the LOI's political alliances towards the end of the period. Finally, the Orangemen's involvement in politics in Scotland will be put in a broader context, using comparative examples to isolate some general factors in the Scottish social formation, besides immediate political contingencies, which influenced the nature and extent of this involvement.

Political Relationships Outlined

Chapter 11 employed case studies to illustrate at the outset basic variations in Orange/Tory relations and to examine critically the analyses of Smith and Hutchison. Here where there is even less secondary source material to consider, a more general overview can be offered from Orange electoral activity and participation on political committees. The series of by-elections after 1886 in Scotland also offer useful vignettes of local relationships. First, though, some background is essential, the rather haphazard emergence of political

strategies here again suggesting the error in attributing a unitary subjectivity to parties.

Thus, Gladstone and the more advanced sections of the Liberals' eventual conversion to Home Rule for Ireland and their attempts to introduce a Bill to effect this in 1886 shattered the Liberals' fragile unity with the secession of those committed to the Union. It also ended Conservative overtures for the Irish Nationalist vote and Salisbury's parliamentary alliance with the Parnellites. In these circumstances the Tory press rapidly urged an electoral pact with the new 'Liberal Unionists', ⁽¹⁾ though not all Conservatives were without reservations, recalling the disappointing performance of Liberal Churchmen in the 1885 elections. Co-operation then, as Levy details, proceeded fruitfully albeit with "some currents of mutual tension and suspicion". ⁽²⁾

In Scotland what resulted from these developments was a more distinct polarisation in political ideologies and a more explicit class basis for party politics. The business and professional fraction of the bourgeoisie, whose support, as suggested, the Conservatives in Glasgow had courted from the mid-1870's, now formed the backbone of the Liberal Unionists (LU). Meanwhile the Liberal party itself, as McCaffrey notes, became more politically cohesive and more consciously aligned with the radical left in Irish electoral associations, the Scottish Land Restoration League, etc. ⁽³⁾ For their part, the Conservatives benefitted from the Liberal schism, as Liberal Unionist votes promoted their political ascendency for the next sixteen years till 1902 and buttressed their resultant status as the "great national party of rational and moderate progress at home

and a patriotic foreign policy".

1886*

The first test of L.U. strength at the polls was, of course, the 1886 election. In this highly charged campaign, while the Liberals dwelt on Gladstonian 'masses over classes' rhetoric, the Conservatives and LU's sought to give total precedence to the Irish question and make the election a referendum on the Home Rule propositions. (It was at this point, for example, that Randolph Churchill in contrast to his earlier positions embarked on his epic tour of Ulster to rally Unionist sentiment). (4)

At such a critical juncture it is interesting to find a downturn in an absolute sense in Orange electoral work. Even more significant though the main contributory factor here is not the nature of their participation in constituencies where a Conservative stood - for here indeed links were maintained and even strengthened - but in those where the LU had been selected, whom previous Conservative voters were instructed to support. As the table below indicates this happened on numerous occasions in the West of Scotland.

TABLE 2: Candidates in West of Scotland Constituencies 1886 Election (5)

Blackfriars & Hutchesons Town	L.U.	Govan	Con	Paisley	L.U.
St. Rollox	L.U.	N.W. Lanarkshire	Con	Greenock	L.U.
Trarigston	L.U.	Partick	L.U.		
Central	Con	S.W. Lanarkshire	Con		
College	L.U.	East Renfrewshire	Con		
Camlachie	L.U.	West Renfrewshire	Con		
Bridgeton	Con.				

* won by the Unionist coalition.

Clearly from this many former areas of Orange political strength such as Blackfriars, Camlachie, Tradeston and Paisley, where Orangemen had nurtured local Conservative Associations and had even had a role in choosing candidates in 1885, now had the new political party at the helm. In Blackfriars this meant supporting the sitting M.P., Michael Henry, who had soundly defeated their own favourite, W.C. Maughan, at the previous contest.

In such cases while it is very probable that Orangemen provided vote support for the LUs (in Blackfriars Maughan himself was in the forefront in passing the motion that Conservatives' support Mr. Henry since "he had voted against Mr. Gladstone's Bill and his conduct towards Glasgow had been of the most cordial description"), ⁽⁶⁾ the level of public activity on the part of the LOI is much diminished both in terms of platform appearances and electoral work around polling day. Neither the L.U. 'Herald' or the radical 'Mail' mention the latter. ⁽⁷⁾ This, however, is contrasted in Bridgeton where a Conservative candidate, Mackenzie, was selected, here local Orange worthies McKimmon, J. and C. Summers and William Young, later MWGM, had a very high profile. ⁽⁸⁾

Regardless of the extent of the LOI's public participation, however, the strength of anti-Home Rule and anti-Irish feeling in Glasgow and the West of Scotland generally, ensured a Unionist victory, the L.U.s winning Tradeston, St. Rollox, Partick, Greenock, Ayr, North and South Ayrshire, the Conservatives Glasgow Central, East Renfrewshire and Lanark of which seats eight remained Unionist till 1910. ⁽⁹⁾

By-Elections

A further opportunity to supplement these gains was presented by the various by-elections of 1886, and here again the pattern of Orange involvement above is reproduced.

The first was Bridgeton in 1887, now contested by an L.U., the Hon. Evelyn Ashley. The 'Mail' was in no doubt of the centrality of Orange participation here, with 'orange rowdyism' seemingly directing the tactics of the Unionist side. They furnished an example.

"Arrangements of T.P. O'Connor and Parnell to get the full Irish vote out has disturbed the peace of mind of the Orangemen, and some member of the pious brotherhood has safely delivered after suffering the pains of partuition the following 'To the Irish electors of Bridgeton and fellow countrymen, you cannot vote for Trevelyan (the Liberal) who has proved our bitter enemy in the past' ending 'God save Ireland'. This is the product of the capacious febrile brain of some Orangeman inspired by the Conservatives and it is posted all over the district. The electors should not forget the Orangeman has no politics in the ordinary sense of the word. The religious element is the motive which colours and underlies all his actions. Persecution of the Catholic i.e. the glorious prospect of hearing their bones 'crunch' in the sack is the one aim of the Orangeman's religious and political existence." (10)

In fact considerable caution is needed here. For as a radical organ the 'Mail' regarded the LU's as traitors to the Liberal cause, and one of the most effective tactics to belittle their candidate was not only to refer to his 'catwitted' address but to brand him as the Orangemen's candidate, with the ridicule and approbrium this might incur. Thus in looking more soberly at the 'Mail's' strident accusations one finds firstly that the term 'Orange' is used indiscriminately to refer to, for example, the impromptu Protestant orators of Glasgow Green, like W. Alexander Godwin, secretary of the

Protestant Confederation and Patriotic Union, who had no connection with the official LOI. ⁽¹¹⁾ Secondly, it becomes apparent that the involvement of the latter body was in fact rather marginalised, compared with previous contests.

The 'Mail' is more accurate when it describes the backbone of Ashley's public support as "those minor satellites...the peripatetic band of Grahame, Jackson, Cross and Co. (limited)", in other words the prominent LUs of the city who were successful at the 1886 election. For Orangemen figure on his platforms only when and where they are calculated to be of the maximum benefit and minimum embarrassment. In Dalrnock, for example, a working class section of the division and territory of No. 44 district of the LOI, James McManus, then secretary of the Orange district, is present at a Unionist meeting in the local parish churches. ⁽¹²⁾ When George McLeod is invited on the platform at the Bridgeton Temperance Hall his presence is balanced by the presence of prominent ex-Liberals. ⁽¹³⁾

A rather similar situation prevailed when Ashley, again unsuccessfully, contested the Ayr Burghs seat the following year. Orange District Master William McCormick then, does have an important role at Irvine where the Order had some weight but in the rest of the constituency Ashley seems more comfortable in the support of 'the peripatetic band' of LU's including Cameron Corbett MP, and of notable Ulster Orange figures such as Col. Saunderson and Mr. Hillsmore rather than local LOI luminaries. ⁽¹⁴⁾

The next two by-elections, Govan in 1889 and Partick 1890, have LU candidates, Sir John Pender and J. Parker Smith. Again in the first case the 'Mail' was swift to highlight gleefully the candidate's

'Orange' links. "...a considerable number of Orangemen of Govan including the chairman (a Mr. William Coulter) and from as far away as St. Rollox were present at a meeting of supporters and cheered wildly at the various speakers. One of them, an aged individual, rose and said, 'We are the boys, the Tory boys.'" In its editorial it stated, "It is rather singular that a gentleman who has so much gush for working men should spend such an amount of valuable time, addressing hole in the corner meetings consisting mostly of Orangemen, instead of getting face to face with the working men without delay. Last night's meeting was largely composed of Orangemen imported from other districts of the city. Even the chairman was by his own admission an Ulster Orangeman. What can the Scotch working men of Govan think". (15)

Mr. Coulter himself, though, captured the real extent of Orange involvement behind the 'Mail's' taunts, "...it had been stated that the working men's committee was composed solely of Orangemen and that its chairman was an Ulster Orangeman. The committee consisted of 380 and any unprejudiced individual going over the list would not find the name of half a dozen Orangemen. It was solely composed of working men, speaking to himself he was not ashamed to admit he was an Ulsterman but he had not the honour of belonging to an Orange Institution." (16) (Author's emphasis). Likewise in Partick Orangemen remained peripheral to Parker Smith's campaign in which visits from local LU's, leading national figures like Austen Chamberlain and Ulster Unionists like W.E. McCarthy were most prominent. Here in fact the 'Herald' felt able to comment that, "all the same it has been a good thing both for the electors and the

candidates...that...so little of the Irish fury has been introduced into the Partick contest" and elsewhere that it had been "less troubled in the incursions voluntary and involuntary of strangers that has too often been the case in by-elections of late years." (17)

A final by-election should be noted, though. This took place at Paisley in 1891 with Maj. Mckerrel again as the Conservative candidate. Compared with the Govan and Partick examples, Orange involvement is fairly impressive, the District Master here, Robert Farmer, being energetic in his campaigning for Mckerrel, and Thomas Graham among those nominating his candidature. Yet recalling the dominance of the PCA in its inception in 1878 by the Orangemen, it is particularly significant to note that the Orange body now constitutes more of a special 'interest group' among the broader Unionist forces. Thus it holds its own pre-election meeting in the town's Tannahill Hall where James McManus, representing the Grand Lodge, officially endorses Mr. Mckerrel and urges those present to "do all in their power to secure his return" and where "it was unanimously agreed that the brethren should give their united support in the interests of the Unionist candidate." (18) In 1880, for example, this support had been 'automatic' from the local Orange leadership's participation in the main Conservative body.

1892*

Moving on to the next general election, again this was fiercely contested with Ireland in the principal issue, though the Conservatives

* A Liberal victory.

and LU's also broadened their platform pointed to Lord Salisbury's social legislation, the need for local government and land reform and the extension of employers' liability. Here particularly noteworthy is not so much Orange/LU distance as the strengthening of public links between the Order and the Conservatives.

In Bridgeton, for example, the Conservative candidate was the ubiquitous W.C. Maughan who had "offered himself spontaneously" for the contest. (19) (Maughan was never afraid to beat the anti-papal drum and at a meeting of working men condemned Gladstone as, "a statesman who had truckled to Rome and simultaneously courted the Pope"). (20) James McManus, now a Grand Lodge official, was again particularly active in the Unionist interest, but occupying a more central place in this campaign than in 1887.

Particularly significant though is the public recognition that such co-operation now receives from many Tories. Again this confirms the impression taken from the Paisley by-election that the lodges increasingly constitute a formidable interest bloc in their own right, whose support was by no means guaranteed. Thus J.S. Maxwell, Conservative Candidate for College division willingly addressed a meeting of Cowcaddens district of the LOI - the first time a parliamentary candidate had done such a thing in Scotland. his speech, moreover, was highly flattering.

"He was glad to recognise in the quality of their enthusiasm, something different from that meeting in the theatre over the way. ([Liberal meeting addressed by Gladstone]. There was spontaneous enthusiasm. The chairman had said it was not usual for a candidate to address an Orange lodge. (why not?). He agreed with the gentleman - why not? (Cheers). It had certainly never occurred to him to refuse the invitation (cheers). There might have been in the past some

neglect of the Orangemen by the Conservatives, but he thought that probably arose from the fact that the Conservatives were sure of the Orange vote." (22)

Now Conservatives also shrunk less from 12th platforms and acknowledging Orange support there. In the aftermath of the '92 election then C. Bine Kenshaw, successful Conservative candidate for West Renfrewshire, who was unable to attend sent a warm letter of apology, he "would have been glad to have had the opportunity of thanking them for the loyal and hearty way he had been supported at the poll (loud cheers)....., he wished to carry grateful thanks for the manner they had all worked." (23) (A precedent for this had already been set in Ayrshire in 1890 when the Conservative agents for north and south of the county, had appeared at the 12th demo in Kilmarnock). (24)

The 1892 election also gave the LOI its first 'Orange' MP in the person of William Whitelaw, who had been extremely lucky to win Perth after a split Liberal vote. He did not dissemble over his Orange credentials but said "he had the honour to belong to the body of Scotch Orangemen (sic) and there was no better organisation on the Unionist side". (25) Subsequently Whitelaw's brother Alex, candidate for North East Lanarkshire, was also seen on public platforms of the LOI at Harthill in 1892, for example, where he proposed a resolution in opposition to Home Rule. (26)

1895 and 1900*

The results of the 1892 elections were disappointing for Scottish

* Both Unionist victories.

Liberals, with the Unionist coalition successfully stemming the National Liberal tide, particularly in Glasgow where they won three additional seats. This momentum indeed continued at the next election in 1895, fought over Home Rule, the House of Lords and Temperance and labour questions, where they won five out of seven Glasgow seats and also the Partick and Greenock contests.

Here too the momentum of Orange/Tory rapport was maintained. This is again particularly noticeable in Bridgeton where the Conservative Scott Dickson was candidate and Young and McManus were frequent platform visitors. (27) The closest Orange links though are with the Conservative candidate for Blackfriars, Alex Stuart of Blairhill, Stirling. Stuart appears at the 12th celebrations at Falkirk eagerly courting the Orange vote and has T.H. Stewart and Peter Morrison, as well as speakers from Ulster in attendance at his meetings. One of these, Rev. Thomson, proved particularly unsuitable and "when the meeting was not taking Mr. Thomson's Orange harangue seriously, Mr. Stuart deemed it necessary to pull the orator's coat-tails." (28)

Stuart's campaigning generally in Blackfriars met with little success and his Liberal opponent, Provand, was returned with a 448 majority. The seat, though, was finally won by a Unionist, later to become P.M., Andrew Bonar Law, at the 1900 election, when the coalition swept the board of Glasgow seats. This was the 'khaki election' fought on the key issue of the South African war, with the Unionist appealing emotively to electors to support them to show Britain united, and fielding local men as candidates - in Glasgow four Conservatives and three LUs. (29)

At this point it is possible to trace some faltering in Orange involvement with the Conservatives. The Orange presence is still significant at Bridgeton where Dickson is again candidate with Young and McManus in support. (30) At Blackfriars, though, although the veteran T.H. Stewart is prominent, presiding over one of Bonar Law's meetings, the candidate does not make a comparable effort to his predecessor, Stuart's, to woo the Orange electorate, publicly stating his support for a Catholic University of Ireland 'under proper conditions'. (31) In Colledge, J.S. Maxwell, who at the previous contest, as noted, had addressed local Orangemen, now responded negatively to the perennial question of Convent Inspection. "I don't think any case has been made out yet for interfering with the nunneries". (32) In the LU seats Tradeston, Camlachie and St. Kollox the distance from the LOI which had characterised the Party from its outset was maintained.

Committees and Councils

To complete this assessment of the period's political relationships we must consider Orange involvement in the internal structures of the parties.

Not surprisingly, in the case of the Liberal Unionists no prominent Orangemen are found either in the original West of Scotland branch of the Liberal Committee for the Maintenance of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, or in the later West of Scotland Liberal Unionist Association, or the Glasgow Liberal Unionist Council. (33)

In the Conservative case the evidence balances to some extent the

Orangemen's high public profile at election time. Thus in Glasgow, for example, the strongly localised pattern of Orange/Tory links noted for the 1865-85 period, in fact, persists. Briogeton boasted the most significant Orange involvement with as many as five known Orange vice presidents. (34) These, of course, form only a small minority of total VP's (49 in 1895) though in this division Orangemen also manage to achieve more influential executive positions - McManus is vice chairman in 1888, Heriot Longmuir and William Young delegates to the central body, the GCA, in 1889.

In Camlachie the pattern is similar where HDGM, J.E. Fairlie, was particularly active in representing the Division in the GCA in 1887, and in 1899 an Orangeman, T.H. Gilmour, actually became paid organising secretary for the area. (35) In Tradeston three to four Orange vice presidents (VPs) are regularly found again constituting a small majority though one, Morrison, was delegate to the GCA in 1888 and T.H. Stewart became Hon. Secretary in 1899. A few Orange VPs can also be identified for Blackfriars, including Macklin, and Stewart before moving to Tradeston was its GCA delegate in 1898. (36)

Even in those 'working men's divisions then, by no means did Orangemen numerically dominate their committees. In the more prosperous constituencies of Central and College their representation was even less significant, though College's greatly extended list of VPs in the early '90's does allow some of the Cowcaddens Orangemen to appear, S. Judge, for example, in 1893. (37) Peter Hutcheson, a shipbuilder, who had been a member of the Grand Lodge in the 1870's, does rise to prominence in Central division becoming chairman in 1886, but he had relinquished his Orange office by then, and does not appear

to have been publicly involved with the Lodges.

Finally, this varying strength at constituency level was reproduced in the new Western Divisional Council (WDC) created in 1893 to manage all central work for the divisions in its area, and to enable divisional associations indirectly to contribute to the contribution of the Central Conservative Council. The co-opting of Orange officials, noted by Urwin, probably did not take place till the early 20th century and at this stage the only Orangeman who can be identified is William Young in his capacity as delegate for Bridgeton in 1893-4. Much more numerous among delegates were local Conservative notables and sitting MPs and it was certainly these figures who dominated the WDC's representation on the Central Council. (38)

Some Determinants of Political Relationships

Having examined the empirical material here, we can now turn to the dynamics underpinning the political parties' links with the LOI, and finally analyse the increasing autonomy and conditionality in the Orange political attitude.

The Liberal Unionists: As the preceding discussion suggests there were no institutional links between this Party and the Orangemen, nor much of an interchange of personalities on public platforms. Yet to claim with Smith that there was no association whatever between them is probably inaccurate. (39) Significantly, for example, in the Glasgow divisions which the LU's contested as a new Party in 1886 Camlachie, Blackfriars, etc., they would have encountered the Orange vote as one solid for the Union, and the local Looges as well

established local bodies, with their own valuable lines of communication, and canvassing experience. What we have to explain then, is not an antagonistic relationship but an unwillingness to acknowledge grass roots co-operation - what has been described above as the maintenance of a 'public distance'.

In fact the explanation here is to be found in the LU's ideological antecedents and the circumstances of their foundation, and how these interacted with the specific conditions of constituencies and candidates.

Thus, in the first place, the major leaders and supporters of the LUs were, as suggested, largely drawn from the business and professional sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie, alarmed by the threat to imperial unity and the access to foreign markets on which much of their prosperity depended. As such they were, of course, liable to the long standing prejudices of that class against what they perceived as the rowdy, ignorant and populist overtones of the LOI.

Unlike their Tory allies, whose Orange links were now of fairly long standing, their recent experience as Liberals in successive elections had by no means mitigated such impressions and may have prompted some to give credence to a typical anecdote, circulating around the LU constituency of Partick in the 1890's of an illiterate Orangeman who was said to have mistaken the polling booth, with curtain, for a photographic studio. (40)

More pragmatic considerations also intervened. At the time of their secession, as Hutchison suggests, the permanency of this manoeuvre was not immediately obvious to the actual participants, and in the very fluid situation around 1886 it was imperative for the LUS

not to fuse with the Tories but to maintain a separate identity and oppose Home Rule as Liberals - a particularly valid position in Scotland given the Tories' historically poor performance since 1832. An independent 'Liberal' stance, however, would hardly be assisted by a high profile on LU platforms from leading Orangemen, who were perceived by the Liberal press as the most extreme adjuncts of 'True Blue' Conservatism. Even in their absence the Mail gleefully pointed to the 'Whig-Tory-Orange' as in the Bridgeton by-election, or 'Tory-Orange' dirty tricks. (41)

A genuine antipathy towards the LOI was also likely from the more radical Chamberlainite tendencies in LU party, which in the 1880's and 90's attempted to retain Liberal credibility by a 'constructive social policy'. (42)

A further necessity, though, also imposed itself on the LUs from the outset, namely to win over Gladstonian Liberals uneasy over Home Rule and as Levy suggests, to persuade wavering LUs to leap the psychological barrier not only to vote against Gladstone, but in some divisions to vote for a Conservative candidate. (43) Here again, given the delicacy of the situation, the public assistance of their Conservative allies, not to mention forceful Orange participation was unwelcome to many LU candidates. The Conservative 'Scottish News' was tactfully aware of this and suggested that Ashley, the Bridgeton candidate in 1887, "might if he had chosen had his platforms filled with the leaders of Glasgow Toryism...but he has not desired these aids. He holds, we presume, that such aid might tarnish his reputation as a Liberal and might prevent weak-kneed Liberals from supporting one who seemed too intimate with the Tories. (44)

Advice along similar lines directed at Orange involvement was given to the Partick candidate in 1890 Parker Smith from a sitting LU M.P., H.T. Anstruther. "I should advise you not to have the Irish Loyalist lectures; they mean very well by their offers and...might keep your Orangemen in good heart; but if...it is to 'be an electors' battle make it so, and call in everyone to your aid who will give a little time and trouble amongst them personally and 'influence' them." (45)

Parker Smith seems to have accepted this advice and, as noted above, the contest placed little emphasis on Irish issues or personalities. He also diplomatically declined an invitation from the Orange partisan, Revn Quintin Johnstone of Whiteinch, to visit his church. Johnstone, though, was most understanding on the matter. "I think the fact that you will not come to our church in the present circumstances only furnishes an additional proof of your struggle to represent the Partick division of Lanarkshire. When you can write 'M.P.' at your name we shall be glad to see you in church any day you see fit to come." Meanwhile, he was "working quietly for him in the hope of getting a few votes." (46)

There were exception to this pattern. In the 1895 election, for example, a deputation of Orangemen was brought over from Belfast in support of the LU candidate, Fergusson, in the Govan division, (47) and it is in such cases that the candidates personal predelictions and specific local factors come into play. In Govan attempts were also made to win the Rechabite vote and the candidate may have favourably calculated the viability of a Temperance/Orange/working man-type coalition against a wavering Liberal/Glaugstonian

Liberal/Irish Nationalist one.

Generally speaking, however, strong and lasting links between the LU's and LOI could not be secured until the former's pre-occupation with a distinctive identity was in abeyance and the 'Unionist' vote had become a more solid reality. Such developments do not take place until after the period of study, for it is only from 1900 that the LU position begins to be eroded by doubts over the 1902 South African Peace Settlement and over Tariff Reform, and as the Conservatives increasingly become senior partners in the alliance, independent of the LU's for their parliamentary majority. A drift towards Conservative/LU fusion then began in the constituencies and was eventually effected in 1912. (48)

The Conservatives: Turning to the Conservatives, it was emphasised that Hutchison's conception of a pre-1886 'cul de sac' reached by the Glasgow party, greatly underestimates the range of political alliances open to them and elsewhere in the West of Scotland. In particular it was argued that those considered with right-wing Liberals and Irish Nationalists were vital in conditioning the level of Tory involvement with the LOI. These points can now be further reinforced.

Thus for Hutchison it was the emergence of the LU grouping which provided an escape route for the Tories from their circumscribing Orange liaison. In such circumstances one might expect Orange/Tory links subsequently to diminish. However, as the material above indicates, a contrary trend was prominent after 1886, a central explanation being precisely that following the Liberals' conversion

to Home Rule the die was cast regarding both sets of alternative alliances. First, for example, there was no longer any prospect of an electoral agreement with the Irish Nationalists, such as occurred at the 1865 general election, or in the various Greenock by-elections.

This situation was bound to prevail and did, at least up to 1895, as long as the Liberals remained committed to Home Rule and as long as issues deemed important by their ecclesiastical authorities did not cleave the Irish from Liberal support by appealing to their Roman Catholicism. Secondly, and more positively though, by 1886 Whiggish Liberal assistance for the Conservatives was already a 'fait accompli', not by direct participation in the party, but through the electoral coalition with the LU's. Being at one stage removed, as it were, this assistance was now less likely to be jeopardized by Tory/Orange ties.

Such ties were also helped by the fact that a new generation of Conservatives was coming to prominence from the late 1880's/early 90's, who identified less with the pejorative reputation of Orangeism and more with its increasingly important role in the period as an effective popular bulwark in Ireland for the maintenance of the Unionist establishment. (49) The Whitelaw family prove an excellent example. Alex Whitelaw, MP for Glasgow in 1874, was a staunch Protestant, a supporter of the Established Church and 'Use and wont', yet he never publicly courted the LOI much less appeared on a 12th platform. Of his sons though, as indicated, William, MP for Perth, was actually a member while Grahame and Alexander had close links, granting the Order use of their land for demonstrations and at times themselves speaking in support of resolutions prepared

by the Grand Lodge. (50)

While these general developments promoted an increase of Orange involvement on a local scale in Conservative associations such as Bridgeton, they were not, as suggested above, sufficient to extend its involvement significantly to Divisions like Central or College, or in the case of Greenock ⁽⁵¹⁾ - nor did they alter the real extent of the LOI's influence on decision making or policy formulation, as indicated in the brief WDC survey. Here it is important to remember that the higher public visibility the Tories granted their Orange connections took place in the context of the party's general expansion and growth in confidence. In 1895, for example, it gained a parliamentary majority independent of the LUs. Thus, objectively, the very size and success of the party, now moderated the extent and importance of Orange influence - a quite different situation from the late 1860's when the West of Scotland Tories had been a most downcast and peripheral group, among whom an energetic and vociferous Orange presence was bound to bulk large.

Finally, though, more specific factors lay behind the lower profile enjoyed by Orangemen in the 1900 Tory election campaign, and we return here to a familiar pattern in Tory/Orange relations. Most important here was the renewed hope held out to the Conservatives of Irish Roman Catholic electoral support, on this occasion over educational issues, with A.J. Balfour's scheme for establishing a 'Catholic' University in Ireland and debates over the position of denominational schools.

In the latter case, the Conservative government had already pledged to relieve the position of these establishments which were

then receiving state grants, while only Board Schools could receive aid from the local rates. While this was most germane to England, where the Nonconformist sects greatly resented rate aid for Church of England schools, in Scotland it was also seen to be of particular benefit to Roman Catholic schools and the Bishops accordingly instructed their flocks to support the Conservatives as 'clerical' candidates. (52) The 'Glasgow Observer' resisted this advice and continued to support Liberal candidates, but given the general situation the local Tories had to proceed cautiously not to alienate the Irish vote.

In this way they were compelled, even C.S. Dickson in Bridgeton, to support government policy on the voluntary schools, (53) though the Catholic University idea provoked a wider range of response. J.S. Maxwell gave "unqualified dissent...having considered the idea without prejudice he felt perfectly certain that there was no obligation upon a Protestant country to endow a Roman Catholic University." (54) Rather more adroit was Bonar Law, when asked if he was in favour, he "had no hesitation in saying that this was one of those questions which he had just as soon it had not been necessary to face, because he might possibly lose votes which would otherwise have been given him. He was in favour of granting a Catholic University under proper conditions. These were first that the Bill would seem to hold out a good promise of providing a University which could compare favourably with other Universities of the country, and another condition it would be taken advantage of by Roman Catholics and Protestants, then he believed it would no more be a Catholic University than Glasgow was a Presbyterian one." (55)

The effect of the education issue on the Roman Catholic Irish vote and the contribution of this to the seven Unionist victories in Glasgow, for instance, is difficult to assess - the 'Boer or Briton' appeal was also vital in winning widespread support for the Unionists. At least in Blackfriars though, where the INL also instructed its supporters to vote against the sitting member, Provand, who they considered not sufficiently committed to Home Rule, the Irish Liberal vote crumbled and Bonar Law was, of course, returned. (56)

As will be demonstrated, however, such developments also profoundly jaundiced the Orangemen's perceptions of their Conservative allies.

The Orangemen

It is to these perceptions we now turn, analysing further the independent and conditional support offered by the LOI and their consequent resilience to strategies of control. Again, though, as in the 1865-85 period conditionality is not immediately apparent from public pronouncements.

The official attitude to the LU/Conservative electoral pact was one of approval, as C.I. Paton emphasised in 1886, "the present Union between Liberals and Conservatives must in the interests of the Empire be maintained". (57) This approval, moreover, over-rode minor irritations such as the adherence of some LUs like Patrick Sellars to the Disestablishment cause, and the next ten years witnessed a flowering of spirited resolutions, "declaring...unabashed confidence in the Unionist policy of Her Majesty's ministers

and...determination in supporting them in refusing Irish Nationalists a separate parliament." (58)

Although the 'armour of coercion' may have come into play in the workplace or through the agency of Orange 'street captains', the main dynamics of Orange political allegiance have already been located in both the practical adequacy of Conservatives' claims to be "the working men's friends", and the Orangemen's experience of a 'papal onslaught' by force and stealth from the late 1860's.

These dynamics were equally telling after 1886. First the Unionist grouping, with the impetus from the LUs, developed more constructive elements in their programme focusing on social and labour questions. The 'True Blue' W.C. Maughan, for example, declared his "support for measures tending to elevate the working classes", pledging his vote, "in aid of objects for promoting temperance, thrift and prosperity at home and abroad" and for "any well devised plan for affording support to the deserving poor in old age". (59) Sir John Pender, "a gentleman with the interests of the working man at heart", followed a similar tack, "...he was one of themselves. He had been a working man. He served an apprenticeship on the Clyde and by his own industry and perseverance had raised himself to the position he now occupied." (60)

Secondly, the threat of Irish Home Rule, which the Orangemen regarded with almost apocalyptic dread, had by no means subsided - on the contrary it received further emphasis with the return of a Liberal government in 1892. This point, however, is significant not only for promoting Orange/Unionist links but also for further displaying that independent quality in Orange political relations.

For crucially throughout the 1886-1900 period, on the Home Rule issue there is still not a complete identity of opposition between the Unionists and the LOI. And, as seen in the preceding decade, that of the latter Institution is rooted in its own anti-papal picture of reality, which ensures an extremely distinctive and partial articulation of the dominant ideology. Indeed if anything, the contrasts are more pronounced in the respective world views of the situation.

Paramount for the Conservatives was still the threat of Home Rule to law and order and the general rights of property and also to the Imperial connection. Typically Archibald Campbell claimed not to "shrink from giving local self-government to any portion of the U.K. but he was opposed to any measure to confer Home Rule of a character calculated to impair the authority of the Imperial parliament or to promote the disintegration of the British Empire." (61) For the LUs, Levy suggests, the emphasis was slightly different, focusing on the cost of the scheme and the need to give parity to all part of the UK, as indicated in Cameron Corbett's 1886 address. (62) With strong representation from the business sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie, the commercial implications and consequences for foreign markets in particular, also weighed heavily. There were attempts too by LUs to present Home Rule as a working man's question. Pender, for instance, pointed out that, "the relation between Clyde industries and the maintenance of the Union...is strikingly intimate. The maintenance of the empire is vital, on it depends commerce. The unity of the country is desirable for the entire community and particularly for the working classes." (63)

On the Orangemen's part, however, while the rhetoric of the British Empire in danger was not absent, this was more usually outweighed by concern for 'The Protestant Religion' in danger. For the main thrust of the Order's position is still grounded firmly in traditional 'No Popery', in turn linked to perceptions of papal encroachment. This was stated forcibly and dramatically in Macklin's speech at the 12th demonstration of 1886.

"Year after year it had become more apparent that times of trouble were approaching for them - times to test the sincerity of their attachment to their principles...(hear hear). Now it seemed that the crises had also come and that they were being irresistably hurled in rapids towards the inevitable Niagara. Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule scheme (groans) would serve the purpose of the Roman Curio (sic) admitting and gratifying the desires of all the ultramontanes on the world by breaking down the power of Great Britain. And would it not be such a triumph for the papists such as they never had in England since the Battle of the Boyne (cheers), if Ireland were put into the hands of a papal government and legislature so that it should no longer be habitable for Protestants...unless by the blessing of God the Protestants of Ulster should be able to hold their own (cheers) as their forefathers did at Enniskillen and Londonderry. Mr. Gladstone was not departing from previous policy here. It was consistently dictated from the Vatican: as if he had received it through Mr. Errington* from Cardinal Jacobini (hisses and shame). The actions of Mr. Gladstone's ministry on the matter was dishonourable...it was contrary to the spirit if not the letter of British law, inconsistent with Protestantism and degrading to the honour of the British name...." (64)

In short, the object of the papacy was the overthrow of the Protestant faith in the three kingdoms to use the Irish Jesuits to govern Ireland, in turn responsible to their masters the Jesuits in Rome - "the papacy was now glozing (sic) like a serpent in the house of

* British emissary at the Vatican.

Commons hissing at all that was British." (65)

In these circumstances the spectre increasingly conjured up by the LOI from 1886 is one of armed struggle - in which the Scottish Orangemen would assist their Irish counterparts. Macklin, for example, had concluded his 1886 speech by stressing his belief that, "the Bill would bear fruit, whatever its outcome in parliament." Ireland would not settle into real tranquility.

"The Protestants of Connaught, Leinster and Munster were too likely soon to need the help of their brethren in Ulster to protect them from ruthless adversaries who believed the very slaughter of them was a religious duty. Were they to look calmly on while the poor Protestants of Dingle, Veentry, Achil and Connemara suffered violence (NO!) not if it were possible for the Orangemen of this country to help them. They must make common cause with their Ulster brethren. Their chief duty as Orangemen demanded it"

At this stage, though, he was rather circumspect about the form of assistance. "He did not say how help was to be given, for he could not say in what form it was likely to be needed. But given it must be, and given it should be, and if their adversaries should take up arms let them assure their brethren in Ulster, that there were Orangemen in Scotland ready to help defend the homes and lives of their Irish fellow Christians (loud cheers)." (66)

By 1893 and the second Home Rule Bill he was less hesitant pledging the meeting "to assist by every means in its power, our brethren in Ireland in the campaign they are now waging against the forces of rapine, disorder and disloyalty....Should the traitors impose on the north the dire necessity of civil war", he continued, "Ulster would muster his sons and the Orangemen of Scotland would join them and the watchword from rank to rank...would be 'No

surrender'. (67) (Author's emphasis).

Again it is significant here that these warlike sentiments are voiced by the Grand Lodge leadership. Given their fastidious attitude towards Orange involvement in street violence, sketched in Chapter 8, one might speculate how they would have reacted if several of their more robust and rowdy followers had actually heeded their call to arms. This call was most likely some judicious sabre-rattling, further indicating the Grand Lodge's increased responsiveness to rank and file sentiments. (Though at other times some leading Orangemen, like T.H. Gilmour, were more cautious. "Orangemen should do their utmost with votes to kill the policy of the present government and by using votes they would save bullets."). (68)

Remaining with the Grand Lodge for the moment - and with the general theme of the Order's independence - it is important to note that Thomas Macklin, quoted above, was in fact one of the 'old guard' in the leadership after 1886. Increasingly though in the 1890's, as in the Conservative case noted above, it is a new generation of Orangemen best represented by William Young, James McManus, and indeed T.H. Gilmour, which dominate. Although these figures were closely involved in Conservative organisations, unlike Wetherall or McLeod in Glasgow or Farmer and Pollock in Paisley, they had not personally nursed Conservatism in its early stages of growth but instead had come to politics when Orangemen, as described, had already become something of an autonomous pressure group in the Conservative camp. In these circumstances they were surely more likely to countenance the more independent stance towards their Tory and LU allies expressed, for example, in the publication of separate election manifestos in 1892

and 95, albeit binding the Scottish Orangemen to "throw themselves heart and soul into this momentous contest [1895] and place their active services at the disposal of Unionist candidates. (69)

Also indicative of a more self reliant attitude, is McManus's decision to stand as a candidate for No. 1 Ward, Bridgeton, in the municipal elections in 1896. This was something never attempted by Wetherall and McLeod even at the height of their influence. Religious issues, however, were still considered inappropriate in these contests and McManus seems to have met with great difficulty in running a credible campaign when forced to expound on the subjects of 'the improvement trust, sewerage...and the improvement of streets in the wards.' There is no evidence of widespread enthusiasm or involvement from ordinary Orangemen, though he gained 824 votes. (70)

The tensions implicit here in the Order's resilient 'No Popery', and in its increasing capacity for autonomous action for the promotion of 'Protestant Issues' were, of course, effectively mitigated when Home Rule was a live issue. From 1895, however, when a Unionist government is returned to power with a resounding majority, constitutional change is no longer on the agenda, and now the full potential for disjuncture in Orange/Tory relations, noted in the preceding chapter, is realised.

This disjuncture had a number of more specific sources. First, for example, the Unionist administration from 1895 had continued to pursue a policy of conciliation in Ireland, 'killing Home Rule by kindness'. This had been Salisbury's policy in his first two administrations and was eagerly embraced by Chamberlain and the LU's who also advanced an extensive programme of public works. Typical

here was the 1896 Land Act and also Balfour's scheme, noted above, to establish a university in Ireland open to Roman Catholics and funded from the treasury and existing educational endowments - a compromise with the long standing demands of Roman Catholic Bishops for better educational facilities. Secondly, and also indicated above, the Unionists promoted reform in the financing of voluntary schools, in effect providing rate support for Roman Catholic and Nonconformist establishments. Thirdly was the vexed issue of Ritualism, quasi Roman Catholic ceremonial and sacramental practices in the Church of England.

To extirpate such practices the Church Discipline Bill was introduced in 1897 banning the Mass and Confessional in the Anglican Church. This was enthusiastically advocated by the anti-Ritualist Church Association and also received strong support from Sir William Harcourt, leader of the Liberals. Crucially though the Unionist government was not particularly enthusiastic in its efforts to see the Bill passed, and put to a free vote it was unsuccessful. (71)

Such general developments raised opposition from some traditional areas of Conservative support. Leading Irish Unionist landowners such as the Duke of Abercorn protested vigorously on what they viewed as the steady erosion of landlords' rights, and twice in 1899 and 1900 Irish Tories ensured the defeat of the government in the House of Lords. (72)

For the Orangemen of Scotland, the government's initiatives, or lack of them in the case of Ritualism, appeared both as a betrayal of the electoral support the Order had consistently offered them, and as a running down of the Conservatives traditional standard of 'true blue

Protestantism' on which this support had depended. Now in the 1890's their wrath was swiftly and effectively voiced - again by the Grand Lodge leadership. (73)

Thus William Young presiding at the 1897 12th Celebrations now emphasised,

"Orangemen would only support a Conservative candidate where they supported Orange principles. In the last election Orangemen were the means in the West of Scotland of returning a great number of Unionist candidates and expected great things of a Unionist government. In the name of the Orangemen of Scotland he begged to inform the Unionist government that they would not receive their support if they attempted to pass a bill for the benefit of Roman Catholics in Ireland. If they tried to take money from the Emerson Smith Endowment*, left by a Protestant for the promotion of Protestant principles, the Orangemen would do all in their power to put them out and return a good Protestant government in their place." (74)
(Author's emphasis).

The following year protests were even more forceful. The Rev. Townsend, in supporting a resolution, "...thanking God for the Protestant Constitution from which all benefits flow" drew his audience's attention to "the terrible pro-Roman Catholic anti-Protestant conspiracy which was going on. The press today," he continued, "is setting forth Romanism in a good and favourable light but throws all the cold water it could on Protestantism. Not only that but the enemies of Protestantism were also at work in parliament. Where were the Glasgow MPs during the Benefices' Bill (an anti-high Church measure). Their voices were not heard against sacerdotalism which was eating the vitals out of the Church of England...Glasgow MPs could come to their Orange soirees and talk a lot of amiable nonsense

*A projected source of finance for the new Irish University.

but when Protestantism was at stake they sat like a lot of dumb dogs. Mr. Balfour had taken under his wing a set of unfaithful bishops and perjured priests and said that he did not see that sacerdotalism was making advances in the Church of England. He would be better advised to retire from the helm and make himself better acquainted with those religious subjects he had been so disastrously tampering with of late. Mr. Balfour and other Unionists were smiling now on rebels and traitors...while they insulted the Orangemen and those who placed them in power. Their thanks that day were due to Mr. William Harcourt and Mr. Smith as defenders of Protestantism. Let them as Orangemen be neither Conservatives or Liberals in the future but Protestants first and foremost. (Author's emphasis).

The following resolution of Bro. Yuill reinforced this "regretting that the Conservatives had for some time truckled to Popery and trifled with Protestant constitutional interests both in church and state and calling on MPs to make it clear to Lord Salisbury and the government that by their pro-Romanism policy they are alienating the Protestant vote in the country." (75)

At this stage, however, the alienation of the Scottish Orangemen was only temporary, for by 1900 another general election loomed and with it the prospect of another Home Rule Bill if the Liberals were returned. The Boer war had also intervened, considerably boosting Unionist prestige as the National and Patriotic party, and moreover halting the Liberal anti-Ritualist campaign. For now Harcourt and his associates whom the Orangemen had applauded in 1898, were firmly branded as 'Pro Boer' opponents of British policy in South Africa - thus confirming the Institution's previous conceptions of the Liberal

party as 'treasonable' and 'disloyal'.

In these extreme circumstances the Grand Lodge's position shifted. As Young again explained,

"Since last July there have been great events in the country....The people of the country should be grateful that in such a crisis they had a strong government in power (applause) a government which had the honour of the country at heart and was not like to make the mistakes of the government of 1881*....As they knew the Orangemen had always support the Conservatives and were thankful they had supported that Party when they took account of South Africa. He counselled his audience therefore to support that Party which he was convinced had the best interests of the country at heart." (76)

Such sentiments, though, do not indicate a general retreat from 'Protestant Issues' by the LOI, and at another large demonstration in 1900 resolutions were passed pledging 'loyal devotion to the Unionists', but also further condemning the Roman Catholic university project in Ireland. (77) For the ordinary Orangemen then the 'National threat' may not have completely driven from their minds the threat posed to the 'Protestant Religion' by Salisbury's and Balfour's 'Pro Romish' policy. Again evidence is scanty here. There does not seem to have been open conflict with their leadership, but it may be significant how frequently at public meetings in the 1900 election campaign, potentially embarrassing questions on the Catholic university, voluntary schools and ritualism are put to Unionist candidates 'from the back of the hall'. So unsatisfactory did Bonar Law's replies prove that the Orangemen were exhorted in an anonymous letter to "...see to it that Mr. Provand (the Liberal) gets their

* A reference to the Liberal's handling of a previous South African Campaign

vote, as it would be contrary to the principles of Orangeism to support any candidate of whatever Party who acts contrary to Protestant sentiment and practice. Mr. Provand is sound on Imperial questions and has dropped Home Rule." (78)

It is extremely difficult to estimate the effect of such reservations on the part of Lodge members, whether they resulted in votes against specific Unionists, or more likely in abstentions. With more certainty though, one can suggest that the acrimony which arose in Orange/Unionist relations from 1895-1900, re-emphasised the basically conditional nature of Orange political involvement, and in practice set a precedent for an even more independent attitude once, in the early 1900's, the Home Rule bogey was again diminished.

Comparative Issues

As the preceding discussion indicates the Scottish Orangemen seem to have enjoyed a more positive impact in their political practice than, for example, in their relations with the Scottish churches or state agencies. Yet it is vital in this final section to widen the scope of the analysis to include some comparative cases. This exercise indicates in particular the variety of Orange political practice on an international scale. Political relationships in the Orange centres of Ulster, Canada and Liverpool will each be given a brief discussion.

Ireland: In stark contrast to Scotland, shortly after the movement's inception in Ireland in the 1790's, its potential as a semi-disciplined military force in the face of the progress of the

republican United Irishmen attracted not only support, but also significant affiliation from the Irish Tories, local gentry and magistrates. Subsequently a gentlemen's Lodge in Dublin was founded, drawing heavily on this group. The Grand Lodge of Ulster had similar strong support from Tory landowners such as the Verner family. (79)

As detailed in Chapter 3, in the '98 rebellion and subsequent uprisings in the early 19th century the Institution rewarded those attentions as an enthusiastic counter-revolutionary force, acting as irregular auxiliaries to government forces. The organisation of the Catholic peasantry in the emancipation movement in the 1820's allowed the Lodges to retain their influence and further outgrow their humble foundations by attracting more positive gentry support.

Its political significance, however, received a greater impetus with the historic reorientation of the Presbyterian bourgeoisie in Ulster away from the lingering United Irishmen tradition of '98 and towards a pro-Crown and Union stance. This can be traced from the 1860's and the Fenian rising, but developed more surely in the wake of the Home Rule crisis from the early '80's. Formerly regarded by the bourgeoisie as a high Tory, Landlord body with a highly disreputable farm labouring and poor artisan following, now, as Dewar notes, the Order became regarded as a most useful instrument for maintaining the British connection and the 'Protestant Religion'.

From the outset then the anti-Home Rule campaign and the Conservatism which underpinned it had Orangeism as a central binding factor. And it is here one witnesses a true interpenetration in the respective leaderships, with the Grand Lodge attracting Unionist "men of consequence such as the Earl of Enniskillen, the Earl of Erne, Sir

James Stronge, W.H. Lyons and Sir Edward Archdale". (80) Such developments have often led to an exclusive stress on the integrative political function of the Order. Becket suggests that the tradition of fraternal equality between members tended to blur class distinctions and helped reconcile the Protestant proletariat to the leadership of landlords and big business. (81) The Order did have this function but, as already argued, this must not obscure the potential for class conflict also existed within the Unionist bloc. And paradoxically it is not only in terms of its extraordinary weight in the political establishment that Ulster Orangeism differed from its Scottish offshoot but also in the greater degree of independence in its support for Conservatism and Unionism.

Significantly this was directed not by the Irish Grand Lodge but by dissident organisations like the OPWA with bases in the Orange rank and file, and eventually by the breakaway Independent Orange Order. The critique of oligarchic Tory leadership and the implication of their own Grand Lodge in this, also promoted, as Patterson notes, certain 'limited forms' of class consciousness from the proletarian Orangemen (again much more evident than in Scotland) which proved a severe embarrassment to local Conservatives. However, the stress on common Protestantism and fear of the 'backwardness' of the Roman Catholic south ultimately contained them within the Unionist ideological framework.

Canada: Turning to the less familiar example of Canada, rather similar contrasts with Scotland in the extent of Orange political impact and the degree of independence and self-assertion in the

Institution's political alliances are evident.

The Order in Canada in the 1820's, introduced by Irish Orangemen who were then migrating to British America in large numbers, rapidly flourished as Senior suggests, "Because Orangeism was based on religion and monarchy rather than race and geography, it provided a patriotism eminently suited to the needs of a colonial society." (82) By 1830, much earlier than in Scotland, it was already emerging as a political force. Some background is important here.

The period between 1830-41 in Canada was dominated by the struggle between 'reformers' on one hand such as W.L. MacKenzie, and on the other the Tories and particularly the 'Family Compact' - the name coined by reformers to refer to the leading families who administered the affairs of the province by retaining the confidence of successive governors. They were drawn from the same class as the 'reform families' differing only in their control of government and political philosophy. The balance between these groups was upset by further massive immigration which gave rise to an "immigrant democracy" (see below) challenging both Reformers and Family Compact. The Order's political response in this situation further belies the 'naturalness' of an Orange alliance with Conservative groups.

Thus there was a temporary liaison with the Family Compact in 1836 but the latter strongly distrusted popular movements of any kind and was unwilling to accept the Orange leaders as equal partners. Even more importantly, since the main political issue was reform not religion there could not be a simple bloc Orange vote in favour of 'Protestant candidates'. Consequently, since Orangemen were politically divided, some were Tories but others as in Britain in the

1832 reform crisis, were 'staunchest among the reformers' and helped Mackenzie in his election of Mayor of Toronto in 1834. (83)

Two developments did increasingly promote unity though. First was the increasing direction and cohesion such as the Grand Lodge received from the arrival of the prominent Irish Orangeman, Oge R. Gowan, an extremely able figure. (84) From now in Canada as in Scotland it is this leading body which provides the main initiatives for the conduct of political alliances. Secondly the Reformers, mostly native born Canadians, were becoming more committed to 'Jacksonian Democracy', which was hostile to all European connections and to those immigrants which upheld them. In this way a direct threat was posed to the Crown and the British links most prized by the Orangemen.

Again the Order's reaction here is complex and defies their reduction to adjuncts of the Tory/Family Compact grouping. Rather they became an independent force and one, as Senior suggests, 'seeking a place' in the still rather malleable conditions of Canadian society and politics. This was achieved by combining the platform planks of 'reform' and 'loyalty', challenging the radical-liberal monopoly of the former and the 'Family Compacts' of the latter.

Consequently, in one of the most 'progressive' episodes in Orange history, the lodges became champions of immigrant democracy, best summarised by Gowan himself as 'the protection of immigrant rights with loyalty to the old country'. This even involved alliances with Irish Catholic immigrants and the formation of 'Union Lodges' to include this group. In Hastings and Northumberland Orangemen also helped elect Catholic candidates and in Durham Catholics in turn supported Orangemen. (85) As the major force loyal to the British Crown in

Canada alliances also had to be renewed with the Tories, notably in 1836, but except in cases where their candidates were also Orangemen only very conditional backing was offered.

Such attempts to establish an immigrant party and broad loyalist alliance proved, however, short lived and rather over-ambitious and finally foundered as the crisis inspired by an eventual radical revolt subsided in 1838. Nevertheless the independent spirit of the Canadian Orangemen in their political dealings persisted. The Lodges began to secure a powerful influence in local politics in the 1840's attracting the younger sons of the Family Compact, including the rising Tory politicians, John A. Macdonald. The Grand Lodge subsequently formed an association with Macdonald, which was to keep the Orange vote tied to the 'Liberal-Conservative' Party for the next forty years - with the Party in turn usually including two Orangemen in its cabinet.

Yet even here the Orangemen were not Tory satellites, and were themselves again divided over various religious and education issues. It is perhaps best to describe their position as one of 'critical support'. At the time of Macdonald's death in 1891 moreover, as Senior notes, there was "neither an outstanding Conservative leader who could capture the imagination of Orangemen nor an Orangeman who could effectively defend within the lodges the Tory policy of co-operation with the Catholic French Canadians." Orange Conservatives were, for example, placed in a very embarrassing situation in 1894 when Sir John Thompson, a Roman Catholic convert, became Federal Prime Minister. Though an even greater difficulty presented itself in the elections two years later when the Conservative government under P.M. Mackenzie Bowell, himself Orange Grand Master, took oppositional measures against

the decision of Manitoba Province to revoke the rights of Roman Catholic schools.

By this date the Grand Lodge had already become increasingly responsive to militant 'Protestants First' type sentiments at large among Canadian Orangemen, with Grand Master N. Clark Wallace publicly pledging himself to Conservative legislation on the Manitoba Schools question (he had himself been a controller of customs in the Liberal Conservative cabinet) Orange/Conservative compromise ended accordingly and all Orangemen were reminded of their duty at the election to oppose candidates favouring remedial legislation on Manitoba and a de facto withdrawal of support for the Conservative party resulted. Orangemen running on Conservative tickets then either had to reject Party policy or run as independents, while in some areas large numbers of the Order voted Liberal contributing to the return of a Liberal administration, rather ironically under the French Roman Catholic, Laurier. (86)

Liverpool: Turning finally to the case of Liverpool, as early as the 1830's, "The Whigs apparent Irish Catholic sympathies", Waller suggests, "inspired a Tory-Protestant alliance". (87) As in Glasgow, Protestantism was subsequently to become an 'electoral charm' for the Tories assisting them to dominate both parliamentary and municipal elections.

The Orange Lodges which had first formed in the city around 1807-8 probably did have an important role here - the real creator of Liverpool Conservatism, for example, was reckoned to be an Ulster Parson Hugh McNeile - but their involvement is not at all well documented at this stage. It is more certain that the Conservatives

fully played 'the Protestant Card' at the 1868 election on Irish disestablishment and Ritualism, when the 'Orange element' was reckoned to be strong. By 1876 the Conservative leader, Edward Whitley, could thank the Orangemen for their support, "without which no man could lead the Conservative party in Liverpool" (88) - indeed a much more unreserved compliment than the LOI ever received from the notables of Glasgow Conservatism.

This support was sustained at the next two elections and particularly in the midst of the Home Rule crisis. Yet also from this period Orange dissent becomes increasingly apparent, as the Tories were perceived to be patronising in an opportunistic manner only the political identity of the Lodges at the neglect of the religious. Evidence for this was found, for instance, in Conservative leaders' absence from the 12th Celebrations which followed the 1886 election, and more generally in their failure to maintain a true 'Protestant position' on the issues of Sabbatarianism, Temperance and in particular Ritualism.

Dissent ripened into open revolt in 1888. Now Orangemen, as in Scotland, under their leadership's direction challenged the leading Tory body, the Liverpool Constitutional Association (LCA). Thus the Orange Provincial Grand Secretary, James Lincoln, formally intimated to the Conservatives that his members were withdrawing from the LCA and accused the Tory leaders, in familiar vein, of "truckling to Catholics and Ritualists, failing to support an Orangeman, Harry Thomas, in the School Board elections, and ignoring the celebration of the tercentenary of the defeat of the Spanish Armada." The following year they again asserted their independence by nominating Thomas for the

Scotland electoral ward, against an official Conservative candidate. For the Deputy Orange Grand Master, as Waller notes, this contest prefigures a national protest and campaign. Thomas, though, came bottom of the poll, beaten soundly by the Tory, Adam, and his followers were left pondering "Conservatism is popery of the deepest strain when it is 'ritualistic' in the church." (89)

Relations improved to some extent over the next few years - in 1895 the Orangemen again formed a committee to take an independent part in the election if necessary but this was not employed. However, while as in Scotland 'the Union in danger' provided the impetus for renewed links, it did not diminish the centrality of the ritualism issue or the general impression of Tory capitulation to Popery. Again in 1903 the Orangemen were apparently considering a withdrawal from the LCA in protest against the Education Act, the Prison Ministers Bill and the Duke of Norfolk.

Increasingly though, the main direction in the campaign against ritualism was coming not from the LOI's own leadership but from independent Protestant militants such as George Wise and John Kensit. These figures, moreover, adopted a certain populist stance, calling for a rejuvenated working class Orange Order free from aristocratic shackles and advancing both progressive social policies and Protestant rights - a transmutation, Waller suggests, of Tory democracy into Protestant democracy. Finally, in 1903 an independent Protestant party emerged, the National Protestant Electoral Federation. Under an Orange chairman but with a much wider base in militant Protestantism, it was intended to harmonise the Protestant bloc and put 'Protestantism before party'. Fairly rapidly though intra-Protestant

splits blighted its fortunes and with several Orange Lodges criticising Wise's encouragement of rowdyism and 'street politics', it failed to prosper. (90)

The Scottish Context

These sketches raise a number of questions for the political progress of Scottish Orangeism: why, for example, during the general period of study was this progress in terms of alliances with established forces, and impact on the general political structure rather than circumscribed when compared, not only to Ulster, but to other major importations of the Order? How does one account for the fact that in Scotland, although significant, its independent position in political relationships was less assertively articulated and implemented? Why was independence and conditionality in the Scottish case not spearheaded as in Ulster or, latterly, in Liverpool by dissident Orange groups or charismatic individuals?

The latter issue has, of course, already been examined particularly in the chapter dealing with Leadership/rank and file relations. Here it was argued that for much of the period the Scottish Grand Lodge free from any significant patrician element was able to combine, rather dexterously, political initiatives with their members' traditional religious motivations.

More difficult, though, is the preceding point on the level of conditionality. One factor here was that electoral conditions in Liverpool etc., were more conducive to strains in Orange political allegiances - in that provincial, local and municipal elections contested there along party lines, and in which sectarian issues were

prominent, simply offered more opportunities to test allies' practical commitment to 'Protestant issues'. The fortuitous timing of national elections could also intervene, as in Canada in 1896, to convert dissident rhetoric from the leadership into action. (It is interesting to speculate how the Scottish Orangemen's discontent with the Tories and their threats of independent action over voluntary schools and ecclesiastical disputes would have been realised if a general election had fallen in the UK in 1896 or 97).

A further contributory factor, though, was precisely the availability and intensity of such issues in Scotland. As regards education, for example, the Canadian Orangemen were forced to defend 'Protestant legislation' already enacted by Manitoba Province from a Conservative administration, while for their Scottish counterparts the issues tended to be less clearly defined around threats of 'Rome on the rates' or a 'Popish University'.

Similarly, although the threat of ritualism was deeply felt by the Scottish Grand Lodge leadership, it remained at one stage removed, being essentially a problem for the Church of England and without a real material basis in Scotland. For here, as previously indicated, the High Church movement represented in the Scottish Church society concentrated more subtly on matters of doctrine than on ceremony or vestments. It is useful to contrast this situation with Liverpool where the issue had a commanding presence. According to the Evangelical Church Society investigation of ritualist bodies the diocese was comparatively less effected than elsewhere in England, but it still contained 34 clerical members of the 'English Church Union', 9 of the 'Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament' and 4 members of the

'Holy Cross'. 63 clergymen used the eastwards position in services, 35 the mixed chalice, 3 used incense, 12 used vestments and 24 altar lights in their churches. (91) These practices, moreover, frequently outraged popular feeling in the city. At St. Johns Toxteth, where the vicar, R.F. Herring, belonged to the ECU, services were fairly conventional but he faced eastwards during the confession of the Apostles Creed. In the face of this 'abomination', Waller notes, protesters either faced west or withdrew from the church, and, "early in 1887 a crisis was reached when church wardens jostled the vicar and extinguished an altar candle to prevent the church becoming a 'house of Baal'." (91) Such scenes were largely unknown in Scotland.

In the final instance, though, in considering the level of Scottish conditionality, one must clearly return to the relatively marginalised position of the Scottish Orangeism in the counsels of their Tory allies. For, despite bold claims to be 'the mainspring of Conservatism', the reality of their limitations was detrimental to that degree of self confidence, evident in Liverpool and Canada, which was a prerequisite to a more consistently independent attitude.

As regards the explanation of this more limited political role, obviously important were the familiar 'internal' characteristics of the Scottish LOI. There was, for example, the Order's lesser numerical progress here. As noted, around 25-30,000 members were estimated towards the turn of the century, while, as regards its other major importations, Liverpool alone had 17,000 Orangemen around 1880, and in Canada the Order had made particularly rapid strides growing from 13,000 members in 1836 to 40,000 by 1850 and 100,000 by the

1870's. (92) Also interacting with this was the unsavoury reputation Scottish Orangeism had gained for violence and general rowdiness, from as early as the 1820's - which it was suggested helped shape LU relations with the LOI and often lay behind Conservative perceptions of their allies.

Yet for a really satisfactory explanation here, as argued in dealing with the LOI's relative weakness generally in Scotland, some broader 'external' features of the Scottish social formation must also be taken into account. After all the Liverpool Orangemen had suffered similar handicaps from unfavourable subjective judgements and even in Ulster the rhetorical query 'who would be an Orangemen?' still had currency into the 1870's and 80's. (93)

Two central points stand out. First it is important to stress that for a large part of the period under study the political force which the LOI chose to support - the Conservative party was itself marginalised in most of Scotland. As noted, for example, Alex Whitelaw in 1874 was Glasgow's first Tory MP since the 1832 Reform Act, and it was not until the 1880's that the Tories begin to gain real prominence in the West of Scotland. This is in strong contrast to Liverpool where they were the dominant party in parliamentary and municipal elections from 1841, and also differs from Canada where the Tories held office from 1840-96.

Moreover, when in Scotland the commercial sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie did decisively desert the Liberal standard after 1886, it was not to the Tories they turned as in Ulster but to their own Liberal Unionist party - on whose electoral co-operation, as suggested, the Tories were dependent on success until the closing

years of the century.

As for the Scottish working class and petty bourgeoisie - again unlike Liverpool where local Conservatives with Tory democratic leanings successfully cultivated a mass basis of support - the Liberals still remained the Party of the majority even after 1886. Although in the 1890's, as Dickson notes, links with the Liberals began to break down as the Party's ambivalent attitude towards its working class support became clearer and internal divisions over the direction of British imperialism grew, it was the need for independently based working class representation which became increasingly recognised in Scotland - eventually finding expression notably in the ILP. (94)

These points suggest an important but rather indirect role of Smith's 'Liberal Commonsense' in checking Scottish Orangemen's advance - namely as a bulwark against full-blown working class Toryism which might have given the LOI access into the mainstream of Scottish political life. This seems more plausible to the notion of a Labour movement/Orange dichotomy, already attacked above, where the latter is won over by the transmission of the former's neutralising, progressive and anti-sectarian ideas.

Finally, in analysing the LOI's political impact a suggestion of Gallacher's is also useful. (95) Examining the lesser extent of 'inter ethnic conflict' generally in Scotland, he suggests one possible reason may be that the scope of Scottish based movements was limited, owing to the fact that most political decision making took place outside the country. Not wishing to delve into the debate over the character of the Scottish 'proto state' this does seem relevant to

the Scottish Orangemen.

Thus, even when they did throw their weight behind parliamentary candidates like C.B. Renshaw and J.G.A. Baird or where one of their own number stood like William Whitelaw, they had little subsequent control over them, for once returned to Westminster, these figures were bound by national party demands and the realities of these most frequently outweighed platform pledges to support convent inspection, the repeal of the Catholic emancipation. It is possible to capture some of the Orangemen's resulting frustration in the Rev. Townsend's remarks above on Glasgow MPs in 1898. Ulster Orangemen, too, may have shared this frustration at times but crucially, as indicated above, their Scottish brethren did not even have the compensation of local and municipal elections at which such issues could be legitimately raised. In this situation there is indeed something rather plaintive in the frequent memorials and petitions dispatched earnestly but without effect to Beaconsfield and other Conservative leaders in London, praising their stand on ecclesiastical patronage or condemning the restoration of the papal hierarchy in Scotland.

CHAPTER 12

Notes

1. Scottish News, 12/5/86.
2. Levy Ph.D., op cit (1983), Chapter IV.
3. McCaffrey, op cit (1971), pp.44 ff.
4. See The Illustrated News, Vol. II, 1886, p.332.
5. Levy, loc cit (1983).
6. NBDM, 25/6/86.
7. GH and NBDM, 6/7/86, 24/6/86 meetings Blackfriars nominations 2/7/86.
8. e.g. meeting 3/7/86.
9. Levy, op cit (1983), p.109.
10. NBDM, 2/8/87.
11. GH, 29/7/87.
12. See biographical index.
13. GH, 1/8/87.
14. G.H. McCormick meetings, 7/6/88, 13/6/88. Other meetings 6/6/88, 14/6/88. NBDM 14/6/88.
15. NBDM, 5/1/89.
16. GH, 11/1/89.
17. GH, 16/12/90, 12/2/90.
18. GH, 28/5/91.
19. NBDM, 6/5/92.
20. NBDM, 5/7/92.
21. NBDM, 3/6/92, he secondâ the 'fit and proper person motion'. C. Summers was also prominent, NBDM, 19/6/92.
22. NBDM, 4/7/92.
23. GH, 13.7.92.

24. GH, 14/7/90.
25. GH, 5/7/92, 6/7/92 for his victory.
26. GH, 13/7/93.
27. GH, 3/7/95. NBDM, 3/7/95, 14/7/95.
28. GH, 18.7.95.
29. The Unionists milked the patriotic issue for all it was worth, even inviting a war-blinded Gordon Highlander's Officer on a Paisley platform. NBDM, 2/10/1900.
30. GH, 22/9/1900.
31. GH, 26/9/1900.
32. GH, 3/10/1900.
33. WSLCMLU minute book 1886.
WSLU minute book 1894-1912 Conservative office, Edinburgh.
34. GCA annual reports 1886-1900. They are C. and J. Summers, J. McManus, W. Young and H.B. Wilson.
35. GCAAR 1899.
36. *ibid*, 1886-1900.
37. *ibid*, 1893.
38. National Union of Conservative Associations for Scotland, 1893 Annual Report. Miscellaneous material relating to National Union and Western Divisional Council, Minute book 1893-1902.
39. Smith Ph.D. (1982), *loc cit*.
40. Partick Star, 27/7/95.
41. NBDM, 28/7/87. The Bailie frequently referred to its rival as the 'North British Daily Wail'.
42. See Levy, *op cit* (1983), Chapter VII for full discussion.
43. *ibid*, Chapter IV.
44. SN, 28/7/87.
45. HTA to PS 22/1/90. Parker Smith Correspondence, Strathclyde Regional Archives.
46. QJ to PS, 8/2/90, Strathclyde Regional Archives.

47. NBDM, 19/7/95.
48. See Levy for details, op cit (1983), Chapter IX.
49. See Chapter 3.
50. e.g. G.H. 3/7/93, 11/7/98. Grahame granted them use of his land at Belshill.
51. GCAAR, loc cit, for Glasgow constituencies. For Greenock, GT, July 1886, July 1892 and June/July 1895, September/October 1900. Especially 23/6/92, 3/7/95, 10.7.95, 25.9.00. No Orangemen can be identified among nominators supporters or platform guests in this now strongly LU seat. No. 6 Ward, though, was reckoned to be strongly Orange, 5/7/85.
52. See Halevy, Imperialism and the Rise of Labour (1895-1905), pp.3-22.
53. NBDM, 26/9/00.
54. ibid.
55. ibid.
56. GO, 29/9/00 'Clear him out' exhorted the 'Observer'.
57. GH, 12/7/86.
58. GH, 15/7/88.
59. NBDM, 28/6/92.
60. GH, 5/1/89.
61. SN, 21/8/86. See J.S. Maxwell address, 28/2/92 also.
62. GN, /6/86.
63. GH, 7/1/89.
64. GH, 13.7.86.
65. GH, 11/7/89.
66. GH, 13/7/86.
67. GH, 10/7/93.
68. GH, loc cit.
69. GT, 29/6/92.

70. There was great confusion over even his nomination, he seems to have withdrawn then changed his mind, and was allowed to stand 'an unprecedented situation in Glasgow'. See GH, 14/10/96, 3/11/96. (He did few public meetings). Result 4/11/96.
71. See Waller, op cit (1981).
72. Blake, op cit (1970), Chapter V.
73. Chapter 8, for class composition, changing membership, etc.
74. GH, 12/7/97.
75. GH, 11/7/98.
76. GH, 9/7/1900.
77. GH, 13/7/1900.
78. Daily Record 2/10/1900. See also letter from H.A. Long defending Provand 3/10/00.
79. Senior, op cit (1966), Chapter 5.
80. Dewar et al, op cit (1967).
81. The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923 (1962), p.399.
82. Senior, 'Orangeism, the Canadian Phase' (n.d.) p.92.
83. ibid, p.16.
84. See bibliography for some of his writings on Orangeism. Scotland seems to have lacked a similar figure.
85. Senior, op cit, (n.d.) p.21 and p.29.
86. ibid, pp.88-90.
87. Waller, op cit (1981), p.18.
88. ibid, p.189.
89. ibid, p.183.
90. ibid, p.200ff.
91. ibid, p.172.
92. ibid, p.77.
93. Dewar et all, op cit (1967), p.56.

94. Dickson, op cit (1980), pp.265-278.

95. Gallacher, 'Catholics in Scottish Politics', Bulletin of Scottish Politics, No. 2, 1981, p.29.

Orangeism and Political Practice: Summary

To sum up these sections on Orange political practice, a consistent aim throughout has been to dissolve commonsense and anecdotal assumptions on this subject, which tend to depict Orange support for the Conservative party as a natural and almost mystical phenomenon. Instead the real dynamics for this support have been located in fairly coercive strategies to bring Orangemen to the polls, but more surely in this group's perceptions of the Tories as guardians of their best economic interests and in their fears of the 'Protestant religion in danger'. Above, these economic and religious motivations have been kept analytically separate, though doubtless in practice they intertwined - significantly, for example, the recurrent Home Rule crises coincided with crises in the British economy. (1)

In these circumstances a further intention was to emphasise the relative autonomy of the LOI as a movement whose practices and beliefs, rooted in the conditions of existence of its working class members, could bring it into serious conflict with the Scottish Conservatives - the sense in which for Patterson the Belfast Order was not simple 'on tap' for Unionist strategies. The Home Rule issue served to mitigate these conflicts but even in this context competing definitions of the situation were evident.

These points seem particularly relevant in understanding the oscillation in the fortunes of the Orange/Tory relationship in the early 20th century. Thus as previously indicated, in 1904, once again in the face of the Unionists' unwillingness to check Ritualism and Mr. Balfour's 'Popery Bills' on education, the Grand Lodge

attempted to organise an independent Protestant organisation 'unfettered by party ties'. The renewed crisis in Ireland, though drove the Orange leadership back into the Conservative fold in 1913, when the then Orange Grand Master, Rev. David Ness, was co-opted by the Scottish Unionist Whip on to the executive committee of the Western Divisional Council (this may be the incident referred to by Unwin). (2) Discontent with the projected settlement in Ireland provoked yet another split, when on January 11th 1922 the secretary of the WDC read a letter which had been received from the Grand Lodge of Scotland to the effect that they wished to discontinue their connection with the Unionist party and that their representations would cease attending meetings of the WDC. (3)

Hostility to the commonsense views of Orangemen as Tory auxiliaries and the emphasis on the historically contingent and conditional nature of their political involvement, also help a realisation of how once in the 1920's Ireland had decisively diminished as a political issue and official Orange ties with Conservatism had been broken, some more 'progressive' sections of the Orange membership, as in the villages of Harthill and Larkhall, could turn, not to their old enemies the Liberals, who were firmly identified with Home Rule and Ultramontane conspiracy but to a new political force - namely the emerging ILP. Characteristically allegiances here were not unqualified and Labour's selection of Roman Catholic candidates and sympathy with the new Dublin government were sources of friction, (4) but in this way the LOI was at last confronted with manifest loyalties among its membership, which in turn rendered impractical that united Orange political front which had

characterised much of the 19th century. Increasingly from the 1930's and 40's then a 'no politics' rule at many Lodges seemed to have operated. (5)

This historical background in the 20th century would clearly repay further research, but even as it stands it again militates against the treatment of Orangeism and the Labour movement as hermetically sealed opposites, and indicates finally that there is little surprising in Grand Secretary Adam's comment in the 1960's that the modern LOI "...is a religious organisation which numbers among its members Labour and Independent councillors. Indeed many of the loyal brethren I shall be addressing today are Labour men." (6)

Notes

1. Buckland, op cit (1973), p.214.
2. The Development of the Conservative Party in Scotland till 1912 (1965), No. 138. The typescript he refers to is no longer in existence, Scottish Unionist Association, Western Office Minute Book No. 1, 5/3/1913.
3. WDC Minute Book, 11/1/1922.
4. See McDonagh 197?, op cit for Lanarkshire.
5. Interview, J. McFarland, 5/6/1985.
6. The Scotsman, 9/7/1966.

CHAPTER 13

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Orangeism, as a supremely 'ideological' movement, is problematic for the various theories of working class sectionalism, which envisage some form of determination from economic forms such as labour markets or wage differentials. Its elaborate religious culture, for example, is not reducible in any meaningful sense to the exigencies of economic competition between Protestant and Catholic.

The preceding discussion, indeed, has emphasised the need for a new approach to sectionalism. It was also suggested that this should be a Marxist approach. For although the analysis of Orangeism, with its promotion of cross-class allegiances, warrants an assumption of working class heterogeneity, instances were also acknowledged when sectional barriers were broken down and the structural potential of unity realised. Furthermore, Marxist conceptions of uneven development and labour migration played an important role in the thesis, assisting interpretation of the Movement's rise and progress.

However, for a new Marxist theory to be fully applicable, particularly to such elliptical phenomena as the LOI, it was argued that a number of issues must be confronted. Notably, some phenomenological dimension seems vital, emphasising identities forged both inside and outside the workplace. The rough/respectable distinction was shown to be particularly significant in the internal politics of the Order. Also, emerging from consideration of the LOI's relative weakness in Scotland, is the importance of an awareness

of the cultural and political specificity of social formations. Finally, although an objective theory of ideology is extensively employed above, the reciprocity of control and consent is also stressed, once any degree of sophistication is given to the former.

The thesis also points to potential lines of research. First, while arguing that Orange and labour ideologies need not have operated in practice as hermetically sealed forces, one could give more attention to attempts which were made by the organised labour movement to resist sectarianism. ⁽¹⁾ This would be particularly important in analysing the early 20th century period when the Scottish labour movement was itself becoming increasingly secularised and radicalised in the workplace, drawing on a unity of organisation and an increase in numbers. Even here, though, the extent to which the sentiments of the leadership in Unions and Trades Councils were reproduced in the practice of their rank and file must remain open to doubt - the Orange Grand Lodge, of course, experienced marked difficulties in this respect.

Secondly, Section Three emphasised the active process of construction and negotiation that Orange/Conservative relations entailed, and the extent to which the LOI's incorporation here could not be total. An underlying intention was also to clarify the process of secularisation at the political level in 19th century Scotland - a process which increasingly isolated the LOI. More research, however, is required on the different economic pressure groups within the bourgeoisie, which found their expression in the Conservative and Liberal parties, and their competing policies of imperial expansion and limited decolonialisation. Although rather

beyond the scope of a discussion whose primary focus is on Orange political practice, these might offer a fuller perspective from which to consider the insertion of Orange ideology into party politics.

It remains finally, to draw more contemporary implications from the preceding material. Given the LOI's predominately petty bourgeois leadership; the large component of unskilled and casual workers in its membership in some areas; the predilection for 'street politics' among 'rough' elements of the Orange rank and file; and above all, the conspiracy theory and militant populism which formed the cornerstones of the Institution's ideology; a useful parallel can be drawn between the 19th century LOI and 20th century Fascist movements. Indeed, it is tempting to regard Orangeism as something of a proto-Fascist body, in terms of its structural and ideological characteristics. (2) The close correspondence between these two movements might indeed have grave consequences, as one witnesses current attempts by Fascist groups to promote the racialisation of Scottish politics. The LOI today, it was suggested, has some 30,000 members here, and the British National Party (BNP), in particular, has been eager to mobilise this impressive force, linking the battlecries of racism and sectarianism 'keep Britain white! Smash the IRA!'. (3)

A number of factors, however, mitigate against the inevitability of this 'worst-case scenario'. In the first place, it is a compelling fact that the ideologies of Orangeism and Fascism are actually in opposition to each other. The reason is simple. Pointing to the Roman Catholic origins of leading Fascists in history, Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, and of many British Fascists, such as Martin Webster, Fascism itself is dismissed as a Jesuit-inspired plot. This is reinforced by

reference to the historical instances of clerical support for Fascism in Italy and Spain, or to the 'Blueshirt' movement in Eire in the 1930's. The LOI's present periodical 'The Orange Torch' is replete with examples. The following passage is characteristic:

"...in the BBC's programme on Martin Luther slick attempts were made to equate Luther's anti-semitism - a product of his Romanist upbringing... - with Protestantism and German Protestantism with Nazism! That the programme's producers reckoned that they could get away with this, shows how ignorant the public are about the Papist origins of Fascism (including Nazism) everywhere. (4) (Author's emphasis).

So all embracing is the Orange conspiracy theory that Fascism's anti-Semitic version appears stunted in comparison. Indeed, traditional religious prejudices, such as those fostered by the LOI, may themselves have acted as a diversionary channel for bigotry in Scotland, to some extent deflecting hostility from Asian and Chinese migrants. Unlike the 1870-1900 period, though, the LOI shows a marked reluctance to mobilise these prejudices in a political direction.

There is, of course, no guarantee that the alienation of the LOI from Fascist politics will continue. While the Grand Lodge leadership may repulse Fascist overtures, the 'Ulster is British' stance of groups like the BNP, British Movement, and National Front could prove attractive to some members in the rank and file, especially the younger 'rough' element. Also, given the Order's 'democratic' structure, stressed throughout, it is possible for an unresponsive leadership to be challenged. The ideal conditions for this to occur have a familiar resonance. For these will exist, precisely when events in Ulster reach a crisis point, possibly with a

Loyalist backlash, and when in these circumstances the Grand Lodge - still, as in the 19th century, legitimated by action - is perceived by ordinary Orangemen as deserting its 'True Blue' Protestant standard.

Failing an internal challenge, disaffected LOI members in Scotland may simply choose to move outside the confines of the Order to defend 'Protestant rights', either setting up another independent Orange body as in 1903, or, much more likely, turning to existing Protestant fraternal societies such as the Apprentice Boys of Derry, or even to Ulster paramilitary groups like the Ulster Volunteer Force. (5)

Either course, however, schism or reformed Irish links, seems liable to reinforce Orangeism's isolation from the mainstream of Scottish society.

CHAPTER 13

Notes

1. The independent socialist paper 'Forward' seems to have played an important role in this respect, with James Connolly a notable contributor. (His comments on 12th July processions are quoted in Chapter 5).
2. See M. Walker, *The National Front* (1977); and C.T. Husband, 'The National Front a Response to Crisis', *New Society*, 1975, 32, pp.403-5. Both suggest a 'lumpen' rank and file, but Billig argues this is an oversimplification. *Fascists: A Social Psychological View* (1977).
3. 'Racist Threat Casts Doubt on Scottish Harmony', *The Scotsman*, 30/11/1985.
4. *The Orange Torch* n.d. (Probably c.1983). Other copies of 'The Chiel' column from the paper are in the author's possession.
5. This process has been underway in Ulster itself from the late 1960's and early 1970's, as the Ulster Defence Association has struggled to present itself as the authentic mouthpiece of the Loyalist community. See J. Bugler, 'The House of Orange', *New Society*, 12, 1968, pp.905-6.

RITUAL

OF THE

Orange Introduction.

* * The applicant shall be introduced between his two Sponsors: namely, the Brethren who proposed and seconded his admission; carrying the Bible in his hands, with the Book of Rules and Regulations placed thereon. Two Brothers shall precede him—On his entering the room, a Chaplain, if present, or in his absence a Brother appointed by the Master, shall say the whole or part of what follows:

“ O Lord God of our Fathers, art not Thou God in heaven? And rulest not Thou over all the kingdoms of the heathen? And in thine hand is there not power and might, so that none is able to withstand thee? *2 Chron. xx. 5.*

“ Who is like unto Thee, O Lord, among the gods? Who is like Thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders? Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people which Thou hast redeemed; Thou hast guided them in thy strength unto thy holy habitation. *Exodus xiv. 11, 13.*

“ Lord, Thou wilt ordain peace for us; for Thou hast wrought all our works in us. O Lord our God, other Lords have had dominion over us: but by Thee only will we make mention of thy name. *Isaiah xxiv. 12, 13.*

“ Wherefore, glorify ye the Lord in the fires: even the name of the Lord God of Israel in the isles of the sea.” *Ibid xxiv. 15.*

[During the reading of these, the Candidate shall stand at the foot of the table; the Brethren all standing also in their places, and strictly silent.]

*The Master shall then say—*Friend, what dost thou desire in this Meeting of true Orange-Men? *And the Candidate shall answer.—*Of my own free will and accord I desire admission into your loyal Institution.

*Master.—*Who will vouch for this friend that he is a true Protestant and loyal subject, and has taken the oaths required by law, and by the Rules of this Society?

[Then the Sponsors shall bow to the Master, and signify the same, each mentioning his own name.]

*Master.—*What do you carry in your hand?

*Candidate.—*The Word of God.

*Master.—*Under the assurance of these worthy Brethren, we will trust that you also carry it in your heart. What is that other Book?

*Candidate.—*The Book of your Rules and Regulations.

*Master.—*Under the like assurance, we will further trust that you have studied them well, and that you will obey them in all lawful matters. Therefore we gladly receive you into this Order. Orange-Men, bring to me our friend.

[The Candidate shall then be brought by his Sponsors before the Master; the two Brothers standing at each side the centre of the table.]

During this, the Chaplain or Brother appointed shall say—

“ Many shall be purified and made wise, and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly, and none of the wicked shall understand: but the wise shall understand. Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and thirty days. But go thou thy way, until the end be: for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot all the end of the days.” *Daniel xii. 10, 12, 13.*

[The Candidate shall then kneel on his right knee: and the Master shall invest him with the decoration of the Order—an Orange Sash.]

APPENDIX B: District Lodges' Numbers and Locations cl876

<u>Number</u>	<u>Location</u>
1	Airdrie
2	Glasgow
3	Glasgow
4	Maybole
5	Greenock/Port Glasgow
6	Paisley
7	Unknown (hereafter indicated by *)
8	Bellshill
9	Kilwinning, North Ayrshire
10	* (1)
11	Irvine
12	*
13	Kenfrew
14	Irvine and Dalry
15	Partick
16	Wishaw
17	Glasgow, Calton
18	Johnstone, Kenfrew
19	Port Glasgow
20	Rutherglen
21	Glasgow, Parkhead
22	Coatbridge (founded 1863)
23	Stevenson (founded 1864)
24	Glasgow, Candleriggs
25	*
26	Airdrie
27	*
28	Thornliebank
29	Kilmarnock
30	Greenock
31	Bridgeton
32	Slamannan
33	*

Appendix B (Continued)

34	Greenock
35	*
36	Falkirk
37	Glasgow, Calton
38	Glasgow, Cowcaddens
39	*
40	Cumnock
41	Glasgow, Anderston (Later Greenock)
42	Glasgow, Govan
43	Dalry and Glengarnock, North Ayrshire
44	Glasgow, Bridgeton/Dalmarnock
45	Glasgow
46	Partick/Whiteinch
47	*
48	West Lothian
49	Motherwell
50	Glasgow, Gorbals (founded 1860)
51	Glasgow, Anderston.

Compiled chiefly from The Glasgow News, The Glasgow Herald, The Greenock Telegraph, The Glasgow Sentinel.

- (1) The districts which could not be positively identified were probably in South Ayrshire, Wigtown, Dumfries and West Lothians.

APPENDIX C: Local Lodges' Numbers, Titles and Locations c1876-1900

<u>Number</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Location</u>
0	Mother Lodge	Maybole, founded 1929]
1	Unknown (hereafter indicated by *)	Moodiesburn (1835)
2	*	Chryston (1835)
3	Royal Oak	Paisley
4	Duc de Schomberg	Paisley
5	Victoria	Glasgow
6	Drumgellock	Airrie (1835)
7	Queen Victoria	Paisley
8	*	Gartsherrie (1835)
9	*	Shotts
10	*	* (1)
11	Mountjoy	Greenock
12	*	Kutherglen
13	*	Wigtown
14	*	(Probably Dumfries)
15	Queen Elizabeth	Paisley
16	True Blues	Port Glasgow
17	The Diamond (later Enniskillen's True Blues)	Paisley
18	Cromwell	Paisley
19	*	Airrie (1824)
20	*	Slamannan
21	William's Trusty Blues	Carluke
22	True Blue	Paisley
23	*	Kenfrew
24	Western Star	Dumbarton
25	Johnstone's Invincibles	Annbank
26	Scarlet Line	Johnstone
27	Royal Inniskilleners	Paisley
28	*	Partick/Anaerston
29	*	Coatbridge
30	*	Greenock
31	*	Coatbridge
32	Lora Derby's True Blues	Ayr

Appendix C (Continued)

33-35	*	*
36	*	Harthill
37	*	Newarthill
38-40	*	*
41	*	Bo'ness
42	*	*
43	The Chosen	Partick
44-5	*	*
46	True Blue	Ayr
47	Faith Defender	Patna, Ayrshire
48	*	West Lothian
49	*	Parkhead
50	*	*
51	*	Bellshill
52	True Blue	Edinburgh
53	*	*
54	*	Broxburn
55	*	*
56	Cambusnethan	Wishaw
57	*	Bellshill
58	*	*
59	Partick Rising Star	Partick
60	Wesleyan	Glasgow, Calton
61	*	*
62	The Masonic (Later Blue Banner of Scotland)	Port Glasgow
63	*	Kilbirnie
64	*	Broxburn
65	*	*
66	*	Wishaw
67	*	*
68	*	Motherwell
69	*	*

Appendix C (Continued)

70	*	Airrie
71	George McLeod True Blue	Glasgow
72	*	*
73	*	Rutherglen
74	Prince of Orange	Paisley
75	*	Armadale
76	*	*
77	*	Glasgow, Calton
78	*	Airrie
79	Shamrock and Thistle	Greenock
80	Purple Star	Greenock
81	*	Armadale
82	*	Greenock
83	*	Patna
84-88	*	*
89	*	Glasgow
90	Albert	Greenock
91-2	*	*
93	*	Irvine
94	*	Airrie
95	*	North Ayrshire
96	*	Renfrew
97	Blytheswood's Purple Heroes	Renfrew
98-99	*	*
100	Glengarnock	Glengarnock, Nth Ayrshire
101	Banks o' Doon	Dalmellington
102	John Knox	Paisley
103	Gideon	Renfrew
104	*	*
105	Campsie	Glasgow
106	Brunswick	The first Glasgow Lodge established June 1813
107	*	Greenock
108	*	Greenock

Appendix C (Continued)

109	*	Coatbridge
110	*	*
111	*	Armagale
112	Rising Sons of William	Kenfrewshire
113	Temple of Loyalty	Glasgow South
114	*	Slamannan
115	*	Greenock
116	*	Alexanaria
117	*	Bo'ness
118	*	Bo'ness
119	Sons of Auhrim	Glasgow
120	*	Falkirk
121	*	Newarthill
122	*	holytown
123	*	*
124	*	Glasgow
125	*	Airarie
126	*	Paisley
127	Kinning Park	Glasgow
128-31	*	*
132	*	Greenock
133-5	*	*
136	*	Greenock
137	*	Motherwell
138	*	*
139	Partick Loyal True Blue	Glasgow
140	*	Dumbarton
141	*	Glasgow
142	*	*
143	*	Glasgow
144	*	Slamannan
145	*	*
146	*	Glasgow, Parkhead

Appendix C (Continued)

147	*	*
148	Killyman True Blue	Partick
149-51	*	*
152	*	Wishaw
153-55	*	*
156	*	Glasgow, Calton
157	William of Nassau	Glasgow
158	*	*
159	*	West Calder
160	*	*
161	*	Coatbridge
162	George Phair	Glasgow, Cowcaddens
163	*	Renfrewshire
164	Guiding Star	Thornliebank
165-6	*	*
167	Auchenairn Volunteers	Glasgow, Townhead
168-72	*	*
173	*	Greenock
174	*	Bo'ness
175	*	Glasgow
176	*	Paisley
177	*	Glasgow, Calton
178	hanover	Port Glasgow
179	Ballykillbeg	Glasgow
180	*	Glasgow, Parkhead
181	*	Airurie
182	*	Whitburn
183	*	Glasgow, Calton
184	*	Glasgow
185-9	*	*
190	Star of hope	Lanark
191	*	*
192	*	Bellshill

Appendix C (Continued)

193-5	*	*
196	Renfrew True Blue	Johnstone
197	*	Glasgow
198	*	*
199	Greengars	Slamannan
200	*	Uddingston
201	*	Harthill
202	*	Dalmellington
203	*	*
204	Springbank True Blues	Glasgow, Springburn
205	*	Glasgow, Barmulloch
206	*	*
207	*	Coatbridge
208-9	*	*
210	Joshua's Chosen Few	Glasgow, Briarleton
211	*	Wishaw
212	Carmichael	Carluke
213-6	*	*
217	Harthill Temperance	Lanarkshire
218	*	*
219	Nassau	Johnstone
220	*	Glasgow
221-3	*	*
224	John Knox	Greenock
225	*	*
226	*	Greenock
227	*	*
228	*	Slamannan
229	*	Airarie
230	*	Irvine
231-4	*	*
235	*	Dumbarton
236-40	*	*

Appendix C (Continued)

241	*	Motherwell
242	*	Bellshill
243	*	Uddingston
244-50	*	*
251	Loyal Sons of Giaeon	Glasgow, Briarleton
252	Crossford's Trusty True Blues	Carlisle
253	'No Surrender' True Blue	Glasgow, Cowcaddens
254	*	Glasgow, Cowlands
255	*	Glasgow
256	*	Pollockshaws
257	Scotia	Greenock
258	*	Thornliebank
259-62	*	*
263	*	Thornliebank
264	Glasgow Bible Protection Society	Glasgow
265-6	*	*
267	*	Dumbarton
268-9	*	*
270	Albion Heroes	Greenock
271	Thistle Tops	Greenock
272	*	*
273	Whithorn True Blues	Whithorn
274	*	*
275	*	Slammannan
276-9	*	*
280	Loche Lochgelly	Glasgow, Candleriggs
281	Sons of Levi	Port Eglington
282-6	*	*
287	*	Glasgow
288	Cook's Invincibles	Glasgow, Briarleton
289	Derry Maiden Light	Glasgow
290-2	*	*
293	*	Motherwell

Appendix C (Continued)

294	*	Coatbridge
295	*	*
296	Hanovarian	Glasgow (Founded 1846)
297-9	*	*
300	*	Dreghorn
301	*	*
302	*	Wishaw
303-8	*	*
309	*	Coatbridge
310-2	*	*
313	Benburb Purple Guard	Benburb
314	Plantation	Glasgow
315-6	*	*
317	*	Falkirk
318	*	Bellshill
319	*	*
320	Scotia Loyal	Greenock
321-7	*	*
328	*	Motherwell
329	*	*
330	*	Irvine
331	Walker's Defenders	Greenock
332-3	*	*
334	Victoria	Greenock
335	*	Greenock
336	Britannia	Greenock
337	Greenock Heroes	Greenock
338	Luther's heroes	Greenock
339	True Blues	Greenock
340	Old Boys	Greenock
341	*	Bridge of Weir
342	*	*
343	Covenant of Peace	Port Glasgow (defunct 1892)

Appendix C (Continued)

344	*	*
345	Kothesay True Blue	Bute
346-7	*	*
348	Royal Orange	Port Glasgow
349-59	*	*
360	*	Irvine
361-5	*	*
366	*	Airarie
367-77	*	*
378	*	Greenock
379-87	*	*
388	True Blues	Johnstone
389-94	*	*
395	*	Glasgow
396	*	*
397	Clutha's True Blue	Glasgow, Candleriggs
398-419	*	*
420	*	Motherwell
421-37	*	*
436	*	Glasgow
439	*	*
440	No Surrender Total Abstainers	Glasgow, Gallowgate
441	*	Glasgow
442	Sons of William	Glasgow, Maryhill
443-89	*	*
490	*	Madiston
491-504	*	*
505	St. John's Defenders	Greenock
506-27	*	*
528	*	Thornliebank
529-43	*	*
544	*	Coatbridge
545-624	*	*

Appendix C (Continued)

625	Crimson Star	Govan
626-63	*	*
664	*	Coatbridge
665-8	*	*
669	*	Motherwell
670	*	Motherwell
671-9	*	*
680	Royal True Blues	Glasgow, Gallowgate
681-9	*	*
690	Beaconsfield's Purple Guards	Glasgow
691	*	*
692	*	Govan
693-8	*	*
699	Chosen Few	Greenock
700	*	Coatbridge
701	*	Coatbridge
702-11	*	*
712	*	Motherwell

(1) Both title and location are not known in this case, but it is also important to note that not all available numbers 1-712 were given out by the Grand Lodge, thus there may have been no Loyal Orange Lodge LOL. No. 682, for example, in the period under study.

This list has been compiled mainly from: The Glasgow News, The Glasgow Herald, The Greenock Telegraph, The Paisley Express, Fowlers Paisley and Greenock Directories. Although incomplete it does give a fair indication of the LOI's geographical diffusion and the Orangemen's self-perceptions.

APPENDIX D: Greenock Orangemen: Occupational Breakdown 1879-86.

NAME	OCCUPATION	ADDRESS
James Barclay	Joiner	Ingleston Street
J. Boden	Pansman	Trafalgar Street
Alex. Bradley	Seaman	Drumfrochar Road
Johnathan Burns	Labourer	Cathcart Street
Joseph Campbell	Ironworker	Crescent Street
William Chambers	Labourer	John Street
William Chapman	Seaman	Cathcart Street
Robert Chestnut	Wine & Spirit Merchant	Cathcart Street
Andrew Craig	Baker	Sir Michael Street
Thomas Currie	Labourer	Drumfrochar Road
K.H. Dignum	Clergyman	*
J. Lobbin	Labourer	Prospecthill Road
Robert Farrel	Grocer	Main Street
H. Forbes	Engineer	Cathcart Street
J. Fulton	Trunkmaker	Market Street
Robert Gamble	Labourer	Belleville Street
K. Gemmel	Labourer	Holmscroft Street
P. Goraon	Labourer	Ingleston Street
James Gray	Joiner	Prospecthill Road
K. Halliday	Gatekeeper	Crescent Street
Adam Hunter	Engineer	Ingleston Street
Robert Hutcheson	Labourer	Ann Street
William Hutcheson	Labourer	Roxburgh Street
William Hye	Labourer	Drumfrochar Road
J. Jackson	Moulder	Crescent Street
K. Johnston	Labourer	Drumfrochar Road
William Lee	Labourer	Drumfrochar Road
James Leslie	Boilermaker	John Street
James Lynn	Tenter	Drumfrochar Road
John Lyon	Brass Founder	Baker Street
Robert Maill	Coal and Wood Merchant	Captain Street

Appendix D (Continued)

Alex Martin	Labourer	Bruce Street
S.H. Miller	Wine & Spirit Merchant	Nelson Street
William Miller	Fitter	East Crawford Street
A. Moleseea	Painter	West Blackhall Street
John Moriss	Salesman	Nicholson Street
K.M. McCauchy	Sugar Sampler	Ann Street
Arthur Macfarlane	Veterinary Surgeon	Kelly Street
A. McGowan	Broker	Shaw Street
William McInnes	Cooper	Kelly Street
W.J. Mackenzie	Ironmonger	Shaw Street
H. McMaugh	Labourer	West Blackhall Street
Archibald McNeil	Woolsorter	Prospecthill Road
William McQuoid	Cartwright	Mount Pleasant Road
James Nixon	Joiner	Market Street
James Kattray	Missionary (formerly Boilermaker)	Dempster Street
T. Koss	Yardsman	West Blackhall Street
W. Koss	Labourer	Baker Street
Alex Steel	Foreman, J. Poynter, Manufacturing Chemists	Dellingburn Street
S. Sloan	Labourer	Wellington Street
Andrew Swan	Slater	Finnart Street
William Swan	Sailmaker	Regent Street

Compiled from Greenock Telegraph, Greenock Post Office Directory,
Fowler's Greenock Directory

APPENDIX E: Greenock Orangemen: Occupational Breakdown 1892

NAME	OCCUPATION	ADDRESS
R.J. Allan	Labourer	Wemyss Bay Street
James Ballantyne	Labourer	Serpentine Walk
W. Barnes	Labourer	Crescent Street
K. Bell	Watchman	Ingleston Street
Samuel Bell	Grocer	St. Lawrence Street
K. Berryman	Labourer	Bearhope Street
Henry Braine	Labourer	Dempster Street
A. Brymer	Blacksmith	Mount Pleasant Street
William Carson	Fireman	Dempster Street
J.T. Clark	Carter	Drumfrochar Road
J. Craig	Smith	Ann Street
K. Gamble +	Labourer	Belleville Street
William Gillanders	Mashman	Inverkip Street
P. Gordon	Labourer	Belleville Street
William Halliday	Labourer	Drumfrochar Road
W. Hill	Policeman	Wellington Street
W. Hume +	Labourer	Drumfrochar Road
Robert Johnstone	Labourer	Drumfrochar Road
W. Kerr	Plumber	Drumfrochar Road
T. Kyle	Joiner	Belleville Street
James Leith	Grocer	Mearns Street
James Lynn +	Tenter	Drumfrochar Road
James Magee	Engineer	Carwood Street
J. Marshall	Patternmaker	Ingleston Street
Alex Martin	Joiner	Wellington Street
W. Martin	Woolsorter	Dempster Street
Hugh Matheson	Fitter	Old Hillena
J. Mountford	Curator, Mechanics Institute	*
K. Murphy	Marine Store Dealer	*
D. McAllister	Janitor	Glebe Public School, Crawford Street

Appendix E (Continued)

James McEachran	Spirit Dealer	Lawrence Street
Malcolm McLean	Joiner	Holmscroft Street
W. Koss +	Labourer	Baker Street
W. Koss	Grocer	Drumfrochar Road
James Spense	Rivetter	Hill Street
Alex Steel +	Foreman	Dellingburn Street
Henry Walker	Insurance Agent	Belleville Street
T. Wilton	Carpenter	John Street

Compiled from Greenock Telegraph and Fowlers Directory 'Loyal Orange Institution' entry, pp.99-100.

+ Also in 1870-86 list.

APPENDIX F: Paisley Orangemen: Occupational Breakdown 1866-86

NAME	OCCUPATION	ADDRESS
Henry Archer	Thatcher	high Street
William Barbour	Clerk, Bank of Scotland	Causeyside
W.J. Bell	Ham Curer and Provision Merchant	Calside
Robert Blair	Tailor	George Street
A. Brisbane	Cowfeeder	Cotton Street
James Browne	Clerk, John Lines Railway	Underwood Road
P. Burt	Draper	Calside
Jas. Burton	Labourer	*
J. Clark	Shuttlemaker	Causeyside
Hamilton Coats	Church Officer	Cotton Street
W. Cockburn	Clerk, Caledonian Railway	Wardrop Street
h. Enterkin	Cutter	Gauze Street
Robert Farmer	Coal Merchant	Westmarch
J. Fair	Labourer	*
R. Fisher	Draper	New Street
Alex Fraser	Tenter	Water Brae
T. Fraser	Wine & Spirit Merchant	New Sneadon Street
K. Galbraith	Chemist	Gauze Street
A.N. Gardner	Printer	East Greenlaw
T. Graham	Doctor	Garthland Place
J. Hair	Boot and Shoe Makers	Canal Street
G. Hair	as above	
J. Johnstone	Fishmonger	George Street
T. Muir	Insurance Agent	Castlehead
David Macbryae	Patternmaker	Barclay Street
P. McCluskie	Sawyer	*
James Quinn	Labourer	Thread Street
A. Parlane	Printer	Gilmour Street
K. Patterson	Grocer	George Street

A.R. Pollock	Drysalters Firm (Proprietor)	Greenhill
W. Robinson	Minister, Primitive Methodist Church	Abbey Close
E. Schollan	Spirit Merchant	Moss Street
Mr. Smellie	Gentleman	Gallowhill
D. Sloan	Feuar	Queen Street
Hugh Thomson	Brewery Worker	High Street

APPENDIX G: Biographical Index

- John Adamson: Billposter, treasurer of LOL. No. 442, Maryhill.
- James Allen: Deputy Master, LOL. No. 340, Greenock 1880-4.
- Archibald Allison: Tory Sheriff of Lanarkshire 1830's. Prominent freemason but hostile to Orangemen. Antiquary and author of 'Some Account of My Life and Writings'. Obituary, Blackwood's Magazine, May 1867.
- W.J. Anderson: Joiner and cabinet maker. Glasgow Orange official 1870's on, G.P.M., LOL. NO. 239, HSGM 1883.
- William Angus: Moulder, PM, LOL. No. 442, Maryhill. Active in Maryhill Conservative Association from its inception in 1885. Died 1913.
- James Bain: Ironmaster, Lord Provost of Glasgow, Conservative candidate 1880 Glasgow election. An ambitious politician, eventually M.P. for Whitehaven. See Baillie No. 6 and 387 for portrait and 'The Lord Provosts of Glasgow 1833-83'.
- R. Baxter: Engineer, Secretary of No. 44 Partick District, 1881.
- Eamuna Bell: Officebearer, Orange Institution of Great Britain 1860's and 70's in Partick District. Agent for Scottish and District Railway Company.
- James Browne: District Master, Paisley. Clerk, Joint Lines Railway 1885.
- John Brown: Secretary, No. 31 (Bridgeton) District, 1884.
- Jonathon Burns: Labourer, P.M. LOL. No. 344, Greenock, WM LOL. No. 97, 'Blythswood's Purple Heroes', 1880's.
- W. Caoman: Leather Merchant, Park Place, Glasgow. Instrumental in setting up Glasgow Working Men's Conservative Association. Chairman 6th Ward Conservative election committee 1874. Appeared on Orange platform, Johnstone 1871.
- Archibald Campbell: (Lord Blythswood) Born 22/2/1837. Served in Crimea. 1873-4 represented West Kenfrewshire as M.P. and from 1885-1892. Became a Peer 1892. ADC to Queen Victoria. Presided over

Appendix G (Continued)

- various Paisley Orange soirees. Obituary, Glasgow Herald, 8/7/1908, see also Prominent Profiles, J.M. Hamilton (1902), Baillie No. 25, 1/9/1873.
- Rev. J.K. Campbell: Minister of Augustine Established Church Mission, Greenock, and former U.P. clergyman. Greenock School Board 1873 on. Active 'convert' to Orangeism 1879 on.
- Thomas Caulfield: WM LOL. No. 680, Royal True Blues, Glasgow, 1885.
- Rev. H. Charleton: "one of the finest ministers in the Irish Presbyterian church. Called to Greenock, Wellpark Church of Scotland (the Irish Protestant 'Orange Church'), 1876. Called later to Stranraer. Active in Orange Public events 1870's and 80's (see Chapter 7).
- Robert Chestnut: Wine and Spirit Merchant. Treasurer, LOL. No. 336, Greenock. Candidate in School Board elections.
- Robert Clements: First Deputy Grand Master of Scotland, in effective control 1835-1860's. Surgeon, residing at Gallowgate, Glasgow.
- Hamilton Coats: Prominent Paisley Orangeism 1880's. Church Officer.
- Rev. G.M. College: Wesleyan Methodist Greenock. Orange supporter, on 1874 soiree platform.
- Laurence Craigie: Lawyer, highly unstable. Secretary of Royal Gordon Lodge, Glasgow. Died 1834.
- J.N. Cuthbertson: Merchant in chemical products. Conservative politician, contested St. Kollox Glasgow unsuccessfully 1885 and 6. Orange sympathies though remained outside the Institution. See Baillie 18/2/80 for portrait.
- Rev. K.H. Dignum: Chaplain to Greenock Orangemen 1870's. Ulsterman. Minister of Wellpark Church of Scotland, called to Partick Congregation, 1876.
- James Duageon: Eating house keeper. Officebearer LOL. No. 44, 'No Surrender', Glasgow.

Appendix G (Continued)

- W. Ellis: Boot and shoe manufacturer, Bridgeton. Grand Treasurer 1896.
- Earl of Enniskillen: William Willoughby Cole 1807-86, Grand Master of Scotland, 1835-1860's.
- J.E. Fairlie: Surgeon, HDEM, Glasgow. Tory, Chairman of 2nd ward committee.
- Robert Farmer: Coal merchant, District Master Paisley 1880's.
- Rev. W. Fraser: Strong Tory and Orange partisan, though not an LOI member. Minister, Free Mistle Church, Paisley. "Thorough constitutionalist" in his political opinions he was opposed to disestablishment and an ardent pamphleter. Member of Paisley Philosophical Society and addressed 'Social Science' meeting in 1861. Paisley Express 23/9/79, 29/9/79 for obituary and funeral.
- Rev. A. Fullerton: Minister, Cartsburn Church of Scotland, Greenock, "his catholicity of spirit [was] so remarkably extreme as to make him equally at home on papal and Orange platforms". Greenock Telegraph, 16/11/78.
- J. Galloway: Labourer, Secretary of No. 38 Cowcaddens (Glasgow) District, 1884.
- Rev. Robert Gault: Ulsterman, one of the first ministers in Scotland to embrace Orangeism. Grand Chaplain to the Order in the 1860's. Minister of Kingston Free Church, 'moderate Conservative' active in GCA and on A. Whitelaw's (q.v.) election committee 1874. Author of prize-winning essay 'Popery, Man of Sin and Son of Perdition' (1853). Superintendent of Free Church Anti-Popish Mission.
- Samuel Geddes: Traveller. Master of LOL. No. 690 Partick, 1881. HDGM, 1883.
- Allan Gilmour of Eaglesham: Tory landowner, increasingly noted on Orange platforms 1880's. HDGM 1883. Cambridge educated Barrister-at-Law. Burkes Peerage, 1879.
- T.H. Gilmour: Agent, Royal Liver Friendly Society, SGM 1894. Prominent Conservative, vice chairman

Appendix G (Continued)

Camlachie Conservative Association 1884. Paid Tory organiser in Camlachie District 1900.

Duke of Gordon:

George Gordon, 5th Duke, kinsman of Lord George Gordon the anti-Roman Catholic agitator, but forbears 1st and 2nd Dukes were leading Roman Catholic magistrates in Scotland. Distinguished military career raised 100th (later 92nd) Gordon Highlanders from his estates, regiment saw service in '98 rebellion at Wexford. 1806 became MP for Eye, entered House of Lords 1807/ Ultra-Tory figurehead of Scottish Orange Lodges 1830's but confined activities to meetings of Grand Lodge in London. Died 28th May 1836.

See Sir George Bell's 'Rough Notes of Old Soldier', ii.39. Anderson's Scottish Nation ii319-20, Cannon's Historical Record of the 92nd Highlanders, pp.1-20, 127-8.

J. Griffen:

Fishmonger, Glasgow. Grand Lodge official 1875.

J. Haaddock:

Spirit dealer, Gallowgate. Officebearer, LOL. No. 5 'Victoria', Glasgow.

W.J. Hamilton:

Labourer, WM LOL. No. 442 (Maryhill).

Rev. J.C. Halliday:

Evangelist in charge of Emmanuel Episcopal Church, Glasgow. Grand Chaplain to Orangemen, 1899.

Z.C. Hawkes:

Leading GCA member. Tea and wine merchant. On Orange platforms 1881 on. Obituary, Glasgow News, 21/1/83.

F.Y. Henderson:

Accountant. Treasurer Grand Lodge, 1881 on. Secretary of Glasgow General Building Society. Active in Scottish Protestant Alliance.

Rev. J.C. Hoagekinson:

Minister, Emmanuel Church, Glasgow. Grand Chaplain to the Orangemen, 1892.

h. Houston:

Clothing manufacturer, Bridgeton, Glasgow. WM, LOL. No. 5 'Victoria'.

W. Hunter:

Tobacconist. DM Parkhead No. 21 District, 1878. ASGM 1892.

Appendix G (Continued)

- P. Hutcheson: Steamship Agent. GSB Grand Lodge, 1875, but little subsequent involvement. Director, West of Scotland Protestant Association. Chairman of Central Conservative Association, Glasgow, 1885-99. Councillor 1896. Died 1899.
- Rev. Quintin Johnstone: Minister, Whiteinch Parish Church. Keen Orange partisan and active in anti-home rule cause 1880 on.
- William Kerr: Prudential Insurance Agent. Secretary of No. 15. Partick District LOI 1884. GBB 1884. Secretary of Partick Conservative Association.
- Dr. John Leech: Grand Master of Orange Association, 1862-June 1869. Physician, 5th Portland Street, Glasgow.
- H.A. Long: Early experience as cavalry soldier, later "a champion of the Protestant cause and an educationalist". Working man's missionary in the Saltmarket, Glasgow. A frequent debator on Glasgow Green, he was attended by a bodyguard of Orangemen as personal protection, "his bigoted and uncompromising Calvinism was not of the soor-faced variety for it did not cloud his happy optimism".
- See S. Mavor, Memories of People and Places, Bailie 9/7/1873, 29/4/85.
- Isaac Low: Plumber and gasfitter. Grand Lodge official 1975.
- K.G. Lowndes: Partner in power loom muslin manufacturers. Official LOI Thornliebank.
- Thomas Macklin: Professor of Classics, Andersonian University, Glasgow. Free Churchman. Ulsterman. Grand Secretary LOI Scotland 1864-91. Conservative election committee 1874.
- W.C. Maughan: Accountant. Honorary treasurer, GCA. 'True blue' Tory. Prominent S.P.A. Unsuccessfully contested Blackfriars and Hutchesonstown and Bridgeton constituencies 1885, 92 and 95. 'Orange' candidate 1892 School Board elections. Obituary GCAAR, 1915.
- Rev. J.V. Mitchell: Ulsterman. Minister of New Congregational Church, 1885. Grand Chaplain, LOI. 1896-1900.

Appendix G (Continued)

- D.S. Mitchell: Shipping Insurance Agent. DM, No. 41, Anderston District.
- Robert Mitchell: Shipping Master and emigration agent, 1865-70. Agent for Anchor Line steamers 1870-80. Member of Orange Institution of Great Britain, and their candidate in 1876 School Board elections.
- F. Morrison: Jeweller, Argyle Arcade Glasgow. Prominent Orangeman and active in Tradeston Conservative Association. GCA representative 1888.
- William Motherwell: 1797-1835, Poet and journalist. Son of an ironmonger, descended from an old Stirlingshire family. As a youth had radical opinions but relations with reformers turned him into zealous Tory. Trooper in Renfrewshire Yeomanry. Works: 1819 'Harp of Renfrewshire', 1824 'Renfrewshire Characters and Scenery', 1827 'Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern'. A collaborator with James Hogg in an edition of Burns poems. Editor of Glasgow Courier 1832. Identified himself actively with Orangeism, examined by Parliamentary committee, completely broke down and died of apoplexy Glasgow, 1st November 1835. Blackwood's xxxiii 670, Portrait and Bust in National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.
- W. Mullen: Boilermaker. Secretary of No. 41 (Anderston) District.
- Gilbert R. Murray: DM, Galloway; DPGM, Scotland 1875.
- A. McAllister: Engineer. DM, Partick District LO1.
- Hugh McGuire: Plasterer. GS, Grand Loche, 1875.
- W. McHaffie: WPGM, Black Chapter 1876. Committee 1877, GCA. Representative from Tradeston to GCA 1887.
- Dr. T. Macknight: Physician. County DGM Ayrshire. Active Tory and anti-Voluntaryist (see Chapter 7).
- George McLeod: Winsey and tartan manufacturer, Glasgow. MWGM of Orange Institution 1869-74. Active in GCA and Scottish Reformation Society. Founding member of Glasgow Athenaeum (cultural society). Also involved in Commercial

Appendix G (Continued)

Travellers' Society and Sabbath Protection League. See Glasgow News, 12/12/74, 16/10/74, for Athenaeum dinner in his honour.

James McManus:

Insurance Collector. Secretary of No. 44 Bridgeton/Dalmarnock District. Later Deputy Grand Master of Scotland and very active in the Grand Lodge in the late 1880's. Vice President of Bridgeton Conservative Association 1885-1907. Representative to Western Divisional Council, 1898.

R. McNish:

Local gentry Glasgow area. Joined LOI in 1880's but not active.

W. McWilliams:

Printer. DM, LOL. No. 680 Gallowgate, Glasgow 1885.

Rev. David Ness:

Minister, Whiteinch Parish Church. MWGM, Orange Institution 1900 on. Also prominent Freemason. See Partick Star, 6/7/1895.

Chalmers Izatt Paton:

Head of Hugh Paton and Sons, Carvers and Gilfers, Edinburgh, "held no insignificant place in art circles". MWGM, 1874-94, Orange Institution. Died 7th October 1889. Obituary, Glasgow Herald, 9/10/1889.

Rev. T.W. Patrick:

Congregationalist Minister, Rutherglen. Ulsterman and active Orangeman. See Glasgow News, 12/9/1881.

George Phair:

Railway signal maker. Master No. 38 (Cowcaddens) District. Vice Chairman 10th Conservative Ward Committee.

A.R. Pollock:

Partner of Jas. Pollock and Co., Drysalters Coy, Paisley. District Master, Paisley LOI. 1870's on. Convenor of Antiquities, Paisley Philosophical Society. Instrumental in setting up Paisley Conservative Association.

T. Richard:

Accounts clerk. Master, No. 31 (Bridgeton) District.

James Kattray:

Boilermaker, later full time missionary for the Protestant Missionary Society. Prominent Greenock Orangeman, 1860's, 70's.

W. Richmond:

Confectioner and fruiterer, Glasgow. First

Appendix G (Continued)

- Grand Secretary of the Orange Association in Scotland, 1835-59.
- James Rice: House painter, Glasgow. Grand Secretary of Orange Institution in Scotland, 1891 on.
- Rev. William Robinson: Primitive Methodist, Paisley. Member of LOI 1837-1906.
- Edward J. Saunderson: Irish politician, ardent Protestant and Orangeman, with absolute faith in divine guidance. Commander of Caven militia 1891-3. Landowner and Whig admirer of Lord Palmerston, he became the most conspicuous opponent of home rule in the House of Commons as MP for North Armagh. County Grand Master of Belfast Orange Lodges, MWGM Scotland 1889-95 - resigning due to pressure of parliamentary duties. See K. Lucas, Memoir of Col. Saunderson MP (1906).
- Jas. Somerwell of Sorn: Ayrshire landowner, born 1845, education Loretto, Harrow, Oxford. Conservative candidate for Glasgow, adopted 1883. See Glasgow News 7/3/84, Bailie Nos. 684, 909.
- Dugald Stewart: Wright and Builder. Grand Lodge Official, Glasgow 1875.
- W. Stewart of Gearholm: Landowner. MWGM, County Grand Lodge, Ayrshire, 1870's.
- A. Thomson: Money Lender, Calton, Glasgow. DGM, Orange Institution of Great Britain, 1874.
- Rev. Robert Thompson: 'Rubbart', highly eccentric Minister of Ladywell Church of Scotland, Glasgow. See Bailie, 18/7/1877, 31/10/83, 14/5/84.
- W.H. Webster: Grocer, South Side, Glasgow. Procession Marshal, LOI, 1880.
- Thomas Wetherall: Born Waterford 1809. Came to Glasgow 1860, acted as manager to a cutler and surgical instrument maker and eventually purchased a share in the business. Deputy GM, LOI Scotland, 1874 and active in GCA. Treasurer, Glasgow Debating Society and chairman of the Working Men's Evangelical Mission. Died April 3rd, 1883. For obituary, Glasgow News, 5/4/83.

Appendix G (Continued)

- Alex Whitelaw: Partner in W. Baird and Co., Ironmasters. Conservative MP for Glasgow, 1874. Chairman of first Glasgow School Board. Strongly committed to Church of Scotland. Died 1st July, 1879. See Illustrated London News, lxvi 146 (1875); The Graphic, xi 174 (1875) for portrait.
- William Whitelaw: Third son of the above, born 1868, educated Eton, Harrow, Trinity College. Member LOL. 1892, aged 24, won Perth for the Conservatives after a split in the Liberal vote. Defeated 1895 and 1900. Became director of Highland Railway Company. Contested Banff unsuccessfully in 1907 and Stirling Burghs, also unsuccessfully, 1907. See baillie, 27/5/1907, for portrait.
- Rev. W. Winter: Episcopal Clergyman, Glasgow. GC of Orangemen, 1896.
- James Wyllie: Ulster Protestant. School teacher Free St. George's School. Orange SGM 1874, also active in GCA. See Annual Reports 1874,5 etc. For speech to GCA, Glasgow News 21/3/1874. Vice Chairman 11th Ward Committee (Conservative), 1884.
- Samuel Young: Slater. Officebearer in Cowcaddens LOL, 1892, DGM, 1900.
- William Young: Tailor, Bridgeton, Glasgow. Secretary of No. 44 (Baltic Street) District, LOL, but climbed ladder rapidly reaching Deputy Grand Master for Col. Sanderson (q.v.) and MWGM in 1895 after his resignation. Also active Tory, Vice President Bridgeton division 1885-1904, representative to Western Divisional Committee 1898.
- William Yuille: Member of OA of S Grand Lodge, early 1870's, but in 1875 began to publicly criticise this body for its lack of independent action in pursuit of 'Protestant Issues'. Subsequently drops out of reported Grand Lodge activity. (Possible the same Yuille, a storeman, who had served on a Conservative election committee in 1874).

APPENDIX H: Clergymen with Orange Links 1865-1900

NAME	DENOMINATION	LOCATION
* Hugh Park	Church of Scotlana	Cumbernaula
W.B. Turnbull	ditto	Townhead, Glasgow
James Dodas	"	St Georges, Glasgow
*+ R.H. Dignum	"	Greenock
* A. Walker	"	Airarie
* Robert Thompson	"	Ladywell, Glasgow
A. Leiper	"	Gorbals
Rev. J. McNaught	"	Glasgow
P. McLaughlin	"	Abbotsford, Glasgow
R. Pryde	"	Not known
J. Hay	"	"
* Quintin Johnstone	"	Whiteinch, Glasgow
James Bryce	"	Crown St., Glasgow
W. Hutcheson	"	Not known
* J.k. Campbell	"	Port Glasgow
T. kay	"	Greenock
*+ W. Wilson	"	Greenock
*+ H. Charleton	"	Greenock
A. Fullerton	"	Greenock
J. McPherson	"	Gaelic Church, Greenock
J. Potter	"	Not known
Rev. Douglas	"	Stranraer
H. Ramsay	"	Baillieston
J. Wilson	"	Kenfrew
William McDermott	"	Johnstone
* Rev. Lorraine	"	Dalry
Rev. J. Gunson	"	Greenock
+ J. McCann	Episopalian	Glasgow
W. Williams	"	St. Judes, Glasgow
* J. Hoogekinson	"	Emmanuel Church, Glasgow

Appendix H (Continued)

* W. Winter	"	Glasgow
W.E. Braashaw	"	Glasgow
* J.C. Halliday	"	Glasgow
* William Robinson	Primitive Methodist	Paisley
Rev. Jenkinson	"	Townhead, Glasgow
Rev. Havers	"	Tollcross, Glasgow
Emerson Phillipson	"	Suffolk St. Glasgow
Rev. Boulton	Methodist	Greenock
G.M. College	"	Greenock
*+ Robert Gault	Free Church	Kingston, Glasgow
Rev. Dr. Fraser	"	Paisley
*+ J.V. Mitchell	Independent Congregationalist	Partick
*+ T.W. Patrick	"	Rutherglen

* Denotes a member of the LOI.

+ Denotes of Irish, or more commonly, Ulster origin

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Synopsis: A. Primary Sources
- I Manuscript and Archival Material
 - 1. Personal Papers
 - 2. Institutional Records
 - 3. Legal Material

 - II Printed Material
 - 1. Pamphlets
 - 2. Parliamentary Debates and Reports

 - III Books and Articles (including Histories and biographical material).

 - IV Newspapers and Periodicals.
- B. Secondary Sources
- I Modern Histories

 - II General: Referenced in
 - 1. Scottish Labour and Political Histories
 - 2. Irish Migration Studies
 - 3. Local History.

By way of introduction to this biographical account, two general observations should be made. First, one should be aware that as befits the contentious subject of Orangeism, the primary sources available are soundly partisan and should therefore be approached with caution. This is very much the case with contemporary histories of the 19th century movement which as a rule are the work of Orange supporters or their opponents and which, although containing important 'raw material', have as their main concern the simple assertion or denial of charges against Orangemen, rather than any real analysis of their influence and development. Secondly, it seems rather a paradox that despite the LOI's often high public profile in the West of Scotland, no secondary material directly and exclusively on the topic exists. Probably since much of Orange history appears rather too peripheral or 'obscure' to be investigated by commentators whose primary object is other aspects of Scottish or British history, one is left with a series of isolated - though sometimes illuminating - references but little in the way of analysis or explanation.

As regards the primary sources, it is regrettable that most of the leading Scottish Orangemen of the 19th century, McLeod, Paton, Young etc., left no personal papers, or none of any significance. (A marriage trust for Peter Hutcheson's daughter survives and H.A. Long characteristically bequeathed his press cuttings and a marble bust of himself, now in Glasgow People's Palace Museum). Similarly, the poet Motherwell left a fairly large amount of correspondence in the Robertson Mss. Collection G.U.L., but mostly on literary subjects, for it is likely that the most sensitive documents pertaining to Orangeism were destroyed in the wake of the 1835 debacle. The honorific MWM of the movement from 1899-95, the Irish landowner Col. Saunderson, has also left voluminous papers and correspondence but again these reflect the overwhelming concern with wider political issues and parliamentary business, which eventually prompted him to resign his office in Scotland.

Conservative and Liberal Unionist politicians whose names were linked with Orangeism provide another potential line of research. J. Parker Smith's correspondence in the Smith of Jordanhill Collection SKA is most useful on the practical conduct of a by-election campaign in the late 19th century, and Alex Whitelaw's extant papers are further instructive on the Scottish Disestablishment issue. Apart from this, Allan Gilmour and J. Stirling Maxwell left only estate and business archives, while James Bain, W.C. Maugham, Lord. Blythwood, C.B. Renshaw and Alex Stuart left no personal papers. Indeed, on the whole leading Tories seem to have been much less conscientious in this respect than their Liberal counterparts such as James Moir.

The second major body of manuscript material is formed by institutional records. The reports of proceedings May-December 1864 and December 1867 of the Grand Lodge of the Orange Institution of Ireland are deposited in the Linen Hall Library, Belfast, and, in fact, in Ireland a special 'Lodge of Research' LOL. No. 1020 has been established for the specific purpose of collecting historical materials.

It soon became apparent that in Scotland, however, there were problems not only of access but of basic availability. I was informed that the Grand Lodge here has only begun comparatively recently to take a serious interest in the Movement's history, and that in the past records of membership, minute books etc., seem to have been retained by local lodges. In these circumstances material has often not survived. Most of the records of Glengarnock LOL. No. 100 were used to stoke a boiler in the Orange Hall during fuel shortages in 1974, though I was permitted to examine the remaining ephemera such as membership certificates for the LOI (and a local Black Perceptory, No. 795), Lodge Masters credentials and transfer certificates, some of these dating from the 1870's.

Yet this want of internal records was not a serious obstacle - it is doubtful whether questions of class affiliation, motivation and political practice could have been satisfactorily answered from such official sources anyway. In fact, on such topics the manuscript material from other institutions relevant to the progress of 19th century Orangeism proved an extremely effective alternative. The

archives of the Conservative and Liberal Unionist parties in Scotland are one such resource; in particular the Glasgow Conservative Operative Association Annual Reports and Minute Books 1839-41, the 1893 Annual Report of the National Union of Conservative Associations of Scotland and Minute Books 1893-1902. The detailed membership records contained here permitted an account of Orange involvement in Conservative and Unionist politics from local ward committees to constituency associations and executive bodies.

Also as a useful point of reference for the LOI's more general standing in Scottish society the annual reports of other militant Protestant bodies in Glasgow and the West can also be examined. These include Glasgow Protestant Layman's Association Annual Report 1879, the Glasgow Protestant Missionary Society Annual Reports 1879-80 and the Glasgow Working Man's Evangelistic Society 1879-83.

Other institutional records consulted were those of friendly societies such as the 'Patna Loyal Orange and Protestant Friendly Society', deposited under the various Friendly Society Acts and now held at the SRO. These are important in grasping the extent of material provisions offered by Orangeism.

A final source of manuscript material which should be noted is the collection of Lord Advocates' papers also in the SRO. Notably this includes witnesses precognitions and the reports of local sheriffs relating to Orange disturbances and riots in the 1840's and 50's.

Further compensating the lack of official Orange records is the wealth of primary printed material produced by the Lodges. This includes, for example, a printed ritual of introduction as copies of Orange Laws and Ordinances from 1800, 1830, 1828, 1830, 1846, 1849, 1860, 1886 and 1899. (These pertain directly to the Irish body but, as suggested, practices in Scotland were very similar.

Also important here were the many ballads, polemical pamphlets and recorded lectures which were provided for internal consumption by the Scottish and British organisations. Of special interest is one of the earliest pamphlets The Orange Institution a Slight Sketch (1813) which actually contains recruitment advertisements for the Lodges as well as reproducing rules and regulations, and also A Report of the Protestant and Orange Soiree Held in Paisley on 5th November (1856) which offers a detailed account of probably the first Orange soiree held in Scotland. As for the later period from the 1860's various leading Orangemen such as Gault, Macklin and Paton, as noted in Chapter One, produced 'educational' material - knowledge of Paton's 'Catechism of the Principles of Protestantism' (1879) was a prerequisite for passing to the Purple Degree. Particularly prolific here was H.A. Long who wrote tracts, for example, on Transubstantiation 1864, In partibus Infidelium or three evenings among the Glasgow Eclectics (nd), The Glasgow School Board Elections (nd) as well as The Orangeman's Anti-Papal Tract (nd).

Of course, there are also pamphlets from hostile sources such as

The Orange Bogey (1886) produced by the Irish National League and popular broadsides, one of these, in Wyllie Collection GUL, An Account of the Proceedings of Orange Procession... describes the first public 12th July celebration in Glasgow in 1822.

The most vital printed sources for the early part of Orange history, though, are the UK parliamentary debates and reports of the parliamentary select committee on Orange lodges, established in 1835 under pressure from radical and Irish MPs. The former provide an excellent record of the speeches of leading Irish Orangemen like Verner and Gowan and act as a useful index of the prominence of Orangeism from 1800-35. Consultation of the four huge select committee reports of over 4,500 pages is even more profitable, containing appendices with details of financial statements, minutes, membership lists, correspondence of officers of the Movement, etc. The first three reports deal only with the Irish institution and contain no conclusion or summary of evidence. The fourth, though, concerns the British and military Lodges and contains an abundance of Scottish material, including proceedings of the Royal Gordon Lodge. A summary, not a particularly balanced appraisal, is provided designed to suggest that there was a dangerous conspiracy.

This parliamentary material should also be supplemented by consideration of autobiographies and contemporary Orange Histories, Some Account My Life and Writings (1888) by Archibald Alison, Sheriff of Lanarkshire in the 1830's, is useful though the histories tend to centre mainly on the Irish Movement. Of these, O.R. Gowan's Annals and Defence of the Loyal Orange Institution of Ireland (1825) and Orangeism: its Origin and History (1859) are most worthy of note as 'official' histories (Gowan fostered the Canadian Movement) and as bases on which accounts such as Sibbet's have extensively drawn. Similarly important in this respect is Cusack's Orangeism: its Principles, its Purposes, its Relation to Society Defended (1875) and Rodgers The Revolution of 1688 and the History of the Orange Association of England and Ireland (1881). Useful to balance these is Fr. Clearly's The Orange Society (1897), published by the Catholic Truth Society.

The final set of primary sources are newspapers and periodicals. The most interesting early paper is the Glasgow Courier addressed to a Glasgow and West of Scotland working class readership and cast by its opponents as an 'Orange' paper. Motherwell was its editor in the early 1830's and it displays some spirited defenses of the Movement.

Even more central to research on 19th century Orangeism though, is the Glasgow News 1873-86 (thereafter the Scottish News). Again it was sponsored by leading Conservatives but was not at all warmly disposed towards the Scottish Orangemen. Its standard of reports was, however, excellent and it carries lengthy verbatim reports of speeches at 12th celebrations, Orange soirees, and Grand Lodge biennial meetings. It also has much incidental material on ordinary lodge meetings, Orange funerals, Grand Lodge memorials and resolutions, and for this reason a day by day examination of the 'News' was essential - a strategy which

also provided much detailed background on social, religious and political developments in late 19th century Glasgow.

For a fully rounded analysis of how Orangeism was received in Scotland also consulted for 12th and soiree reports and election coverage were the Radical Liberal North British Daily Mail and Whiggish Liberal (later Liberal Unionist) Glasgow Herald. Local newspapers, too, notably the Greenock Telegraph and Paisley Express were also examined.

As for the periodicals, the 19th century Grand Lodge does not seem to have had its own journal like the current 'Orange Torch' (The Scottish Patriot may have had this role but no surviving copies could be located). The Protestant, edited by H.A. Long, is strongly representative of the Orange world view though, and again for the sake of comparison there are various other Protestant magazines The Scottish Protestant, The Glasgow Protestant Watchman, for example. Some biographical insights can also be gained from The Bailie, an illustrated Tory publication specialising in laborious satire.

In the case of the secondary material three more modern studies merit attention. First, R.M. Sibbet's Orangeism in Ireland and Throughout the Empire is again an official history, written by an Orangeman with Grand Lodge approval. It first appeared in serial form in Belfast Weekly News during the Home Rule agitation to WWI and was first published in book form in 1915. The first edition of the two volume work carries the history of the Movement to 1830 while the second edition is revised by 'an anonymous member of the Order' and includes the latter period of Orangeism with more relevant Scottish material. Sibbet's narrative, however, is extremely turgid and rambling, with a peculiar mixture of folklore and original documents to the exclusion of any inconvenient evidence. From a similar official viewpoint is Clougley's very sketchy 'history' of Orangeism in Scotland, again serialised in the Belfast Weekly News in 1929. Such vices are by no means reproduced in H. Senior's Orangeism in Ireland and Britain 1795-1835 but this solid factual narrative contains only a few Scottish references.

Most other recent works have done little to build on Sibbet and Senior's contributions. Orangeism: A New Historical Approach (1967) by Dewar et al, for example, is basically a very partisan rehash of earlier histories for popular consumption; while T. Gray's The Orange Order (1972) is journalistic and anecdotal in style. In strong contrast though is H. Patterson's work on dissident Orangeism and the Independent Orange Order in Belfast - Independent Orangeism and Class Conflict in Edwardian Belfast (1980) and Class Conflict and Sectarianism: The Protestant Working Class and the Belfast Labour Movement 1868-1920 (1981) which employ original research and a modern Marxist approach for a class analysis of Orange activity.

Beyond this, information on Orangeism in secondary sources is limited to brief and tangential references. A. Campbell's The Lanarkshire Miners: A social history of their Trade Unions 1775-1974

and A. McDonagh's Irish Immigrants and Labour Movements in Coatbridge and Airerie 1881-1931 (B.A. dissertation 197) are useful here, as is D. Urwin's The Development of the Conservative Party in Scotland till 1912 (SHR, No. 138, 1965).

Written from a different perspective, J.E. Handley's work is also an important source of reference. The Irish in Scotland 1945 and The Irish in Modern Scotland 1947 contain descriptions of Orange disturbances which are not found in other secondary works, and also stress the importance of Orangeism as a manifestation of splits within Irish immigrants.

Finally, there are occasional mentions of Orangeism in local histories such as J. Strawthorn's Ayrshire Story of a County (1976) and The New History of Cumnock (1966); but other local authors like J. McLellan, Larkhall (1979), are anxious to present their subject in its best light and apparently this does not include drawing attention to its Orange Lodges.

To sum, up these notes indicate the dearth of secondary material on Orangeism generally and its Scottish version in particular. This in turn emphasises the centrality of primary sources, both manuscript and printed, which are potentially fruitful, though often display, as indicated, a factional spirit which pressed a judicious handling.

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