

# Why Ulsterfolk still ought to...

# **REMEMBER 1690**

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

King James II was a stout defender of the doctrine of 'the Divine Right of Kings', as practised in France by the 'Sun King', Louis XIV. Louis was the absolute dictator of France and James wanted to have the same dictatorial powers in England, Scotland and Ireland. In England, the principle had become well established that elected representatives of his subjects should check the King's actions and that those representatives should be able to make laws. It was by no means truly democratic, but it was a step away from absolutism. It is not surprising that James encountered strong opposition, which led to his removal by William and his defeat at the Boyne.

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

As we all know, the limited freedoms gained by the Glorious Revolution are still remembered today. Celebrating the Williamite victory is not a 'sectarian coattrailing exercise'. The Twelfth is Europe's largest indigenous folk and cultural festival. Historically and culturally, it inextricably links Ulster with Europe. It marks one of the most pivotal dates in the shaping of European history – for 1690 was the year of European Freedom. That's why we ought to carry on remembering 1690!

# Champion of Liberty

THE PICTURE on the right is a traditional image of King William III, mounted on a white horse, crossing the River Boyne.

William was a champion of civil and religious liberty. His victory at the Boyne laid the foundations of civic society throughout these islands.



# Let's tell the truth!

**RE YOU fed up with the way the media reports the Twelfth of July celebrations?** Are you fed up with pan-Irish national chauvinists painting a picture of 'Orange Monsters' rampaging through quiet and peaceful Catholic areas? Are you also fed up with the inability of your leaders to explain their position? You are? Then why not do something about it?

Buy extra copies of *The Twelfth* and distribute them to friends and relatives at home and abroad. We particularly need to step up the propaganda war abroad. The article on the left is aimed at an overseas audience. It also

appears on our internet website <u>www.ulsternation.org.uk</u> It shows how the 'Twelfth' is not some reactionary sectarian circus but remembers a turning point in European history. Far from being a hangover from the seventeenth century, the celebrations are a distinct part of Ulster's cultural identity.

## 1690—2001: 311th Anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne

The Twelfth: Celebration not Provocation 2001 www.ulsternation.org.uk/ Page 1

# **THE ELEVENTH NIGHT** David McCalden recalls his Belfast boyhood

The late David McCalden, (1951 – 1990) was the founder of the Ulster-American Heritage Foundation.

VERY YEAR of my childhood, the most important event of the year was not the Twelfth (the 12<sup>th</sup> of July) but the night immediately preceding it, "Bonefire Night" (sic). Preparations for the celebrations started weeks earlier, as dirty-faced children scoured the entire area for combustibles for the 11<sup>th</sup> night bonfire. Competition between rival streets was savage, as which street could have the biggest pile of crates, old furniture and tea chests. The wood was piled on a piece of waste-ground, usually a bomb or demolition site, or failing that, up against a gable at the street corner. In the last few days before "Bonefire Night", older children stayed up all night to guard the precious wood, often building makeshift lean-to huts within the enormous pile itself. Weaker streets - those which had mostly younger children were easy prey for bullies from up the road. I remember well the sense of pentup anger and powerlessness I felt when a gang from Blackwater Street came along and brazenly wheeled away a lumpy sofa, which could not have been more precious had it been made for Louis XV himself.

The tension of excitement built up to peak on the Eleventh Night itself, when stocks of wood were moved into the middle of the street,



"On the Eleventh Night, stores of bonfire wood were moved, ready for darkness"

ready for darkness. The requirements of traffic were ignored, and main thoroughfares like Sandy Row and the Shankill Road were cut off by bonfires being lit in the centre of the road, at every street corner, for a mile or more. These two roads were particularly lavish in their preparations for the celebrations: kerbstones were painted alternately in read, white and blue, as were lamp posts and poles of any description. Huge murals, usually depicting "King Billy" on his white charger, were painstakingly portraved in the medium of housepaints on gable walls with as much devotion as Michaelangelo's Sistine Chapel, albeit with considerably less skill. Many of the more dedicated streets had red, white and blue bunting strung from opposite upstairs windows and every Protestant street had a

Union Jack flying from every house. And a really dedicated street would make a "Pope" out of stuffed rags to be burnt on the 11<sup>th</sup>. The unfortunate "pope" would be exhibited for a week beforehand in someone's parlour window, so that passers-by could admire the sill and dedication that had gone into his construction.

In our street, there was only one Catholic family when I was small (although there were very quickly more, eventually becoming the majority themselves). No one displayed any animosity towards them though, and they were happy to contribute to a collection for lemonade and crisps for the children. Although their own children did not join in the evening's festivities, someone always made sure they had some lemonade delivered to the door.

Once the bonfires were lit, there were always various contingency schemes proposed in case of the fire causing damage; some schemes considerably less logical than others. One scientific character decided to put a water-soaked sack over the top of a gas street lamp to prevent the heat from cracking the glass. Not long afterwards, the sack had dried and burst into flames - cracking all the glass inside it! Those families who lived on the street corner, where the bonfire was only a few feet away, usually doused their windows with buckets of water

Most of the small streets' bonfires died down by midnight or one o'clock, but down Sandy Row the festivities continued right through the night. Sandy Row prided itself on having "arches", which were scaffolding-and-plywood constructions in the form of a mediaeval gateway over the road. The rest of the year, these were broken down and kept down somebody's back entry, but were displayed for the entire month of July every year. Various insignia and battle place names were inscribed over the archways; the biggest and grandest arch being strategically placed outside the Orange Hall, of course.

Next morning, erstwhile revellers would drag themselves out of bed, after only a couple of hours' sleep, don their Sunday best, and wend their way around the still smouldering piles of ashes and springs, to their Orange Hall, where the lodges assembled to march to The Field.

# **THE TWELFTH:** A woman's víew

PAN-IRISH NATIONAL CHAUVINISTS like to paint the Twelfth as a 'carnival of reaction' when drunken, hate-filled Orange bigots go on the rampage. They claim that Orange walks are nothing but sectarian coat-trailing exercises. Traditional and peaceful Orange walks are now opposed by Sinn Fein front groups calling themselves 'concerned citizens'. What's the reality? Here's how Rathcoole woman Margaret Jenkinson remembers the Twelfth.

WAS BORN and raised in Rathcoole, Co. Antrim. It's \_about five miles north of Belfast and was at one time the largest housing estate in Europe. It had very few facilities and our lives were fairly mundane then. There were none of these super TV's with wrap around sound, no CDs, computers or whatever. So the Twelfth was a bit of colour.

My first memories of the Twelfth would be of the other kids collecting for the bonie. They would rap at the door looking for wood. My mum wouldn't let me out to collect wood - that was for the boys and the wee millies! I remember that before the Twelfth lots of local bands would be out collecting money for new uniforms. instruments, bannerettes and so on. It was so exciting if they came down your street. We kids would follow the band with our makeshift drums. Mine was a saucepan and stick!

On the Eleventh night, small bonfires would be lit early for us kids as we'd be in bed well before midnight. Every house would have brought out a couple of chairs. We'd have food and drink, play games and sing. We even had someone with an accordion playing a few tunes. We actually had Catholic neighbours, but I don't recall them getting upset or anyone giving them grief. It was a real community atmosphere.

The Twelfth day itself was very exciting. My dad's in the Orange, so he'd be walking. He'd get up very early to be at the Master's house for his Ulster Fry! The rest of the family would go into town and get a place in front of Belfast City Hall. Our great game was to spot my dad and shout and wave to him - I always had a wee flag to wave! We'd also look out for any other friends or relatives who'd be walking. Afterwards we'd often go up to my Aunts, where we'd later watch the West Belfast Lodges returning up the Shankill.

In those days - the late 60s and early 70s - the bands would be more varied than today. You'd get Pipe bands and also Silver bands. As a child it was all so exciting - the colour, the noise. I was amazed at the variety of uniforms. I always wanted to be the fella at the front of the band throwing and catching the



The side of the Twelfth celebrations that the media usually ignores—women and children enjoying the carnival atmosphere at the Belfast demonstration.

band stick. There were always these old women who would dress up in Union Jack dresses. They'd clap, dance and 'sing' along with the bands. They were a fascinating sight! Also, if there were any visiting Orange men or women say from Canada or South Africa - they would always get a great round of applause.

Unfortunately, my mother was ill quite a lot in her later life, so we'd watch the Belfast parade on TV. It was actually on live then. Again I'd look out for my dad on the TV. It was all very good

natured. I don't remember any trouble at the Twelfth. Everybody was there for the music, colour and atmosphere. I know Catholics who have seen the parade and have no problems with it. Ironically, the only trouble I know of involved a Catholic fella (who was originally from Bawnmore) who lived in Rathcoole. He was on a Rathcoole bus coming from the town around the Twelfth. His coreligionists from Bawnmore stoned the bus and he nearly got his eye put out. How about that for mindless hatred and sectarianism?

# WHAT THE TWELFTH MEANS TO ME by Stephen Moore

HAVE FOND memories of the Twelfth of July and for those first twelve days in July where everyone in the street and the community at large got excited for Ulster's National Holiday. For this is Ulster's Fourth of July, Ulster's Mardi Gras, potentially the biggest celebration and largest single tourist attraction Ulster and indeed Western Europe could have, if only the Northern Ireland Tourist Board, the British Government and the nationalist community would recognise it as such. It is part of Ulster's, Ireland's, Britain's and Europe's shared heritage and history and the very legacy of the Battle of the Boyne has produced the Europe we have today.

I now understand the importance of the Battle of the Boyne in providing Civil and religious Liberty for the people of Europe then and now. I recognise how it was not only important for Ireland and Britain but for the freedom of

## "the legacy of the Boyne who produced today's cours Europe."

Europe, and how it was the defining battle in a wider European power struggle.

#### FREEDOM

King William III's victory was a victory over Louis XIV and over France and even Pope Alexander VIII of the day celebrated King William's victory over the expanding Kingdom of Louis XIV. King William's victory provided the freedom and the opportunities for trade the people of Europe enjoy today.

As a young boy growing up in Carnmoney I did not fully understand the historical importance of the celebrations but I realised it was important enough to celebrate. I discovered that it was the one chance during the year for the community and the people to be proud of their area, their

Boyne who they were and of course it was a period of excitement when people could enjoy the time with family and friends.

country

and

Kids in the area cooperated together for a change as one team in obtaining as much wood and burning material as possible. There was so much pride in the streets bonfire and the commitment in protecting what can only be described as rubbish was immense.

#### PASSION

No where in the world would a crate or a tea chest be protected with such passion than in Ulster during



**IMAGES OF THE TWELFTH!** Young and old, male and female. All have their part to play in Ulster's own Mardi Gras.

July. There was a great status for the street if you obtained more crates than the other kids from surrounding areas. The competition was fierce and there was a bonfire on our street of the Ballyduff Road and another on the other side no more than thirty metres away.

#### BONFIRE

Both sets of kids decided in 1989 to forge alliance for a mega tercentenary bonfire in 1990 to celebrate 300 years since the Battle of the Boyne. Unfortunately both sides could not agree on a suitable location as both sides requested for their traditional site to be used. Our side argued that our site was more elevated for those in the lower districts of Beverly and Mossley to see. A compromise site was not found and in 1990 nothing changed and the tradition of the two bonfires prevailed.

#### MISSING

Sometimes our wood would go missing but would be swiftly located of course approximately 30 metres away and then retrieved. Our best wood was hidden in back yards, garages and surrounding fields to protect it from theft especially from the kids from the nearby Ballyduff Estate who always seemed bigger and harder than us. We would coax our parents to allow us to camp out on the tenth night as rumours of theft and sabotage were rife.

#### **TEAM SPIRIT**

The only time that the team spirit would be threatened was on the eleventh day itself when the various opinions on the building process would come to the fore. Kids who did not show as much commitment in the run up to the big day were reminded of that fact. Fall-outs would occur and were usually sorted out on the football pitch in due course.

#### ENJOYED

Either way the bonfire was built, lit and enjoyed by all. I remember what we called the "Big Year" when our bonfire was so big that nearby houses had to soak their fences with water to prevent any damage. We were all so proud we even claimed that it was as big as Rathcoole and Tigers Bay even though it was a fraction the size. Taking into consideration the limited resources of a few young kids - our bonfire was just as good as any in Ulster.

One thing we enjoyed to the disgust of the adult spectators was the placing of aerosols deep in the cavities of the bonfire. They would explode to our delight as if harkening back to the very sounds of the Battle of the Boyne itself. We would be reprimanded but every year they continued to be a part of the bonfire celebrations in this little street in Carnmoney - Boys will be Boys!

#### CELEBRATIONS

After the bonfire had died down our parents would round us up for bed so we would get up early



**IMAGES OF THE TWELFTH!** Besides the more familiar 'Blood and

Thunder' flute bands, the Twelfth features a rich variety of musical styles. Silver bands can be seen alongside pipes, accordions and the 'infamous' lambeg drums.

for breakfast and then the Twelfth celebrations them-Just when you selves. thought it was all over you had the parade and the days crack to look forward I remember feeling to. tired in the morning as I would have got up at regular intervals throughout the night to observe the bonfire and discover if it was still burning and if so - how much.

#### IMPORTANT

How long it burned was very important when conversing with other kids as everyone measured the size and success of a bonfire by the simple observation of how long it burned - the longer it burned the better it was.

The Twelfth parade itself was a fantastic array of col-

our, music, history and culture. I remember learning about the history of Ulster through what was graphically depicted on the banners carried in front of each individual lodge.

#### **GLORIOUS**

People

c o u l d l e a r n about the l 6 4 1 Massacre of Protestants in Ulster, the

glorious victory of King William at the Battle of the Boyne and in other areas, the landing of King William at Carrickfergus Castle and so on. Local history was also recreated through the pictures of local personalities, parish churches, local industries and so on. The time, the art, the colour, the enjoyment, the expense and sheer pride in what the parade represented was a fantastic sight for anyone whether they be directly part of that particular culture or not.

#### FANTASTIC

Then there was the field, the stalls, lunch and the time of rest and anticipation of what the return parade had in store for us, as it was always less orderly and full of laughs and fun. Bright orange wigs, even moustaches and glasses were to name but a few of the disguises that the participants might don on the way home. The Twelfth of July Battle of the Boyne celebrations are a wonderful sight to see, probably the most fantastic display of culture in Europe which can be enjoyed by anyone who decides to accommodate the culture and spectacle.

NEXT YEAR we hope to produce a bigger and better issue of *The Twelfth*. Can you help? We want to hear from anyone who's willing to share their thoughts and memories of Europe's largest indigenous cultural and folk festival. So what does the 'Twelfth' mean to you?

"The Twelfth of July Battle of the Boyne celebrations are a wonderful sight to see"

> We'd like to hear from all generations and both rural and urban folk. Get in touch today! Write to *Ulster Nation*, First Floor 316 Shankill Road, Belfast BT13 3AB Telephone: 077 9047 4353. E-mail ulsternation@yahoo.co.uk

# THE FAITHFUL TRIBE

# A Step in the Right Direction

The Faithful Tribe: An Intimate Portrait of the Loyal Institutions Ruth Dudley Edwards. Harper Collins, London 1999. ISBN0 00 255863 7 £17.99

HAT MIGHT cause an Orthodox Jewish Rabbi to fly from New York to Belfast for the Twelfth? Running the risk of sounding a bit too impressionable I must confess that my decision to visit Northern Ireland was made after having read Chapter One (the first fifty pages) of Ruth Dudley Edwards' The Faithful Tribe. Those opening pages describe in detail Edwards' participation in eight parades of assorted Loyal Institutions. I was captivated by the sense that emerged from the narrative of a people who have somehow managed to reject the secular functionalism and cynical consumerism which has enveloped so much of European civilisation in our day. This was something that had to be experienced in person. Edwards has set herself a difficult task. She seeks to tell the story of the Apprentice Boys, Orange Order and Royal Black Preceptory fairly, yet, with unmistakable sympathy. In order to do this properly, she provides the reader with a brief overview of Ulster history with special emphasis on the Williamite wars and establishment of the Free State. In addition, the inner workings and history of the lodges is gone into with painstaking depth.

Finally, in order to render contemporary the ideas and events described, she explores the annual crisis in Drumcree in step by step fashion beginning in the early nineties and extending till the summer of 1998. This meticulous chronology forms a book within a book extending to 254 pages. (The non -Drumcree half of the book is only 277 pages.)

For outsiders unaware of events in Northern Ireland or, aware only through the lens of Republicanism's highly successful international media campaign, the book is immediately captivating by virtue of its even handedness. As one who is only beginning to explore the history and culture of Ulster and therefore not yet widely read, it is the best introductory work I have thus far come across. It is also one of the few works at all sympathetic to the cause of Unionism as advocated by the lodges. In fact, a frequent lament of the book is the inferior or non existent state of Protestant propaganda before the bar of international opinion. Throughout the book Edwards lets the "faithful tribe" speak. We hear their voices and feel their ideals and fears. The credibility of all this is much advanced by Edwards' own Catholic background and current agnosticism on matters of faith.

Of particular note to the reader exploring the North for the first time is Edwards' articulation of the degree that the Orders' position on parades and the like is motivated by their belief in the link between religious and civil liberty and the Reformation. In their minds Rome and the denial of liberty are seen as one. However, questionable this might be historically - Were Calvin and Luther really more committed to religious and civil liberty than is the Vatican II Church? it is, nonetheless, part of the way the Reformation is viewed in the Ulster mythos and to ignore it is to miss an essential element of the Protestant struggle. This goes a long way to understanding the intensity concerning the Garvaghy Road and similar impasses.

Perhaps, one of the most surprising aspects of the Unionist cause to an outsider is how Orangeism, Loyalism and a deep seated attachment to their national history as Protestants survives even among those on whom religious faith itself no longer commands belief. This seems strange at first glance. Edwards however, who is clearly not comfortable with robust, traditional faiths (Catholic or Protestant) makes



much of this fact in order to accentuate the fraternal and cultural, as opposed to religious, aspects of the Orders

Rush Dudley Edwards and the Unionist cause in general. In truth this argument only goes so far. Much of Unionism's most fervent backers are to be found in the DUP and the Free Presbyterian Church . Edwards does not sympathise with this perspective and it is not portrayed in much detail in her work.

In general, her goal is to portray the Orders' aims in as benign a fashion as possible. This is worthwhile in that it counters the demonisation of the media but it does seem to miss the roots of religious and patriotic passion which has led Ulstermen into battles against overwhelming odds throughout their history. And, it is true that this passion survives even where its religious underpinnings are gone. Yet, Edwards is as uncomfortable with "blood and thunder" bands of stark, working class, cultural Protestants as she is with Free Presbyterianism

Her vision is one of ultimate reconciliation between Ulster's two peoples. Surely this is a goal all can share. In an appendix she presents a "Draft Speech for the Prime Minister" where her fictitious Prime Minister says "I cherish both nationalist and unionist culture as equal expressions of important traditions which have shaped us all." Further, "The legitimacy and security of Northern Ireland's place within the UK has never been more secure." However, the question is whether "cherishing traditions" equally can be achieved within the UK, or the Republic, for that matter. Of course, the notion that it is Union itself which

presents major obstacles to the survival of faith, memory and identity which Unionists value is a bit much for many tradition rooted Ulstermen.

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Ruth Dudley Edwards emerges from the pages of her book as a decent, fair minded women with the ability to enter the mind set of others with empathy. Her work is a readable and sympathetic treatment of a people who have had little sympathy in the past. Yet, her reluctance to plumb the depths of passionate faith and identity is indicative of an inability to contemplate radical perspectives in general. Her kindly nature precludes the thought of invasive surgery. Yet, for an ill patient, is kindness of this sort, however well intentioned, what the doctor would order?

Nonetheless, the final verdict on The Faithful Tribe must be, at least for this writer, positive. Without it (and God's help, of course) I would never had been witness to the celebrations of the week of the Twelfth. And that would have been a shame.

RABBI MAYER SCHILLER teaches Bible and Talmud at Yeshiva University High School in New York City. He has authored many books and articles on religious and political matters.

In July 2000, he visited Belfast and Scarva where he saw the Twelfth parades and the famous Sham Fight. He gave a wide-ranging interview with *Third Way* magazine. An edited version of this interview can be seen on the Ulster Nation website:

www.ulsternation.org.uk/

# BUILD THE ALTERNATIVE MEDIA

The Union, 1801-2001

DEAD OR ALIVE?

HE MASS MEDIA of news and entertainment controls the thinking and behaviour of many people. Look at the influence it exerted during the Good Friday Agreement referendum of May 1998. Here, Ulsterfolk were subjected to a massive allembracing media propaganda campaign involving 'tame' business, trade union, community and church leaders. Anyone who questioned the Agreement was vilified as a warmonger.

Given this media power, why do we publish The Twelfth and Ulster Nation? After all, they're hardly regular publications. The Twelfth is out once a year and our immediate aim for UN is to publish regularly on a quarterly basis! That's a struggle for us but nothing

## "the media is our enemy's greatest weapon"

compared to the normal print media. National papers like the Belfast Telegraph, Irish News and Newsletter are printed on a daily basis. Local papers like the Newtownabbey Times are weekly, whilst the Andersonstown News goes to press twice a week! It goes without saying that our print run is totally insignificant compared to these commercial papers. And we've not even begun to seriously explore the audio and visual forms of media like radio and TV.

So why do we persevere? What's the point in publish-

ing The Twelfth and Ulster *Nation*? The main reason for producing them is that we recognise that the media is our enemy's most powerful Thus weapon. we need to try and fight back by building our own media. At the moment The Twelfth

and UN are the main written medium through which we can communicate with

the public. We recognise the need to build other effective forms of communication such as audio and visual but for the moment we only have print and the internet. We know that relying on these media alone is not

# Alternative politics

LSTER NATION is not just about an alternative media but also alternative politics. Ulster Nation is published in support of <u>Ulster Third Way</u> - the new voice of radical Ulster-nationalism. Ulster Third Way contested West Belfast in the recent Westminster general election. Our candidate, David Kerr, gained 116 votes. Not much, but then again, the old Ulster Independence Movement only won 43 votes in the same area in the Forum election. The election has put Ulster Third Way's name on the map

Please write to us if you want to find out more about the ideas and policies of Ulster Third Way or if you want to become an official U3W Supporter. You can also ring 077 9047 4353 or visit ...

# www.ulsternation.ora.uk



Ulster Third Way Ulster Independence Centre First Floor 316 Shankill Road Belfast BT13 3AB E-mail: ulsternation@yahoo.co.uk enough. But at least it's a voice through which can reach some of our people. And we need to reach our people so that we can have a major influence

on a number of policies, which are important to the future of our

> nation and people. One of our main aims is to build the infrastructure of an alternative mass media. Last vear's publication of The Real M c C o ymarked the first step in this direction. It is the first volume in

our series of Northern Ireland Politics booklets. These are designed to promote interest in all aspects of Ulster politics from a radical Ulster-nationalist perspective. We hope this series will become as influential as the Left Book Clubs of the 1930s. We also intend producing a Student's Guide to Northern Ireland Politics, a literary review and a history of Ulster Vanguard. We also need to produce everything from comics - to appeal to youngsters - and books for the more studious

We must also look at audio and visual forms of communication. Ordinary folk will remember the lyrics of a song more readily than a We have written article. started to move in this direction by buying and re-selling commercially available CDs. But we really need to be able to produce our own CDs featuring our own artists. And we must explore all musical styles - from Country and Western, traditional and folk to Gothic, industrial and Metal. We must also move into realm of extra websites, video and DVDs.

Another priority is to put our message across to North America. For too long Irish-

## "We must follow a longterm strategy"

Americans - the raucous caucus - have had it all their own way. It's time to start challenging their lies. Our problem is that whilst we have very few resources. North America is a vast continent with a population of millions. We feel that one of the most cost-effective ways of communicating in the US is via radio adverts. Some stations charge as little as \$12.00 (£6.00) per minute for radio ads. To make an impact, however, will require several ads an hour on hundreds of different radio stations. And that will take thousands of pounds.

We have a long and hard task ahead of ourselves. At the moment we are enthusiastic amateurs - we must transform ourselves into full-time professionals. We also need to attract idealists who will help us build the infrastructure of our alternative mass media of news and entertainment. Those who are only content to moan about how the 'Taigs' are getting everything are of no use to us. However, we are interested in thoughtful people who realise that we must follow a long-term strategy. We want to build a powerful media - written, audio and visual - in order to challenge pan-Irish national chauvinists in Sinn Féin and the SDLP and the failed deadend policies of the unionist parties. But we are hampered by a lack of personnel, time and money. Do you love your people and nation enough to help us? If you do, get in touch today.

HELLO, HELLO. E'RE BACK AGAIN - and welcome to issue 2 of *The Twelfth. The Twelfth* is produced by Ulster Nation Publications to present a positive side of the Twelfth celebrations. We want to counter the lies and misrepresentations told about this extremely popular cultural festival.

Last year, *The Twelfth* was just a four page A5 supplement to our main publication, *Ulster Nation*. However, it proved very, very popular. Many readers asked us if we could produce a bigger and better issue. This year we had hoped to bring out a regular issue of *UN* and issue 2 of *The Twelfth*. Unfortunately we just don't have the time, personnel and financial resources to achieve this - yet. So we decided to delay issue 30 until August to allow the production of this special eight-page mini-broadsheet. In the very near future we intend to be in the happy position of producing *UN* and publications like *The Twelfth* for special occasions.

**The Twelfth** aims to convey the spirit, colour and atmosphere of Europe's largest indigenous cultural festival. We have no connection with the Orange Order, but we do fully support the concept of civil and religious liberties for all. We oppose negative religious bigotry. We believe in heritage, not hate and celebration, not provocation. We extend mutual cultural respect to all other peoples.

We'd like to make next year's issue of *The Twelfth* bigger and better than this one. Can you help us? Areas in which we'd appreciate your help include:

• Articles. As we noted in our centre-page article, we want to hear from anyone who's willing to share his or her thoughts and memories of the 'Twelfth'. What does it really mean to you? We'd also like to broaden our scope and carry reports from lodges and bands. Don't worry if you don't think you can write an entire article - one of our main writers just produces a series of notes. We put them order, cross the t's and dot the i's. It's as simple as that!

• **Research.** There's a growing interest in Ulster's local history and we'd like *The Twelfth* to reflect that. We'd love to be able to reproduce reports and pictures from yesteryear - however, we simply do not have the time or personnel to do so. Would you be willing to spend a few hours in your local library collecting reports of how your parents and grand-parents celebrated the Twelfth? If so, we'd like to hear from you today!

• **Graphics.** We want to improve the appearance of The Twelfth and would like to hear from anyone with layout and design experience. We'd also like to hear from artists, cartoonists and photographers.

• Finance. The Washington DC-based Friends of Sinn Fein have raised well over £2 Million! We have a long way to go before we can match that—but we have to start somewhere. All donations large or small—are greatly appreciated. Send cheques/POs (made out to Ulster Fund) to our address below.

• **Distribution.** We need to build a world-wide distribution network. If you've liked this paper, why not buy a few extra copies and send them to friends and relatives at home and abroad?

We hope you've enjoyed reading issue 2 of *The Twelfth*. Hopefully, we've succeeded in capturing the flavour, colour and atmosphere of Europe's largest indigenous cultural folk festival. *The Twelfth* welcomes all ideas, constructive criticism, and especially offers of help. If you've got something to say - get in touch today!

#### THE TWELFTH Ulster Nation Publications First Floor 316 Shankill Road Belfast BT13 3AB Tel. 077 9047 4353 E-mail: ulsternation@yahoo.co.uk www.ulsternation.org.uk/

# MAIL ORDER MERCHANDISING

S WE'VE EXPLAINED on page 7, one of our main aims is to build the infrastructure of an alternative mass media of news and entertainment. And if we are serious about building this alternative media, we need money – and lots of it.

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

## FLAGS

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