

**Ladies of the Lodge: a history of Scottish
Orangewomen, c. 1909-2013**

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'Here's to the men who will never give in
And here's to the ladies who'll help them win
With God on our side we can ne'er fear or fall
We'll defend the old faith with our backs to the wall'¹

¹ 'Gather round', *The Vigilant*, 8, no.2 (December 1962), p.2

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

This is to certify that the content of this thesis is fully my own work and that all preparatory assistance, and sources consulted, has been fully acknowledged. I hereby declare that, to the best of my knowledge, this treatise contains no academic content, or previously published materials, unless expressly cited. Any conceptual or textual contribution made to the research by others is explicitly acknowledged in the thesis. I also declare the arguments presented herein to be entirely my own intellectual property.

Signed

Date

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses upon the under-researched history of the Ladies' Orange Association of Scotland from 1909-2013. Challenging prevalent assumptions that Orangewomen are overwhelmingly working-class, it demonstrates a small - yet significant - core of female luminaries to be occupationally middle-class. The desire to articulate dual Scottish and British patriotic – rather than diasporic Irish Protestant - identities is also acknowledged as an emergent subjective shift in women's motivations for joining. The sisters' apparent complicity with their unequal institutional standing is accounted for chiefly in terms of their desire to promote a unified public image of Orangeism as a 'family' institution. Orangewomen however, also actively resisted gendered 'equal but different' organisational discourses by using familial networks to sway male voting, appropriation of charitable work to showcase their abilities, subversive contributions to organisational literature and mobilisation of national press to lobby for the reversal of their subordinate status. This thesis represents a rare academic exploration of gendered Orange ritual symbolism, interpreting female rites as both spiritual legitimisation of patriarchal subordination and, conversely, as a celebration of sisterly love. Additionally, this study exposes the one-dimensionality of media representations of Orangewomen which obscure, rather than divulge, individual subjectivities. It is argued that Orangewomen adaptively prioritised their class, gender, and ethno-religious identities, according to the differing contexts in which they operated, to support a disparate profile of benevolent causes and political campaigns. Appropriating oral history testimony and archival sources, this work not only updates findings of existing research, but also engages unexplored aspects of female Orangeism to illustrate Orangewomen's considerable diversity.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ALOI	Association of Loyal Orangewomen of Ireland
BUF	British Association of Fascists
FLOL	Female Loyal Orange Lodge
GM	Grand Mistress/Master
GOLA	Grand Orange Lodge of Australia
GOLE	Grand Orange Lodge of England
GOLI	Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland
GOLS	Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland
HDGM	Honorary Deputy Grand Master
ILP	Independent Labour Party
IWFL	Irish Women's Franchise League
LOAS	Ladies' Orange Association of Scotland
LOL	Loyal Orange Lodge
LLOL	Loyal Ladies' Orange Lodge
NRS	National Readership Survey
OES	Order of the Eastern Star
OPP	Orange Protestant Party
OWF	Order of Women Freemasons
PA	Protestant Action
PGM	Past Grand Mistress/Master
PL	Primrose League
PLA	Protestant Ladies' Auxiliary
RAP	Royal Arch Purple
RBI	Royal Black Institution
SLP	Scottish Labour Party
SWNASL	Scottish Women's National Anti-Suffrage League
UUC	Ulster Unionist Council
UVF	Ulster Volunteer Force
UWUC	Ulster Women's Unionist Council

VL	Victoria League
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union
WUTRA	Women's Unionist Tariff Reform Association

INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores the history of the Ladies' Orange Association of Scotland (LOAS) – the female auxiliary of the Scottish Orange Order - from 1909 to the present. It charts the shifting socio-economic, ethno-religious and attitudinal profile of Orangewomen and analyses women's historical and current motivations for leaving and joining this socially-conservative organisation. An assessment of the continued resistance of the male Grand Lodge hierarchy to the initiation of female members, and lodgewomen's continued subordinate organisational status, follows. The gender-specific symbolism of male and female rites is then comparatively discussed, since sexually-distinct ritualism spiritually legitimises and reifies women's ancillary standing within Orangeism. A consideration of lodgewomen's prolific charitable fundraising, and political activism, over the course of a century follows: their sustained commitment to benevolence, it is argued, enabled early Orangewomen to broaden and diversify their role within the public sphere, and yet conversely contemporary sisters now find themselves frustratingly pigeon-holed into the charitable realm, precluding possibilities for advance within patriarchal organisational structures. Finally this thesis examines representations of Orangewomen in institutional and national media, with a particular emphasis on the genre of obituary, to argue that sisters were often conceptualised as one-dimensional, gendered stereotypes. Lodgewomen's agentic use of media to ameliorate unfavourable public perceptions of Orangeism, whilst paradoxically raising awareness of their plight as unequal members within what is commonly conceptualised as a staid, anachronistic and sectarian organisation, also receives attention. This thesis therefore considers Scottish Orangewomen from a range of perspectives and uses both oral testimony and extensive archival sources to unfold their neglected, and little known, history.

Given the paucity of academic accounts of female Orangeism in Scotland, it is important to establish initially a broad overview of the key developments in the history of the Scottish Loyal Orange Institution (LOI) prior to the inception of female lodges in 1909. Founded in the north of Ireland in 1795 to promote the values of the 1688 Glorious Revolution and the Reformed Faith,¹ the Order has since served as 'a major associational nexus for Protestant-dominant ethnic groups' across the British world.² Orangeism equated Protestantism with progress and characterised Catholicism with an 'innately undemocratic', superstitious and 'backward' tyrannical papacy antagonistic to the civil and religious liberties secured by the 1690 victory of William of Orange over the Catholic King James.³

¹ E. McFarland, *Protestants first: Orangeism in nineteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), p.132

² E.P. Kaufmann, 'The dynamics of Orangeism in Scotland: the social sources of political influence in a mass member organization', *Social Science History*, 30, no.2 (2006), p.268

³ W.S. Marshall, *The Billy Boys: a concise history of Orangeism in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1996), pp.61 and 63

In 1799 Orangeism was imported into Scotland by the Fencible regiments returning from their commission to quell the 1798 Irish rebellion.⁴ In Victorian Scotland, Grand Lodge hierarchy sought to distance Orangeism from disreputable association with parading violence and disorder, yet the working-class rank and file membership often enjoyed the ‘regular marches and confrontations.’⁵ Indeed the parades - or ‘demonstrations’ to borrow the Order’s phraseology - were afforded a prickly reception by native Scots, who commonly regarded the organisation as an unwelcome ‘alien import’ with a reputed propensity for drunkenness, preoccupation with Irish issue and alleged sectarianism.⁶ As Ian Meredith has demonstrated, there was however considerable overlap between the Scottish Episcopalian church, steeped in Anglo-Catholic tradition, and members of the Order, illustrating the diversity of Orange Protestant identities and religious attitudes.⁷ Between 1886 and 1914, however, Liberal Irish Home Rule Bills rallied cross-class Protestant angst and effectively transformed the Order into a ‘respectable politico-religious mass movement’ which Conservatives began tentatively to recognise as the potential ‘basis of a powerful political and ideology apparatus.’⁸ A strained and highly contingent Orange relationship with the Tories – or Unionists as they are better known in Scotland – was thus commenced, persisting throughout much of the twentieth-century. After a long, protracted struggle from the late nineteenth century, women were finally admitted to the Order in 1909, as associate and decidedly unequal members faced with entrenched and seemingly implacable male resistance.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A history of Scottish women’s Orangeism from 1909 to the present potentially contributes not only to institutional and academic historiographies of Orangeism, but also informs understandings of British women’s wider involvement in fraternalism, associational culture, evangelical religion, and conservative movements. This thesis additionally engages with gendered debates around sectarianism by highlighting women’s understated yet often vital function within organisations promulgating ethno-religious identity politics. Given the role of Scottish Orangeism in upholding Irish diasporic affiliations and facilitating cross-cultural networks, this historical exploration of lodgewomen’s history will likely inform the histories of Irish, as well as Scottish, Protestant women.

Since Orangewomen, like their male counterparts, are overwhelmingly working-class, this thesis also responds to Annmarie Hughes’ recent call for ‘a greater analysis of working-class women’s disavowal of a feminist identity as well as their capacity to share feminist objectives and act in

⁴ D. Bryce, *The undaunted: a history of the Orange Order in Scotland from 1799 to 1899* (Glasgow: GOLS, 2012), p.1

⁵ *Ibid*, p.41

⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 52 and 107

⁷ I. Meredith, ‘Irish migrants in the Scottish Episcopal church in the nineteenth-century’ in M.J. Mitchell (ed.), *New perspectives on the Irish in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2008), p.158

⁸ Bryce, *The undaunted*, p.42

feminist ways.⁹ The lack of historical attention ‘to the life stories of ordinary people’ subscribing to ‘unsavoury, dangerous or deliberately deceptive’ ideologies is conspicuous:¹⁰ this thesis modestly contributes to redressing this historical omission by examining women’s involvement with a movement commonly perceived to be ‘sectarian’ and seemingly antithetical to their gendered interests.

Orange Studies

Early academic studies of Orangeism tend to represent the organisation as a vehicle of masculine Irish Protestant diasporic identity and focus upon its classed and ethno-religious specificities, whereas more recent research engages with both the gendered nature of Orangeism and the experiences of women within the institution. Orange historiography will be chronologically assessed, beginning with McCracken’s 1990 institutional account, assuming the male experience of Orangeism to be normative whilst paying lip service outstanding individual Orangewomen. McFarland’s 1991 study of Victorian Scottish Orangeism, alluding fleetingly to women’s role as supporters of the movement, is then surveyed. This is followed by an examination of Walker’s 1992 research into the political life of the Order in Interwar Scotland, which foregoes in depth consideration of the gendered role of lodgewomen. MacRaid’s various studies of late nineteenth Orangewomen in the north of England constitute the first serious attempts at detailed consideration of the sexual specificity of organisational culture and his work is comprehensively assessed. McPherson’s innovative studies on early twentieth-century Scottish Orangewomen are also surveyed in some detail, since these engage wholly with lodgewomen’s gendered appropriation of the institution to transmit intergenerational Protestant Irish diasporic values and to leverage their access to the public political and charitable sphere. Kaufmann’s 2009 quantitative study of Scottish Orangeism also recognised the impact of gender upon the rate and pace of organisational decline, and this is discussed here and in greater depth in the opening chapter.

Published in 1990, Bro. Gordon McCracken’s apologetic *The Story of Orangeism in Glasgow* provides an unashamedly partisan ‘tribute to our forefathers.’¹¹ McCracken mentions the ‘brave and defiant’ female forebears of Scottish women’s Orangeism, and supplements his overwhelmingly patriarchal historiographical account with occasional references to notable Orangewomen such as choir mistress Flo Stevenson.¹² Marshall’s 1996 *The Billy Boys* - unsurprisingly given the gendered remit of his title - candidly admits to ‘somewhat neglecting’ to address the development of female or juvenile Orangeism in Scotland.¹³ Disappointingly his only direct reference is clichéd acknowledgement of Orangewomen’s fundraising prowess.¹⁴ Lamenting

⁹ A. Hughes, *Gender and political identities in Scotland, 1918-1939* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp.203-204

¹⁰ Bles, ‘Evidence, empathy and ethics’, p.596

¹¹ G. McCracken, *Bygone days of yore: the story of Orangeism in Glasgow*, (Glasgow: Orange Heritage, 1990), p.1

¹² *Ibid*, pp.37 and 43

¹³ Marshall, *The Billy Boys*, p. xvii

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.172

Orangeism's 'increasingly alienated' and impotent status as 'the black sheep of traditional working-class culture',¹⁵ Marshall's representation of the Order as quintessentially 'masculine' precludes possibilities for considered reflection upon women's tangential organisational role, or critical scrutiny of Orangeism's anachronistic gendered ideological foundations. His preoccupation with the classed rather than gendered constructions of Scottish Orangeism contrasts markedly with the concern of this thesis to comprehending reciprocal intersections of these specificities in shaping both institutional culture and personal identity.

McFarland's *Protestants First* fleetingly alludes to Grand Lodge's 'circumspect' attitude toward the admission of women in an extended footnote, and this constitutes the only textual reference to Orangewomen – this is expected, since she deals with nineteenth century Scottish Orangeism prior to the inception of female lodges in Scotland.¹⁶ McFarland succinctly surveys the failed attempts to secure warrants for women's lodges in 1901 and 1907 before installation of Scotland's First lodge in 1909. She also reveals that by the 1920s there were 176 operational female lodges. In 'Marching from the margins' she briefly quotes an 1898 article from the *Glasgow Herald* disparagingly describing an Orange march as 'a mere rabble of roughs and children with a fringe of women in the attire of faded Orange and Protestant heroes.'¹⁷ Besides these references - acknowledging the extra-organisational involvement of women in Orange culture prior to their formal recruitment as members – McFarland never explicitly confronts the gendered nature of Orangeism.

Nevertheless her impressively thorough analysis of Scottish Victorian Orangeism investigates internal, class-based tensions and the Order's interface with wider society (press, churches and political organisations). *Protestants first* therefore forms the contextual foundation for more contemporary studies of Orangeism and so deserves considerable attention. Problematizing one-dimensional Marxist approaches assuming Orangeism to be a 'product of false consciousness, operating a diversion from the real material struggles of the working class,' McFarland abandons rudimentary grand narratives of top-down class manipulation, coercion and control, suggesting instead that although subversive political activity was sometimes subordinated and controlled by the Orange institution, on other occasions the socio-economic loyalties of members transcended their Protestant self-identification.¹⁸ Perceptively, she sharply distinguishes between 'rough' and 'respectable' elements within its overwhelmingly working-class membership, the former representing 'pugnacious Protestantism, a vigorous assertion of ascendancy and violent confrontation'; the latter expressing a 'fastidious concern for the conduct of some of its rank and file.'¹⁹

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.167 and 173

¹⁶ McFarland, *Protestants first*, p.112

¹⁷ E. McFarland, 'Marching from the margins' in T.G. Fraser (ed.) *The Irish parading tradition: following the drum* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), p.72

¹⁸ McFarland, *Protestants first*, pp.26-27

¹⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 146-147 and 142

McFarland dismisses as circumstantial rather than conclusive evidence suggesting the importance of Orangeism in promoting and maintaining discriminatory recruitment practices facilitating the continued Protestant monopoly of the skilled trades in West Central Scotland, arguing the prerequisite skill level for entry ‘precluded the less well educated and connected Irish Roman Catholics’ and asserting prejudicial practices ‘would be conducted by a much larger section of the working-class in Scotland than were members of the Order.’²⁰ Focusing upon the regional diversity of Scottish Orangeism in Greenock, Paisley, Glasgow, Lanarkshire and Ayrshire, she highlights the significance of variables such as the distribution of skilled and unskilled labour, housing demographics, and the local concentration of industry or commerce, in determining the local strength of Orangeism and the classed composition of lodge membership.²¹ McFarland cites the Order’s social function, its role as a mutual benefit society providing insurance, its ‘respectable’ standing amongst the working-classes, and the less tangible ‘sense of belonging to some form of elite or vanguard’ as core motivations for joining.²² Her erudite and comprehensive assessment identifies also several key galvanising issues encouraging an upsurge in membership, including Catholic emancipation (1829), Liberal proposals to disestablish the Irish (1868) and Scottish (1880s and 1890s) Churches, the Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1892, and the massive influx of post-famine Irish Catholic migrants to Scotland from the 1840s: these perceived ‘threats’ to the Protestant status quo significantly aided the expansion, and cemented the stronghold, of Orangeism. Nevertheless, as McFarland deftly illustrates, the Order remained marginal to both the Free Kirk and the established Presbyterian Church, despite its self-professed commitment to Protestantism. The LOI’s relationship to the Conservative and Unionist Party was also, she argues, conditional, distant and politically contingent rather than predicated upon the ideological cohesiveness of both organisations.²³

Her 2000 study, ‘Marching from the Margins’ concentrates specifically upon the Victorian parading tradition in Glasgow to demonstrate the Orange march to be a vehicle through which Irish Protestant migrants articulated a shared mythological tradition and sought to impose order on unfamiliar surroundings: charting the chronologically shifting culture of the parade, she illustrates that by the end of the nineteenth century, the ‘march’ was appropriated as a ‘mass public ritual’ incorporating elements of spectacle and carnival.²⁴ This study also highlights Grand Lodge’s preoccupation with disciplining its rank and file in the interests of projecting a ‘respectable’ public image vital to assimilate the Order and remove the ‘alien’ quality of Orangeism in Scotland.²⁵ This thesis adds to the insightful work of McFarland by exploring the intersections of class and gender in the context of twentieth – rather than nineteenth - century Scottish Orangeism. Chapters

²⁰ *Ibid*, pp.86-88

²¹ *Ibid*, pp.78-88

²² *Ibid*, pp.88-90

²³ *Ibid*, p.161

²⁴ McFarland, ‘Marching from the margins’, pp.62, 69-71

²⁵ *Ibid*, pp.69-71

two and four specifically illustrate Grand Lodge's collective appropriation of parading Orangewomen as feminised personifications of traditional 'respectability,' decency and family values to temper gendered perceptions of the Order as antagonistic and sectarian.

In his 1992 study of interwar Scottish Orangeism, Graham Walker argues for the centrality of Orangeism in maintaining 'a sense of Protestant Irish identity' amongst 'immigrants and their Scottish-born descendants.'²⁶ Walker affirms that most of the 40,000 members were Scots-born to families of Irish descent: their dual ethnic identification was reinforced by the Order's attempts to 'unite the cause of Scottish and Irish Protestants' by incorporating the 'legacy of Scottish Covenanters' into its celebratory historical canon, hosting Burns Suppers, and the naming of lodges after famous Scottish personages.²⁷ Walker thus illustrates the Order's intention to converge Irish and Scottish Protestant identities by asserting a common heritage fortified by a shared sense of 'otherness' to Catholicism. He argues the Order's 'continuous dialogue' with Unionist MPs during the 1920s and 30s was complicated by attraction of the rank and files to trade unions, 'Labour and even Communist politics' in an era of mass unemployment and austerity.²⁸ Walker – in common with McFarland – discerns an ideological disconnect between the 'raucous, disorderly and sometimes violent' membership and the staid, middle-class hierarchy.²⁹ Despite the fact that 'tribal emotion and class consciousness both conflicted with, and at times reinforced, each other,' the Order's influence was nevertheless 'profound' during these decades - effectively exploiting concerns over mixed-marriage, the 1918 Education Act and Catholic immigration to attract and retain members.³⁰

Walker briefly reflects upon female involvement in interwar Orangeism, speculating that Orangewomen were 'perhaps more enthusiastically Conservative in a political sense' without offering any explanations for this intriguing generalisation.³¹ In contrast, this thesis – particularly the third chapter – attempts to directly address, and suggest possible reasons for, Orangewomen's political and social conservatism and acquiescent acceptance of the institutional gendered status quo. Walker juxtaposes the 'respectable' role of lodgewomen - as expert organisers and charitable workers - with the 'less savoury activities' of some male members. His attention to gender, although refreshing and welcome, is somewhat polarising, characterising the Order 'as an outlet for young, male aggression' which 'used parades as an excuse for a fight' whilst representing the upright, staid and reputable female members as an antidote to this provocative, unruly element.³² He neglects, moreover, detailed consideration of the dynamics of ubiquitous institutionalised sexual inequality within interwar Orangeism. Contrastingly, this thesis demonstrates not only the

²⁶ G. Walker, 'The Orange Order in Scotland between the wars', *International review of social history*, 37, no.2 (1992), p.178

²⁷ *Ibid*, pp.179 and 202

²⁸ *Ibid*, pp.206, 192 and 194

²⁹ *Ibid*, p.206

³⁰ *Ibid*, p.182 and 206

³¹ *Ibid*, p.204

³² *Ibid*, p.204

considerable attitudinal and demographic diversity of Orangewomen, but also their dynamic and situationally transgressive and acquiescent responses to their sexual subordination.

MacRaild's *Faith, fraternity and fighting* (first published in 2005) examines in some depth Northern English Victorian Orangeism, including some sustained, detailed discussion of the organisational participation of women in Maryport, Barrow and Whitehaven. His ethnographic approach of 'fragmentary illumination' rather than a 'broad-sweep analysis' is necessitated by the paucity of organisational records resulting from the 'Order's failure to recognise the importance of its own material culture.'³³ MacRaild argues Orangewomen's treatment by the brethren 'could be dismissive, curt, even patronising' yet acknowledges that widowed lodgewomen often benefitted from the 'patriarchal' dispensation of Orange financial mutualism.³⁴ Impressively engaging with gender as a legitimate framework for understanding Orangeism, he chronologically surveys Orangewomen's collective evolution from a 'weak and dependent' status during the 1860s to their burgeoning Edwardian consciousness of themselves as 'Orangewomen, in their own right, rather than as Orangemen's wives.'³⁵ By 1921, he asserts, Orangewomen were serving on charitable committees and permitted to attend – but not to hold office at – District meetings.³⁶ This might be considered an enviable arrangement compared with that of contemporary Scottish Orangewomen still struggling for the right of District self-representation. These advances are attributed to the development of the suffrage movement, and the impact of the First World War in dislodging entrenched and resistant patriarchal attitudes.³⁷ MacRaild's enthusiastically Whiggish representation of Edwardian English Orangewomen's history as an unrelentingly progressive journey from organisational periphery to centre contrasts markedly with the demonstration of – and attempt to explain – the relative stasis in twentieth-century Scottish Orangewomen's role, attitudes and status in this thesis.

MacRaild identifies features of both the Ulster and 'Scots Calvinist traditions' prevalent in Tyneside Orangeism, illustrating the interchangeable fluidity of 'British' and 'Irish' constructions of Orange ethnicity.³⁸ His recognition of the cultural hybridity of English lodges problematizes constructions of British Orangeism a static 'Irish import' by revealing it to dynamically and adaptively integrate and synthesize distinct national practices and traditions. MacRaild illustrates also the classed diversity of the Victorian English membership: whilst Whitehaven's Queen Victoria lodge, with its high dues, typically attracted the 'wives of better-off working men and lower middle-class women,' the female membership, in the main, tended to be 'working-class.'³⁹

³³ D.M. MacRaild, *Faith, fraternity and fighting, the Orange Order and Irish migrants in Northern England, c.1850-1920* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009), pp.7-8

³⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 99 and 232-233

³⁵ *Ibid*, p.137

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp.135 and 138

³⁷ *Ibid*, p.133

³⁸ *Ibid*, pp.143 and 147

³⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 132, 206 and 59

This thesis comparatively enriches and updates MacRaild's discerning demographic insights by comprehensively engaging with the shifting classed profile of Scottish women's Orangeism.

MacPherson and MacRaild's 2006 collaborative study of Tyneside Orangewomen at the turn of the nineteenth century contends their 'domestic position' afforded them 'a toehold to achieve a degree of participation in associational life.'⁴⁰ The juxtaposition of temperate Orangewomen possessed of an aptitude for organising fundraising bazaars, teas and socials with the 'incompetence of the men' enabled lodgewomen to shape 'the character of Orangeism in the region' in spite of prevailing domestic ideologies.⁴¹ MacRaild's work is therefore vital in demonstrating the previously overlooked – by those asserting the significance of Orangeism as a manifestation of working-class culture - centrality of ethnicity and gender to historical constructions of Orangeism.

In his recent 2011 study *The Irish Diaspora in Britain*, MacRaild offers fresh insights into the history of English women's late twentieth-century Orangeism. He demonstrates the high concentration of female lodges in Preston, Liverpool and Whitehaven during the 1870s, and the reports of parading Orangewomen as early as the 1860s.⁴² Additionally, he relates the inauguration of a Ladies' Lodge in the Belgravia home of Irish Ulster Unionist leader Col. Saunderson at the time of the 1886 Home Rule Crisis, illustrating the appropriation of lodges as a vehicle for female ethno-religious politicisation, and the potential of Orangeism to attract women of high social standing amongst 'polite female society.'⁴³ By the 1890s, he contends, 'the vigour of women's Orangeism' gradually resulted in Orangemen acceptingly referring to Orangewomen as 'sisters' and 'lodgewomen.'⁴⁴

This thesis is influenced by MacRaild's focus upon the charitable fundraising skills of English Orangewomen – a key theme explored in relation to their Scottish counterparts in chapter five. Whilst MacRaild assumes the Whiggish trajectory of English Orangewomen's chronologically linear and incremental advances in status and legitimacy, this thesis disrupts narratives of gradual progress by drawing attention to the enactment of retrogressive measures - inimical to their gendered interests of the sisters - and exploring reasons for stasis in the standing of Scottish Orangewomen.

Emphasising the importance of early twentieth-century Orangeism in facilitating the emergence of a transnational gendered diasporic consciousness, Jim MacPherson's work focuses upon the 'mutating' ethnic identities of Orangewomen combining proximate attachment to Scotland with an

⁴⁰ D.A.J. MacPherson and D.M. MacRaild, 'Sisters of the brotherhood: female Orangeism in Tyneside in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries', *Irish historical studies*, 35, no.137 (May 2006), p.43

⁴¹ *Ibid*, pp.53-54

⁴² D.M. MacRaild, *The Irish diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p.107

⁴³ *Ibid*, p.107

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p.107

‘overlapping’ and ‘overarching connection to an Irish Protestant identity.’⁴⁵ Crucially he acknowledges the involvement of working-class lodgewomen in promoting British Empire through low-key networks to challenge and diversify the historiographies of women and imperialism – advanced by Pickles, Bush and Riedi – characterising empire-building as the almost exclusive domain of ‘elite women.’⁴⁶

MacPherson’s work concentrates upon the emergence of Scottish female lodges and the activism of their female membership prior to 1940, including fundraising for child and maternal welfare, anti-Home Rule campaigning and supporting Protestant candidates in local Educational Authority elections: he therefore illustrates ‘public life was not just the preserve of women connected to feminist or socialist political organisations’ and demonstrates the participation of working-class women in conservative politics.⁴⁷ The agency of Orangewomen in ‘shaping the nature of the Irish Protestant ethnic community’ through their philanthropic and political outreach is also addressed.⁴⁸

In 2013, MacPherson explored the personal narratives of Scottish and English Orangewomen c.1940-2010 in relation to intergenerational family tradition and ethno-religious subjectivity, to consider the shifting, contrasting diasporic identifications of lodgewomen.⁴⁹ MacPherson’s forthcoming exploration of Orangewomen in the Atlantic world is likely to be the most directly pertinent study to this thesis, and its 2015 publication is eagerly anticipated. This thesis complements and builds upon MacPherson’s corpus of work – chiefly though not exclusively concerned with pre-1940s global Orangeism - scanning a century of Scottish women’s Orangeism. The focus of this study, facilitated by the integral and extensive use of oral history testimony, rests contrastingly upon the latter twentieth-century: indeed the periodization (1909 to the present) is necessarily broad-sweeping largely because the primary source material amassed was piecemeal, fragmentary and chronologically disparate since many lodge records are not systematically or centrally amassed, and most female lodges have sadly neglected the preservation of records for posterity. From such patchy evidence an incomplete picture of female Orangeism inevitably emerges requiring oral history data to supplement gaps in the documentary record as well as to reverse the mutedness of Orangewomen and deservedly restore their centrality to the historical narrative.

The thematic priorities of my thesis differ substantially from MacPherson’s primary concern to recover the role of Scottish female Orangeism in reproducing intergenerational, diasporic interlocking Irish and Scottish Protestant identities. Whilst it is impossible to fully extricate

⁴⁵ D.A.J. MacPherson, ‘Migration and the female Orange Order: Irish Protestant identity, diaspora and empire in Scotland, 1909-1940’, *The journal of imperial and commonwealth history*, 40, no.4 (2012), pp.620-621

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p.622

⁴⁷ D.A.J. MacPherson, ‘The emergence of women’s Orange lodges in Scotland: gender, ethnicity and women’s activism, 1909-1940’, *Women’s History Review*, 22, no.1 (December 2012), p.3

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p.4

⁴⁹ See D.A.J. MacPherson, ‘Personal narratives of family and ethnic identity: Orangewomen in Scotland and England, c.1940-2010’, *Immigrants and minorities*, 32, no.1 (2013)

exploration of gender from reference to the interconnected specificities of ethno-religiosity and nationality, this thesis also focuses upon interlocking dimensions of class, age and regionality. Additionally, this study's analysis of the gender-specific iconographies of Orange ritual, and institutional and national media representations of Orangewomen, directs the focus as much toward assessment of the gendered discourses of Orangeism as exploration of Orangewomen's experiential testimony. This thesis also parts company with MacPherson's research by considering in some depth, through the analysis of dominant and counter-hegemonic institutional discourses, the ongoing internal struggles for reform of Orangewomen's institutional status. Additionally this study engages not only with Orangewomen and archival sources, but also interviews male members, detractors, ex-Orangewomen, juveniles and members of organisations sharing an intersecting membership base. Whilst MacPherson's work is invaluable for contextualising and mapping Scottish women's Orangeism globally through diasporic networks, and for comprehending the individual construction of Orange identity, this study differs considerably in terms of methodology, periodization and thematic emphasis.

Kaufmann's impressive multi-regression statistical analyses of Orangeism attempt to account for regional and chronological organisational trends: the comparative focus of his numerous macro-scale studies is primarily upon tracing - and establishing correlations to explain - the ebbs and flows of membership patterns over time, and the class basis of the institution, both within Scotland and inter-jurisdictionally. His 2006 and 2009 studies - 'The Orange Order in Scotland since 1860' and 'The dynamics of Orangeism in Scotland' - chart the institution's chronological development in comparative relation to its English, Canadian and Irish counterparts. Whilst not engaging in any sustained way with a consideration of gender in relation to Orangeism, his work is significant in identifying trends in membership patterns of Scottish female lodges. He observes that female lodges - first installed in 1909 - increased dramatically, and the number of sisters surpassed that of the brethren during the interwar years, before female membership reached its zenith in the late 1950s. It has subsequently entered a period of atrophy and decline.⁵⁰ Juvenile membership, he demonstrates, increased in tandem - albeit peaking a little later in the late 1960s.⁵¹ Male membership trends are markedly different: aside from inevitable dips in the volume of lodgemen in the immediate aftermath of both world wars, the numbers of brethren peaked much later, in 1987, before entering an ongoing period of steady decline.⁵² Kaufmann's work is important, as one of the few quantitative and macro studies of Orangeism both cross-culturally and chronologically which recognises, and offers tentative possible explanations for, the gendered differentials in membership: he identifies the licensing of Orange social clubs and shift from religious to political focus from the late 1960s - as responsible for precipitating the continued decline in female membership.⁵³ Indeed the first chapter of this thesis attempts to account for the gendered differential in membership

⁵⁰ E.P. Kaufmann, 'The Orange Order in Scotland since 1860: a social analysis' in M.J. Mitchell (ed.) *New perspectives on the Irish in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 174

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p.15

⁵² *Ibid*, p.14

⁵³ *Ibid*, p.21

trends, initially, by reference to a case study of data from a Glasgow lodge, 1949-1990, and then by widening the debate by comparatively assessing and cross-referencing findings with other pertinent studies.

Studies of Scottish sectarianism

Exploratory accounts of Scottish sectarianism, which pay considerable attention to the Orange Order, have largely ignored the institutional presence and role of women. Gallagher's 1987 *The Uneasy Peace*, which deals with Orange and Green Glaswegian factionalism - and assesses also the Order's genesis and changing societal role - offers limited insight into the interplay between Orangeism and gender. Reflecting upon the scarcity of 'openings for women in Protestant life,' Gallagher concedes that women found 'membership of the Freemasons and any kind of influence in the Orange Order denied to them' yet never engages in any sustained analysis of women's role in reproducing and/or resisting sectarian cultures, let alone tackling the ideological foundation, or intricacies, of their marginality within Orangeism.⁵⁴ Indeed his sweeping yet truistic statement eclipses Orangewomen's myriad involvement in charitable activism, their indirect yet important influence in instilling intergenerational Orangeism in the young, and their extensive interjurisdictional networking to promote Orangeism globally: all of these aspects of Orangewomen's organisational function are considered herein.

Similarly, Bruce et al's gender-exclusive study *Sectarianism in Scotland* examines Scottish society through the lens of footballing subculture to address the pervasiveness and extensiveness of national sectarianism. The 'problem' is reduced to that of 'twisted machismo' caused by the fact that 'too many men drink too much, take drugs, carry weapons and regard any insult to an easily offended sense of propriety as justification for assault.'⁵⁵ The issue is therefore gendered as specifically 'male' precluding serious consideration of the role of women in promulgating and/or resisting sectarianism. Indeed the few recent studies which attempt assessment of women's attitude toward the politics of ethno-religious identity, often representing them as inconvenienced or victimised by - rather than perpetrators of - this 'masculine' phenomenon.⁵⁶ This thesis therefore represents an important contribution to the literature of gender and Scottish identity politics, illuminating women's significant engagement with religiously divisive politics.

Irish Women's history

The historic involvement of Scottish Orangewomen in Ulster politics, and their diasporic links to the region, also renders this thesis relevant to the history of Irish Protestant women's activism.

⁵⁴ T. Gallagher, *Glasgow: The uneasy peace - religious tension in modern Scotland*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p.165

⁵⁵ S. Bruce, T. Glendinning, I. Paterson and M. Rosie, *Sectarianism in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), p.173

⁵⁶ See Goodall and Malloch 'Women, football and communities'

Ruth Dudley Edwards' journalistic tour de force of Ulster Orangeism, *The faithful tribe*, attempts to redress malignant conceptions of the Order by representing a 'balanced', apologetic and sympathetic assessment of the 'ordinary, decent people' who, she argues, comprise the vast majority of members whilst also acknowledging a small but 'very bigoted and nasty' minority.⁵⁷ Her discussion, however, of female membership constitutes various fleeting, anecdotal allusions rather than prolonged analysis. For Edwards the lodge is primarily a site of 'male bonding,' its ceremonial working as 'rite of passage from boy to manhood.'⁵⁸ Orangewomen are represented as 'admirable housekeepers' contentedly 'at home preparing the sandwiches' and therefore dismissed as complicit with, rather than resistant to, their marginality to male-initiated androcentric Irish Orange parades.⁵⁹

Dudley Edwards' descriptions of Orangewomen tend to concentrate upon the superficial – such as dress codes and deportment - rather than exploratory and motivational. For instance, she observes some lodges at the Rosstown parade 'had everyone dressed identically, regardless of what suited their colouring or size' whilst others permitted the wearing of 'a suit and hat of the same colour but in different styles.'⁶⁰ Her overriding interest in Orangewomen as collective visual objects rather than as individual political agents, represents them as collectively homogenous by obscuring their significant differences. *The faithful tribe* contrasts the respectably-attired sisters with the 'macho, aggressive 'male Blood and Thunder flute bandsman' sensationally denounced as 'young men one would avoid in a dark alley.'⁶¹ A contingent of Lurgan Orangewomen are personified as 'totally respectable women – the wives of shop-keepers and farmers, hard-working housewives and sandwich-makers and tray-bakers and the backbone of the Ulster Protestant community – joining their fathers and husbands and brothers and sons in defiance of the British government.'⁶² This homely, idealised portrayal defines the women in terms of their domesticity and implies their politics to be ancillary to, and contingent on, those of male relations rather emerging from independently-inspired personal convictions. Perhaps in the interests of exonerating Irish Orangeism from charges of 'sectarianism,' Dudley Edwards credits Scotland with originating 'hard-line sectarian songs' and grossly prejudices a gathering of Glaswegians as 'nasty-looking young men, with tattoos, and militaristic haircuts.'⁶³ Such class-specific repudiations characterise Scottish Orangeism as unpretentiously proletarian, urban and staunchly militant in stark contrast with the idyllic rural and socially-diverse Ulster lodges.⁶⁴ Whilst Dudley Edwards' colourful survey of Irish Orangeism is undoubtedly an entertaining and good-humoured attempt to render the organisation accessible and acceptable to a wider audience, she fails to offer sustained assessment of gender beyond a few passing reflections, which are often little more than

⁵⁷ R. Dudley Edwards, *The faithful tribe: an intimate portrait of the loyal institutions*, (London: Harper Collins, 1999), p. xiv

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, pp.15 and 78

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 108 and 112

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 47

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p.52

⁶² *Ibid*, p.438

⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 7 and 14

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 140

impressionistic generalisations. Instead she is concerned with relating the increasing factional polarisation which has riven male organisation's Grand Lodge from the late 1990s, as the emergent hard-line 'Spirit of Drumcree' contingent attempted to pressurise a largely moderate, conciliatory leadership into adopting a more uncompromising stance over the re-routing of parades.⁶⁵ Her work thus concentrates on disputes within the men's institution at the expense of the thorough analysis of the symbiotic yet unequal relationship between the separate male and female organisations in the Irish jurisdiction.

Numerous studies of early twentieth-century Irish Protestant women focus on their political campaigning prior to - or contemporaneous with - the revival of Irish women's Orangeism in 1911. Diane Urquhart maintains that women of the Ulster Women's Unionist Council (UWUC) – also established in 1911 – were strongly involved in anti-Home Rule protests of 1886 and 1893.⁶⁶ Although 'largely under male control' the UWUC nevertheless provided a small section of middle-class Protestant Ulster women with the opportunity to participate in national political life despite their gendered exclusion from mainstream parties prior to 1918.⁶⁷ Crucially, Urquhart claims the UWUC's 'bestowal of official representation to women's Loyal Orange Lodges in 1920 reflects an overlap of personnel between these two organisations.'⁶⁸ Her work, then, raises vital questions concerning the interjurisdictional relationship and extent of collaboration between women in the Irish and Scottish Orange female lodges, which are to some extent addressed in chapter five of this thesis.

Urquhart's *Women in Ulster politics* elaborates further upon the pre-1940 links between the UWUC and the Association of Loyal Orangewomen of Ireland (ALOI). Charting the nineteenth century origins of Irish women's Orangeism, Urquhart notes that lodges 'failed to flourish' and fell dormant prior to the 1911 reactionary resurrection of the movement in the midst of fervent opposition to Ne Temere and Home Rule.⁶⁹ In 1918 Theresa Londonderry – the UWUC's president – was approached to join the Association in the hope 'her patronage would attract many of the working women into local Orange associations and involve their interest in parliamentary matters.'⁷⁰ Such occurrences are strongly suggestive that religious identification often trumped social class as primary determinant of Ulsterwomen's political affiliation. Functioning collaboratively, lodgewomen often distributed copies of UWUC literature in private lodges. The ALOI played a vital dual role in engaging political women's interest, seamlessly integrating women's into hegemonic Protestant civic culture, and thereby further consolidating the Unionist political ascendancy.⁷¹ The sexually-conservative UWUC deferred gender politics to the

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 492

⁶⁶ D. Urquhart 'The female of the species is more deadlier than the male?': the Ulster Women's Unionist Council, 1911-1940' in D. Urquhart and A. Hayes (eds.), *The Irish women's history reader*, (London: Routledge, 2001), p.50

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p.55

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p.112

⁶⁹ D. Urquhart, *Women in Ulster politics, 1890-1940*, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000), p.60

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p.72

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p.76

overriding aim of resisting Irish nationalism. Valorising maternal discourses of ‘domesticity and home,’ the Council encouraged its female membership to instil Unionist ideology in the young, educate women voters and disseminate propaganda.⁷²

Ward has also illustrated the interconnectivity between ALOI and the UWUC, asserting many ‘sisters are delegates’ pressed by fellow Orangewomen to represent their organisational interests at UUP meetings.⁷³ Indeed Current ALOI Grand Mistress Olive Whitten is a Councillor in Armagh, delegate to the UUC and Chair of her local branch and member of the party’s executive.⁷⁴ Ward’s studies of unionist women in contemporary Northern Irish politics unravel the complexities of their public role and status: underrepresented at the highest levels of regional and national government, they nevertheless occupy diverse and agentic roles at party and community levels.⁷⁵ Although she acknowledges much of their work to be ancillary and to constitute an extension of their domesticity, Ward refutes simplistic assumptions that they remain little more than ‘tea-makers.’⁷⁶ This thesis, to some extent, corroborates Urquhart and Ward’s contentions yet divergently illustrates that - although some individual Orangewomen expressed allegiance to the Conservative and Unionist Party - Scottish female lodges lack any formal party-political affiliation. Moreover, Scottish Orangewomen’s simultaneously pivotal and auxiliary organisational functions mirror those of her Ulster unionist sisters. Alluding to Irish women’s Orangeism as a parallel and contrasting counterpoint, this thesis therefore explores in some detail the diverse profile of Scottish Orangewomen’s multifarious political and benevolent commitments.

Significantly, Ward also discusses the status of women within Irish Orangeism and her participant observation at the 1994 Annual Women’s Day revealed much about the gendering of parading politics: aside from the ‘subordination of Orange women to a male authority figure’ in the form of an escorting Deputy District Master, she observed that Orangewomen were co-opted for parades ‘from their cosy social sphere to fulfil a political need’ for ‘numbers to enhance visibility.’⁷⁷ She also concluded that, despite avowals of Orangewomen that the lodge is a ‘very traditional’ organisation with a focus on the ‘cultural and religious,’ membership carries ‘an underlying political connotation’ and represents a personal declaration of individual ‘political and cultural allegiances.’⁷⁸ Corroborating Ward’s findings, current Secretary of the ALOI Joan Beggs was indeed insistent that she belonged to ‘a religious based association’ which she would ‘be out of as quick as sheet lightning’ if it should ‘turn political.’⁷⁹ This thesis charts unavoidably blurred

⁷² *Ibid*, p.77

⁷³ R. Ward, *Women, unionism and loyalism in Northern Ireland: from ‘tea-makers’ to political actors*, (Dublin: Irish Academic, 2006), pp.146-147 and 93

⁷⁴ Olive Whitten, email to the author, 22 March 2013

⁷⁵ R., Ward, ‘Invisible women: the political roles of unionist and loyalist women in contemporary Northern Ireland’ in Ross, K., (ed.), *Parliamentary Affairs*, 55, no.1 (2002), p.168

⁷⁶ R., Ward, ‘Gender issues and the representation of women in Northern Ireland’, *Irish political studies*, 19, no.2 (2004), p.3

⁷⁷ Ward, *Women, unionism and loyalism in Northern Ireland*, pp.120 and 149

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p.146

⁷⁹ Beggs, Joan, oral history interview, 28 February 2013

intersections between Orangewomen's public activism, private religious convictions, charitable benevolence, and organisational membership.

Urquhart's *The Ladies of Londonderry* highlights the role of leading Tory hostesses as patrons and confidants to leading political figures from 1800-1959. Through a combination of public campaigning, addressing meetings, fronting political associations and private entertaining of powerful establishment members, these elite women indirectly influenced the Anglo-Irish political process.⁸⁰ Written out of the histories of both unionism and of the aristocracy, the tacit sway these women exerted had been largely discounted, or critiqued, prior to Urquhart's research, which is both biographical and illuminative of wider political concerns of the day.⁸¹ Urquhart's expansive and inclusive definitions of the political - incorporating the informal, social and domestic - insist on the fluidity of boundaries between public and private spheres: this thesis similarly maintains that Scottish Orangewomen circumvented their marginality to the Grand Lodge executive by sporadically and subtly utilising informal social and familial networking to sway organisational decision-making; it argues also that lodgewomen exploited their kudos as adept fundraisers to collectively gain political credibility and leverage within the institution. However, whilst Urquhart focuses on titled women's role as political hostesses and the middle-class activists of the UWUC, this study seeks uniquely to add to the relatively few in-depth studies of working-class British women's engagement in unionist politics.

MacPherson's recently published *Women and the Irish nation* charts the gendered political involvement of Irish women, facilitated by their effective negotiation and subversion of domestic ideologies, in a range of nationalist and republican movements from 1890-1914.⁸² MacPherson calls for historiographical analysis of women's biological, cultural and ethnic role as reproducers of national identity via movements 'which do not conform to explicitly feminist forms of public activism.'⁸³ This thesis will, to some extent, respond to this mandate by exploring the largely overlooked role of Scottish Orangewomen in conservative politics. MacPherson identifies a 'new revisionism' emphasising 'women's considerable agency which could subvert and contest' gender constraints, and which challenges the fixity of 'separate spheres' historical orthodoxy.⁸⁴ Orangewomen, this thesis asserts, subverted essentialist, evangelical Orange conceptualisations of sexual difference, stressing their innate moral superiority and domesticated respectability, to gain a foothold in public life and also to secure a modicum of institutional authority. Over-against this, however, acknowledged also are the entrenched structural inequalities within Scottish Orangeism which continually inhibit the individual self-expression and collective progress of female members.

⁸⁰ D. Urquhart, *The Ladies of Londonderry: women and political patronage*, (London: Tauris, 2007), p.2

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p.3

⁸² D.A.J. MacPherson, *Women and the Irish nation: gender, culture and Irish identity, 1890-1914*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p.22

⁸³ *Ibid*, pp.22 and 18-19

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p.12

Women and imperial associationalism

This thesis, contributing significantly to the history of diasporic Protestant women's activism, also directly relates to the historiography of British women's imperialism. Midgley's *Feminism and empire* charts the 'ways in which women were actively involved in shaping colonial discourse, debates on empire, and projects of imperial reform.'⁸⁵ The women, of whom she writes, however, were mainly 'white Protestant middle-class women.'⁸⁶ Reidi's examination of the role of women in the Victoria League (VL) - a predominantly female imperialist propaganda society founded in 1901 - explores the gendered work of women including the extension of hospitality to colonial visitors and 'educational' outreach to imbue a decidedly jingoistic spirit in the British public.⁸⁷ VL membership was overwhelmingly middle and upper-class, and often overlapped with that of the Primrose League (PL), with which working-class Scottish Orangewomen have been speculatively and tentatively identified. Reidi contends the VL masked 'the political nature of its objectives under the cloak of gender' by 'misleadingly and deliberately unassertively' insisting itself to be an apolitical extension of women's domestic activity and downplaying its foray into the public political sphere.⁸⁸ This low-key 'cultivated blandness' maximised the League's appeal yet also impeded the discussion of contentious topics such as women's suffrage.⁸⁹ Women's involvement in the London-based VL demonstrates the breadth of conservative women's campaigning prior to female enfranchisement, and highlights also the gendered limitations of 'elite' women's imperial activism.⁹⁰ This thesis problematizes monolithic classed constructions of conservative female campaigning - and preoccupations with English metropolitan women's colonialism - by illustrating the unwavering commitment of a contingent of working-class Scottish Protestant women to similar ideologies and cultures of patriotism.

Whereas most studies of women's imperialism concentrate on Victorian and Edwardian Britain, Pickles' 2005 study of the New Zealand VL explores the 'gendered patriotic work' of late twentieth-century elite 'white settler' women to promote imperial stability and unity.⁹¹ Dislodging fixed notions of the 'core' and the 'periphery,' Pickles' shifts the emphasis away from English women's imperialism; her expansive periodization, moreover, enables an appreciation of both the League's historical continuities and its socially-responsive reformation of organisational priorities in accordance with broader global change. By 2000, the VL had metamorphosed into a high-status social club and retreated from political life into a 'private' female world of hospitality and socialising.⁹² Whilst the VL was theoretically non-sectarian and 'open to all with a strong loyalty to the Crown and love of freedom,' Pickles' argues, the 'reality was of a Protestant elite' of upper-

⁸⁵ C. Midgley, *Feminism and Empire: women activists in imperial Britain, 1790-1865*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), p.1

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p.2

⁸⁷ E. Reidi, 'Women, gender and promotion of empire: the Victoria League', *Historical Journal*, 45, no.3 (2002), p.572

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p.572

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p.598

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p.598

⁹¹ K. Pickles, 'A link in 'The great chain of Empire friendship': the Victoria League in New Zealand', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth history*, 33, no.1 (January 2005), p.30 and 43

⁹² *Ibid*, pp.44-45

class high society women forming the majority of members.⁹³ Despite the national and classed differentials of membership, both League and Lodge women share, therefore, commitments to monarchism, patriotism and Protestantism: both have tenaciously survived the reversals of twentieth-century post-colonialism and secularisation. However, this thesis asserts, that whilst the VL has become convivial and politically-neutered, Scottish Orangeism remains both fraternal and active in national campaigns.

Thackeray's 2010 study of the Birmingham and Leeds Women's Unionist and Tariff Reform Association (WUTRA) observes its mobilisation of domestic propaganda to gender the issue of tariff reform as particularly pertinent to housewives. Uniquely amongst imperialist associations, he maintains, the Association expressed 'empathy with working-class women's social cultures' to disseminate its message and adopted a relatively 'meritocratic ethos of grassroots activism.'⁹⁴ Despite this attempt at class-inclusivity, considerable differentiation persisted in the roles that 'activists of different classes' were expected to undertake.⁹⁵ WUTRA's opposition to Irish Home Rule, and its 1914 'Help the Ulster Women and Children' campaign, are directly paralleled by the involvement of Scottish Orangewomen in fundraising for the Carson Defence Fund and the Ulster Relief Fund, explored in the fifth chapter. This thesis recognises the considerable overlap of ideology and activism between Orangeism and various imperialist, conservative groupings. Whilst Thackeray concentrates solely upon women's 'vital role in shaping the identity of Conservatism' through expansion of its classed and gendered appeal, this thesis examines both the reciprocal legacy of women upon the Orange Order, and also the organisation's uneven impact upon the lives of female members, charting Orangewomen's interchangeable complicity and resistance to its discourses.

Women and fraternalism

Consequent of the ritualistic and fraternal nature of Orangeism, this thesis also contributes to the corpus of studies of associational life. Barbara Rogers' seminal 1988 study *Men Only* is a gendered study of male sexually-exclusive fraternalism exploring a diverse plethora of 'establishment' organisations - including freemasonry, rotary clubs, golf clubs and public school societies - to critically unravel their institutionalised sexual discrimination.⁹⁶ *Women, clubs and associations in Britain* is a more recent thematically similar study, which posits that these exclusive clubs, debarred prospective members based on elitist criteria of class, ethnicity and educational background as well as gender. This study downplays, however, their anti-egalitarian membership policies, contending 'for over a hundred years women and working class men were happy to form their own clubs and associations' in preference to seeking entry to those of their middle class

⁹³ *Ibid*, p.34

⁹⁴ D. Thackeray, 'Home and politics: women and conservative activism in early twentieth-century Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 49, no.4 (October 2010), pp.826-28

⁹⁵ *Ibid*

⁹⁶ B. Rogers, *Men Only: an investigation of men's organisations*, (London: Thorsons, 1988)

brethren.⁹⁷ Absent from both aforementioned texts is any explicit reference to Orangeism. They both, moreover, focus on the associational cultures of England – London in particular – and represent British fraternal culture as monolithic, metropolitan and, more often than not, middle-class: manifest regional and national variations are almost entirely overlooked. Irrespective of their arrival at antithetical conclusions regarding the intent, extent and desirability of club culture, both studies acknowledge the gendered nature of fraternalism yet are highly Anglo-centric and pay negligible attention to either working-class associational life or women’s single-sex societies. This study of Scottish women’s Orangeism therefore represents a long overdue enquiry into women’s proletarian associational culture in geographically and politically peripheral regions, and explores in considerable depth an organisation admitting women on decidedly unequal terms: it will thus expand the limited scope of these existing studies dealing solely with the politics of exclusion.

In 2008, the official librarian of the Order of Women Freemasons (OWF) published *The Open Door*, charting the history of this English women’s masonic Order from its inception in 1908 to the present. Pilcher-Dayton relates the OWF’s contested relations with the male United Grand Lodge of England (UGLE) and its continued unsuccessful struggles for recognition as a ‘legitimate’ body by this patriarchal body prior to 1999, when UGLE conceded, ‘so far as can be ascertained,’ the practices of OWF were in fact ‘regular’ yet forbade inter-visitation between lodges of both organisations.⁹⁸ This ambivalent relationship reflects broader trends of resistance to women’s working of ‘male’ rituals within fraternal masonic Orders. Unlike Orangeism – where male and female ritualism is separate and distinct – women of the OWF controversially work the ‘masculine’ rites of the UGLE. As an active OWF member, Pilcher-Dayton’s history is celebratory, institutional and hagiographic rather than academic. It is principally focused on the hub of OWF organisational activity in London. Nevertheless it raises parallel thematic concerns, and serves as an interesting coterminous counterpoint, since the Order was formed in 1908 (a year prior to the initiation of women into Scottish Orangeism) and, in common with the LOAS, boasts lodges worldwide.

Although expressly apolitical and non-ritualistic, the Women’s Institute (WI), formed in 1915, also provides a useful comparison. Despite popular associations with staid ‘tweeds and twin sets,’ it has been recognised as ‘a significant feminist organisation’ which campaigned for numerous womanist causes.⁹⁹ This ‘conservative’ society has been historically resituated within a tradition of gendered radicalism by pluralising definitions of ‘feminist’ organisations to incorporate those which embrace rather than eschew domesticity, foster ‘the development of gyn-affection’ and psychologically assist women to ‘combat the internals of subservience’ experienced in mainstream

⁹⁷ D. Doughan and P. Gordon, *Women, clubs and associations in Britain*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), pp.16 and 139

⁹⁸ A. Pilcher-Dayton, *The open door: the Order of Women Freemasons*, (London: OWF Publications, 2008), p.221

⁹⁹ M. Andrews, *The acceptable face of feminism – the Women’s Institute as a social movement* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997), pp. ix-xii

cultural spaces.¹⁰⁰ Such insights underpin this exploration of female Orangeism by supplying an expansive theoretical framework for examining the personal benefits of female associational culture.

Kaufman's 2002 enquiry into the proliferation of fraternal societies in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century America overlooks women's associationalism per se. It is, however, of direct relevance because of his generic insights into attitudes to fraternalism: he maintains Protestant and Catholic ritualistic societies to be 'identical in all but name' and recounts the commonality of internal disputes over the participation of women, blacks and Jews in male, white and Christian organisations.¹⁰¹ Kaufman represents these organisations as socially-divisive special interest groups, highlighting internal fractures over the politics of belonging, and their concern with the strict policing of rigid insider/outsider dichotomies. His analysis is useful in contextualising debates within Scottish Orangeism over the role of women – cogently explored in chapter three – and also for understanding the often fraught interface between fraternal institutions (peddling policies of exclusivity which apparently undermine the societal pursuit of unity and cohesion) and the ideological egalitarian ideals of wider society.

Clawson's examination of American masonry through the prism of class and gender, competently demonstrates the importance of women's exclusion in enabling the articulation of a distinctly masculine 'cross-class' identity.¹⁰² She addresses women's peripheral status within various fraternal organisations, characterised by their marginality to decision-making, the prohibition on women's participation in male rites, and the prevalence of separate spheres institutional ideologies. Clawson's ground-breaking and rare work acknowledges the immense symbolic significance of gender-specific ritualism: the fourth chapter of this thesis, advancing a detailed analysis of Orangeism's sexually-distinct iconographies, enriches Clawson's work by adding both Orange and cross-cultural dimensionality to her conclusions.

Women and right wing movements

The politically conservative nature of Orangeism renders this thesis relevant to the growing historiography of women in right-wing organisations. In her study of female fascists, Gottlieb notes that historiography has traditionally regarded women of the far right as 'wilfully misguided' and they are thus persistently overlooked by both feminist historians and historiographers of fascism.¹⁰³ Whilst a direct comparison with radical groups obscures the moderate, conservative ideology of Orangeism, some assessment of the chronological development of this body of literature nevertheless illuminates the growing tendency of revisionist historians to grant 'ever

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, pp.7-8 and 11

¹⁰¹ J. Kaufman, *For the common good? American civic life and the golden age of fraternity* (Oxford: O.U.P., 2002), pp.7 and 9

¹⁰² M.A. Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, gender and fraternalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp.130 and 161

¹⁰³ J. Gottlieb, *Feminine fascism: women in Britain's fascist movement* (London: Tauris, 2003), pp.4 and 6

greater agency to the women of the past' and emphasise their 'choice, free will and personal rebelliousness.'¹⁰⁴ Durham's *Women and Fascism* illustrates the diversity of women's roles within the fascist movement, exploding the myth that fascism was a definitely 'masculine' movement, its policies uniformly anti-feminist.¹⁰⁵ Annalisa Zox-Weaver's *Women Modernists and Fascists* examines the creative dramatization of fascism by four far-right artistic females, allowing their 'sometimes objectionable ethical ambiguity to remain in full view.'¹⁰⁶ These texts restore the agency of women in politics of the extreme right: likewise this thesis explores the paradoxical motivation and parameters of women's participation in an organisation apparently sharply antithetical to – and often dismissive of – feminist concerns.

Auchterlonie's *Conservative Suffragists* assesses Tory women's under-researched role in campaigns for the vote, challenging the historiographical 'marginalisation of Conservative suffragists' in both suffrage and party political histories.'¹⁰⁷ Her research forms part of an emergent genre of research concerned with the recovery of the obsolete histories of women in 'unsympathetic' anti-liberationist movements, capturing Conservative women's often conflicting ideological commitments. Auchterlonie reveals the existence of Glasgow and Edinburgh branches of the 1908 formed Conservative and Union Women's Franchise Association, both of which were focal points for the early Scottish campaigns for the vote.¹⁰⁸ It is therefore possible, although not provable, that some politically Conservative Scottish Orangewomen were also involved in suffrage politics. If this is so, assumptions that early twentieth-century Orangewomen's attitudes to patriarchal authority were unanimously and unrelentingly deferential are seriously undermined. However, even if this speculative link is dismissed as overly tenuous, Auchterlonie's work nevertheless aptly demonstrates that political Conservatism is not necessarily synonymous with a muted role for women, nor must it presuppose their complicity with their gendered subordination.

Yet it is also probable that a significant portion of early Orangewomen also opposed the vote. Bush's 2007 exploration of *Women against the vote* attempts to reconcile and restore this 'much-maligned body of female opinion' to the mainstream of British women's history.¹⁰⁹ She reveals that in 1910 a Scottish Women's National Anti-Suffrage League (SWNASL) was formed and comprised mainly aristocratic members.¹¹⁰ It is unlikely – given the socio-economic status of Orangewomen – that (m)any were actively involved in the leadership of the Anti-Suffrage League, but it is likely that some might have attended the impressive outdoor meetings they orchestrated to rally working-class support, consumed SWNASL literature or simply shared its convictions. Bush's pioneering work tackles a taboo topic in women's history: this thesis similarly engages with an organisation promoting traditional essentialist domestic and socially divisive ethno-religious,

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, pp.7 and 9

¹⁰⁵ M. Durham, *Women and Fascism* (London: Routledge, 1998), p.182

¹⁰⁶ A. Zox-Weaver, *Women Modernists and Fascism* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 2011), pp.6 and 192

¹⁰⁷ M. Auchterlonie, *Conservative Suffragists: the women's vote and the Tory party* (London: Tauris, 2007), pp.3 and 8

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p.104

¹⁰⁹ J. Bush, *Women against the vote: female anti-suffragism in Britain*, (Oxford: O.U.P, 2007), pp.12, 15 and 20

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp.215 and 310

ideologies which render it off-limits to ‘feminist’ historians: it thus adds to this developing field of research by charting the involvement of women in causes ambivalent or antagonistic to the rights of their sex.

Women and religion in Scotland

English women’s experiences have frequently been assumed by Anglo-centric historians to be both normative and representative and the histories of Scottish women have been overpassed or referenced only as a contrasting ‘other’ either to highlight the specificity of English women’s experience or to reinforce the dominant analysis of Anglicised constructions of gender. Important work, however, is underway to diversify the homogeneity and one-dimensionality of ‘British’ women’s history. Karly Kehoe’s study of nineteenth century Scottish Catholic women highlights the vital modernising and transformative function they performed both as ‘respectable, obedient’ teachers and welfare workers and ‘loyal Scottish and British citizens,’ diluting the ‘rough’ Irish Catholic culture of migrant workers and increasing societal acceptance of Church expansion.¹¹¹ These women paradoxically served both Ultramontane (emphasising Papal prerogative) and national Gallicanist (insisting upon the separation of ecclesiastical and civil affairs) agendas: their obedience to local Bishops pulled the Scottish church closer to Rome, yet their public welfare work aided Catholicism’s survival in a predominantly Protestant country.¹¹² Wielding ‘tremendous influence over church development’ and believing their ‘piety could influence society,’ Kehoe maintains, enabled women to subvert essentialist notions of innate female religiosity to play a key role in the production of a civil society.¹¹³ Her study problematizes assumptions that official religion is unequivocally disempowering for women, by emphasising Catholic women’s ‘active agency.’¹¹⁴ This exploration of Scottish women’s Orangeism forms an interesting counterpoint to Kehoe’s work, illustrating Orangewomen’s agentic mobilisation of both their charitable work and parading presence to legitimise their institutional membership and ameliorate public perceptions of Orangeism.

Smitley has investigated middle-class Scottish Edwardian women’s participation in a web of charitable and religious associations expressing ideals of Christian service and female citizenship, identifying the cross-membership and commonality of interests shared by various temperance, liberal, suffrage and philanthropic groups. She examines the ‘active participation of women in the formation of a middle-class identity which was derived from a commitment to civic life’ by extension of their ‘natural’ domestic and maternal roles into the public realm.¹¹⁵ This thesis nuances Smitley’s findings, illustrating working-class Orangewomen were amongst the diverse

¹¹¹ K. Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish church: Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp.12 and 177

¹¹² *Ibid*, pp.129, 69 and 3

¹¹³ *Ibid*, pp.178-179

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.13

¹¹⁵ M. Smitley, *The feminine public sphere: middle-class women and civic life in Scotland, c.1800-1914*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp.2, 8 and 3

body of women blurring distinctions between benevolence and public campaigning to capitalise upon - and so facilitate the diversification and expansion of - their homely roles.

British women and religion

The currency of debates relating to the contested presence, status and purpose of women within spiritual organisations is evidenced by the recent maelstrom around the initiation of Bhikkhunis – or female nuns – within Theravada Buddhism,¹¹⁶ initiation of female priests in Hinduism¹¹⁷ and indeed the ordination of women clergy in Western Christian denominations.¹¹⁸ As Sue Morgan has however observed, women's spirituality has often been completely disregarded or granted only superficial attention, by historians.¹¹⁹ This oversight is especially remiss because Victorian women often subverted essentialist evangelical discourses, asserting their gendered innate spirituality and superior morality, to justify their increasing encroachment into the public sphere.¹²⁰ Historians of Scottish women have problematized conceptualisations of the Presbyterian Kirk as monolithically misogynistic, alternatively representing it as a conduit through which women successfully managed to extend their sphere of political activity.¹²¹

Recent explorations of female preachers within Quaker, Salvation Army and Presbyterian traditions also demonstrate that evangelical expressions of religiosity often facilitated the radical transgression of gendered social customs.¹²² Female preachers' subversive use of 'maternal imagery' positing woman's 'innate' vulnerability and receptivity to spiritually legitimise their prominence within Protestant revivalism has also been recognised.¹²³ Walker's fascinating enquiry into the Salvation Army's acclaimed 'Hallelujah Lasses' maintains this 'progressive' evangelical body to have afforded women extensive and unrivalled public authority as procurers of souls, despite proscribing rigid and strictly domesticized ethical standards governing their public conduct.¹²⁴ She similarly contends that female preachers at the 1859 Ulster revival exhibited 'an unusual degree of religious leadership, preaching, prophesying and exhorting publicly.'¹²⁵ Power was therefore dynamically dispersed rather than concentrated unyieldingly in the hands of male organisational elites: such studies inspire alertness to Orangewomen's negotiated and subtly subversive strategies circumventing, as well as directly challenging, male authority.

¹¹⁶ M. Lindberg Falk, *Making fields of merit: Buddhist female aesthetics and gendered orders in Thailand*, (Copenhagen: NIAS, 2007), p.243

¹¹⁷ K.K. Klostermaier, *A survey of Hinduism*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), p.324

¹¹⁸ K.A. Raab, *When women become priests: the Catholic women's ordination debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), p.1

¹¹⁹ S. Morgan, 'Introduction' in S. Morgan (ed.), *Women, religion and feminism in Britain, 1750-1900*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p.1

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.13

¹²¹ E. Breitenbach and L. Abrams, 'Gender and Scottish Identity' in D. Simonton, E. Gordon, L. Abrams, and E.J. Yeo (eds.), *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), p.35

¹²² P.J. Walker, 'With fear and trembling': women, preaching and spiritual authority' in *Women, gender and religious cultures in Britain, 1800-1940*, (London: Routledge, 2010), p.97

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p.99

¹²⁴ P.J. Walker, *Pulling the devil's kingdom down: the Salvation Army in Victorian Britain*, (Berkeley: University of California, 2001), pp.7, 2 and 147

¹²⁵ Walker, 'With fear and trembling', p.106

Callum Brown's provocative *The death of Christian Britain* posits the post-1960s secularisation to be inextricably linked to 'the simultaneous de-pietisation of femininity and de-feminisation of piety'¹²⁶ as social norms shifted to delink women's sexuality from confines of religious 'respectability.' Prior to the 1950s, 'evangelicalisation pietised femininity' and women were regarded as possessing 'special qualities which placed them at the fulcrum of family sanctity.' Narratives of secularisation presupposed men, contrastingly, to be prone to 'moral weakness and innate temptations of masculinity.'¹²⁷ Brown's secularisation narrative thus constructs women – wielding moral suasion over children and men - as 'the principal source of explanation for the patterns of religiosity' in nineteenth and twentieth-century Britain.¹²⁸ This discourse – with its narrow definition of 'religion' as synonymous with Christian civic worship - however, neglects to address the gendered influence of other spiritual and fraternal movements upon society.

Dixon has noted the late Victorian and Edwardian explosion in occult societies including Co-masonry (1902) and the Theosophical Society (1877): membership of these ideologically compatible groupings often overlapped.¹²⁹ Understood as a reaction against the dialectic materialism and 'smug commercialism of the mid-Victorian era,'¹³⁰ Dixon avers, these societies proliferated during a time when rapid industrialisation, secularisation, urbanisation and the rise of socialism and Irish nationalism combined to shatter middle-class moral certainties triggering a 'profound identity crisis.'¹³¹ According to Dixon, the appeal of these organisations to their bourgeois, cosmopolitan female membership was located in both their esotericism and their 'feminist' denunciation of Christianity as a site of sexual oppression.¹³² These elitist organisations, concentrated in London, might be understood as the antithesis of Scottish women's Orangeism which was decidedly provincial, working-class, fiercely Protestant and evangelical: deferential to male authority, it owed its traditions more to rural Ulster than the English metropolis.

A further point of divergence from Orangeism was the anti-imperialist agendas of these occultist organisations: Co-Masons were committed to Indian nationalism whilst occultist members of the Theosophical Society, such as Charlotte Despard, were staunch devotees of Irish nationalism. In the context of Edwardian women's public life, the spiritual and the political were therefore often indistinguishably entwined, and religious ideologies (espousing the spiritual oneness of all living beings, karmic rebirth and the significance of psychic awakening over scriptural revelation), were instrumental in encouraging female members to reappraise existing power relations. As Leneman has shown, these esoteric philosophies also determined the specific causes which female activists united behind, including anti-vivisectionism, vegetarianism and suffragism, and acted as a catalyst

¹²⁶ C. Brown, *The death of Christian Britain: understanding secularisation, 1800-2000*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), p.192

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, pp.59 and 73

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, p.9

¹²⁹ J. Dixon, *The divine feminine: theosophy and feminism in England*, (Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp.81-82

¹³⁰ A. Taylor, *Annie Besant: a biography*, (Oxford: O.U.P., 1992), pp.329-330

¹³¹ E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*, (London: Sphere Press, 1987), p.10

¹³² Dixon, *The divine feminine*, pp.156 and 187

for women's revolutionary activism.¹³³ Conversely, as this thesis illustrates, Orange ideologies - supportive of the monarchy and the ascendancy of the Protestant state and stressing the importance of biblical doctrine over experiential phenomena - inspired Orangewomen's commitment to conservative politics.

This thesis therefore adds not only to histories of Orangeism, but also to Irish, Scottish and working-class women's historiography: it also engages the growing historiographical literatures of fraternal associational life and women's involvement in right-wing politics. Chapters four and six examine respectively the masculine and feminine iconographies of ritualism and media representations of Orangewomen: discussions of these themes enable this thesis to contribute insightfully to the histories exploring the gendered constructions of women in institutional and popular discourse. Because little has hitherto been published directly relating to Scottish women's Orangeism, this work will inevitably raise as many questions as it answers yet will hopefully stimulate interest and further research into in this under-investigated topic.

THESIS STRUCTURE

Chapter one concentrates upon the quantitative analysis of chronological and demographic trends in female Orangeism, before attention turns to a case study of Primrose Ladies' Loyal Orange Lodge (LLOL) 13, Cowcaddens from 1949 to 1990, assessing the occupational, class, age, and marital profile of new applications. This initial chapter directly addresses aims relating to the identification of Orangewomen's changing motivations for joining and leaving, and assesses the extent to which women's involvement can be linked to cross-generational family tradition and diasporic Irish Protestant kinship links. It also attempts to isolate variables underpinning the decline in membership since the mid-1950s. Feminist researchers have often preferred ethnographic to positivistic methods, rightly discerning statistics to be an ideological construct and 'social product'¹³⁴ rather than straight-forwardly objectively generated 'facts': acknowledging the validity of this observation, the focus of this chapter is very much upon assessing quantitative statistical data, yet this is supplemented and enriched by qualitative insights afforded by lodgewomen's oral testimonies.

The second chapter, conversely, adds to - and to some extent challenges - the conclusions of the first by exploration of Orangewomen's personal narratives to uncover the diverse reasons why women decide to join, remain and leave the lodge, and to chart the chronological shifts in their rehearsal of appropriate and respectable Orange 'femininities.' This chapter highlights the ways in which women's occupational, socio-economic and ethno-religious subjectivities were situationally rather than consistently enacted, in ways which reinforced and/or clashed with their identification

¹³³ L. Leneman, "The Awakened Instinct: vegetarianism and the women's suffrage movement in Britain," *Women's History Review*, 6, no.2, (1997), p.9

¹³⁴ G. Letherby, *Feminist research in theory and practice* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2003), p. 66

with the Orange Order. Evidence is measured against the same objectives as those examined in the previous chapter, albeit from a divergent methodological perspective to unearth fresh insights: whereas the first chapter considers master narratives of secularisation together with organisational variables - such as the supposed alienation of women by 'Ulsterisation' of the Order and licensing of Orange social clubs - to account for the post-1955 statistical decline in Scottish female Orangeism, the second chapter appropriates oral testimony to demonstrate some lodgewomen's transgressive embrace of stridently political 'femininities,' and the emergence of strongly patriotic and ethno-cultural (rather than specifically religious) allegiances, as continued stimuli for membership.

Orangewomen's subordinate organisational status, emanating from the Order's essentialist gendered ideologies of sexual difference, is discussed in the third chapter. The dual purpose of this chapter is, first, to examine the historical relationship between the male Grand Lodge and the Ladies' Association (and male and female lodges) and, secondly, to assess the ways in which institutional inequalities are discursively reproduced and legitimised. Critical discourse analysis of printed organisational documentation (including rule books, minutes and also oral history testimonies) is the preferred methodology used to deconstruct the dynamic interplay between dominant and counter-hegemonic Orange ideologies.

The fourth chapter focuses upon the close textual analysis of gendered Orange ritualism, which spiritually legitimises and enshrines sexual 'difference.' The emphasis is very much the illumination of the organisational justifications for the inequalities discussed in the previous chapter. The use of ritual texts and practices to reproduce, maintain and normalise institutional inequality, predicated upon conceptualisations of biologically immutable gender difference, is assessed. This chapter examines the iconic ways in which both public and private rites represent gender, with reference to both private lodge ritualism and the enforcement of gender-specific parading dress codes.

The development of what has been termed the 'charitable activism' of Orangewomen over a century is charted in chapter five. This chapter examines not only the extensive and indomitable benevolent and fundraising commitments of the sisters, addressing the question of the extent to which lodge sisters have participated in various social and political campaigns and other spiritual organisations. The focus is upon the ways in which this highly gendered 'work' has facilitated the elevation of, and/or delimited, their organisational standing, on the one hand enabling them to exhibit their talents and abilities; on the other, pigeon-holing and consigning them to the charitable sphere precluding possibilities for organisational advancement and occupation of male-only leadership positions. This chapter makes use of oral testimony, journal and newspaper articles and also secondary literature to address directly the aim of revealing women's unique contribution to the Orange Order in Scotland.

The final chapter investigates representations of Orangewomen both in institutional and national (print and broadcast) media, demonstrating the formulaic one-dimensionality of these gendered constructions, obscuring rather than celebrating individual subjectivity. The active engagement of Orangewomen with national press to publicise their agenda for organisational equality, as well as their agentic use of the 2009 Ladies' Centenary Brochure as a discursive platform to reappraise and reinvent their organisational function, is also discussed.

METHODOLOGY

This ethnographic research is based upon feminist epistemologies which assume gender does not exist as a way of being but rather is socially constructed, situationally and contextually enacted, and intersected by specificities of ethnicity, age, religiosity, occupation and class rather than an absolute, universal category. A dualistic approach examining both archival institutional and media documents, and conducting oral historical interviews, enabled this thesis to explore concerns pertaining to both gender and women's history. Each of these methods will now be discussed in turn.

Discourse Analysis

This method has been selected because of its emphasis on language as a site of reproduction of power and ideology: the close analysis of institutional texts through this critical lens invites insight into hegemonic gendered relations within Scottish Orangeism which are vital for exploring textual representations of Orangewomen and for understanding the ways in which sexual inequality is institutionalised and legitimised. This method is therefore vital for chapters exploring ritualism, the status of Orangewomen and mediated representations of the Sisters since it deepens understanding of the ways in which gendered power relations are discursively enacted and reproduced in institutional literature. Furthermore, it facilitates also the analysis of emergent countervailing discourses of resistance to the prevailing, accepted commonsensical ideologies of Orangeism and biologically inscribed sexual difference dominant within the Scottish Order. For instance, it provides a theoretical prism for the grouping and examination of articles, letters and also oral narratives which challenge gendered organisational structures and traditional notions of gender determinism to argue for a fuller and more inclusive role for Orangewomen from a variety of theoretical standpoints. Critical discourse analysis therefore offers a viable framework for comprehending the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic power bases of Orangeism and for assessing the extent to which these have developed over time.

As well as recovering the personal testimonies of Orangewomen, their construction of Orange identity and narratives of charitable activism, a central concern of this thesis is to explore gendered

inequality within the Orange Order. It therefore attempts, within an institutional remit, to ‘excavate the precise meanings that femininity and masculinity have carried in the past to demonstrate the evolution of those meanings over time.’¹³⁵ The task of gender history is thus not ‘merely adding women to an existing narrative whose outlines were familiar’ but deconstructing the social categories of ‘male’ and ‘female.’¹³⁶ This is achieved in this thesis via interrogation of patriarchal institutional discourses (ritual texts and internal publications) and representations in national print and broadcast media. Discourse analysis is therefore an apt technique for uncovering precisely ‘Whose interests are served, and whose interests are marginalised’ by hegemonic ideologies and by analysis of Orangewomen’s narratives of resistance to these dominant gendered discourses.¹³⁷

Feminist discourse analysis, as Lazar has argued, can ‘produce a rich and powerful political critique for action’ because hegemonic gender ideology often appears as ‘consensual’ and ‘acceptable’ by normalising the ‘power differential and inequality’ of relations between the sexes. Discourse analysis thus exposes the ideologies which posit the ‘two sexes’ as ‘inherently contrastive yet complementary’ and essentialise gender difference.¹³⁸ This thesis therefore assumes Orange organisational gender inequality to be ‘discursively enacted’, and deconstructs institutional and public conceptualisations of Orange ‘femininities’ accordingly via appropriation of this methodological tool.¹³⁹

Oral History

Thirty-eight oral history interviews were conducted: sixteen interviewees were current Scottish Orangewomen including the serving trustees and past Grand Mistresses of the Ladies’ Association. Five Orangemen were interviewed including two former Grand Masters. Four members of the Order of the Eastern Star and one flute bandsman were also interviewed for insight into related organisations with overlapping membership. Additionally the testimonies of four juveniles were used in this thesis to garner understanding of the changing intergenerational attitudinal and demographic profile of Orange membership. Three Irish and one English Orangewoman were interviewed to enable cross-cultural and interjurisdictional comparison.¹⁴⁰ Three former members - and one detractor hailing from an ‘Orange family’ yet opting never to join – were also interviewed to allow a balanced view of the institution to unfold.¹⁴¹

The oral history interviews are particularly relevant to chapters exploring women’s motivations for joining and leaving the lodge since they allow women to divulge their own unique experiences of

¹³⁵ L.L. Downs, *Why gender history?* (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2010), p.3

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.3

¹³⁷ Lisa Cosgrove and Maureen McHugh, ‘A Post-Newtonian, postmodern approach to science’ in S. Nagy Hesse-Buber and P. Leavy (eds.) *Handbook of emergent methods*, (New York: Guilford Press, 2010), pp.78-79

¹³⁸ M.M. Lazar, ‘Entitled to consume: post-feminist femininity and a culture of post-critique,’ *Discourse and Communication*, 3, no.4, (2009), pp.144 and 147

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.153

¹⁴⁰ Irish Grand Mistress Olive Whitten was unavailable for interview but emailed answers to interview questions

¹⁴¹ Sandra Stevens emailed her observations regarding her departure from the Order

the organisation. Additionally this method proved invaluable for deepening comprehension of the personal inspirations underpinning Orangewomen's impressive record of benevolence and political activism. However, extracts from these testimonies found their way into each of the chapters: the interviews with senior Orangemen were useful in garnering understanding of the ongoing debates around the gender-specificity of the sisters' organisational role and for demonstrating the broad range of opinions held by past and present Grand lodgemen. Interviews with the Orangewomen themselves also revealed the age-related, socio-economic and attitudinal diversity of the female membership regarding fervency of religiosity and political conviction and also in terms of the extent of their acceptance of or resistance to their own organisational subordination.

Used in conjunction with discourse analysis – which focused upon unpacking the hegemonic justifications used to legitimise and maintain sexual disparities and divisions – these self-narratives reveal more about the extent to which grassroots Orangewomen internalised and accepted such ideologies – for example, their responses to rules governing parading dress codes, their exclusion from the District Lodge and the interrelation between male and female lodges. These interviews therefore reveal much about the interface between these ideologies and the women whose lives they impact, and the extent of their potential to shape social interactions.

A 2006 correspondence to the Grand Lodge archivist from an English Orangeman lamented that Orangewomen 'didn't seem to be interested in their history,' and 'didn't care' about the historic documents in their possession and it was indeed revealed that many records had been thoughtlessly disposed of without appreciation of their significance.¹⁴² Indeed the dearth of female lodge records – deemed by both lodgewomen and Grand Lodge to be institutionally insignificant and therefore largely unpreserved – necessitated the use of oral testimony to plug these lacunae in documentary evidence. The significance of oral testimony in divulging that which is only hinted at in available written sources is illustrated in connection with the third chapter, which considers debates around Orangewomen's subaltern institutional status: reference was made during interviews to an attitudinal survey circulated to female lodges in 2006 to garner an appreciation of Orangewomen's responses to proposed changes in their status: survey data was unavailable, and thus interviews afforded a unique opportunity to develop some insight, however partial, from Grand Lodge officials as to the generic survey findings, and to discover the competing ideations of gender conceptually underpinning these debates. Because the struggle for Orangewomen to enter the District Lodge is ongoing, much Grand Lodge documentation might understandably be regarded as 'current business' rather than archival material, and thus inaccessible to the external researcher. Whilst it was proposed to archivist David Bryce that a further survey might be re-circulated by the researcher to current lodges, it was felt that 'it would be cumbersome' to secure 'Grand Lodge's

¹⁴² Kilpatrick, Cecil. Letter to David Bryce, MS. (Glasgow: GOLS archive, 15 September 2006)

permission.¹⁴³ Indeed it would also have, problematically, blurred the ethical and methodological boundaries between sociological and historical research, and thus the idea was jettisoned.

Indeed the topicality of the debate additionally burdens the researcher with a pressing responsibility to appropriate female oral testimonies ‘as a tool for empowering’ them ‘by bringing forth their voices’ to effectively document both ‘their experiences of discrimination’ and hidden forms of resistance.¹⁴⁴ However, this is counterbalanced by a need to recognise that both ‘narrator’s and interviewer’s agendas’ are separate and sometimes divergent, despite the recognition of ‘the feminism commitment to advocacy.’¹⁴⁵ Indeed, conceptualisations of oral history as straightforwardly ‘a voice to the voiceless, a narrative to the story-less and power to the marginalized’ are problematized by issues such as the unbridgeable ‘gap between the words spoken and the interpretation drawn from them by the scholar’ and the ‘power relations’ in the interview setting.¹⁴⁶

As Ryan acknowledged, in her oral history study of 1930s Irish female migrants to Britain, their narratives reveal only ‘what people are willing to retell’ it is clear that ‘what is told is not, necessarily, the same thing as what is remembered’¹⁴⁷ - adopting a similar approach, interviews conducted with Orangewomen enabled participants to dwell upon topics of personal significance rather than aggressively interrogating for answers. The concern of this thesis with comprehending the gendered nature of organisational life and the ways in which specificities of ethnicity, class, regionality, religiosity and age intersect personal narratives, required also an appreciation that lodgeworkers’ testimonies were sometimes interweaved with the dominant gendered organisational discourses they were simultaneously resisting.

Grand Mistress Rhona Gibson remarked upon the irony of the fact that an English non-member was researching the significance of women’s organisational role, whilst some of the brethren were tardy and remiss in acknowledging the worth of the sisters’ collective contributions¹⁴⁸: this attempt to establish female empathy and rapport to co-opt the research also increased the researcher’s awareness of the reasonable expectation that, to some extent, the findings might advocate for amelioration of Orangewomen’s status. Similarly, Patai’s interviews of poor Brazilian women cast her unwittingly as ‘the white foreigner who had come to provide assistance.’¹⁴⁹ Whilst there is an undoubted compassion for the sisters’ unequal standing within the institution, this is counterbalanced by recognition of the ways in which the organisation they serve and represent has sometimes been implicated in questionable and socially-divisive politics. Indeed ‘gender

¹⁴³ David Bryce, email to the author, 24 March 2013

¹⁴⁴ S. Berger Gluck, ‘Women’s oral history: is it so special?’ in T. Lee Charlton, L.E. Myers, and R. Sharpless (eds.) *Handbook of oral history*, (Oxford: Alta Mira Press, 2006), p.381

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, pp.381 and 378

¹⁴⁶ Abrams, *Oral history theory*, p.154

¹⁴⁷ Louise Ryan, ‘Moving spaces and changing places: Irish women’s memories of emigration to Britain the 1930s’, *Journal of ethnic and migration studies*, 29, no.1 (2003), pp.69-70

¹⁴⁸ Gibson, Rhona, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 21 March 2011

¹⁴⁹ L. Abrams, *Oral history theory*, (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 61

congruity' between interviewer and interviewee is often 'insufficient to create shared meanings' and barriers of class, ethnicity, age and religiosity can also prove impediments to understanding, rapport and trust.¹⁵⁰

The overarching concern of female interviewees to represent themselves not simply as individual women, but rather as mouthpieces for the organisation per se - often whilst paradoxically articulating their aversion to the gendered institutional status quo - expressed itself frequently through strategically deferential narratives of self-effacement, which showcased their talents and achievements whilst apportioning responsibility for these squarely on the shoulders of others. Isobel Campbell, for example, attributed her role as Chairwoman of the Anderson Community Council to the 'different people' who 'pushed me to get involved.'¹⁵¹ Indeed there was a sense in which some interviewees, acutely aware that their selection of words reflected upon the Order, carefully formulated 'a self' to 'be put on show and recorded,' inhibiting the spontaneity of their emergent self-narrative.¹⁵² Because participants were sometimes conscious of their reflection upon, and responsibility toward, the Order, very often the most revealing disclosures regarding Orange ritual, personnel and policy were divulged in private asides and off-the-record comments, thus raising ethical and intellectual conflicts between the desire to include pertinent information and the responsibility to honour confidentiality. Indeed, as Gluckmann aptly observed, oral historians often find that 'some people said the best things only after the tape recorder had been switched off.'¹⁵³

The voice this research affords Orangewomen – although sympathetic - is therefore strongly mediated and shaped towards the fulfilment of research aims and predetermined criteria rather than the advancement of any partisan politicised agenda. Blee's oral history of Klan women¹⁵⁴ and Koontz's study of the personal narratives of Nazi women¹⁵⁵ both 'struggled to avoid appearing to condone or empower their subjects while still seeking to understand them.'¹⁵⁶ In her study of American Klan women, Blee owned her 'unwillingness to violate the tenuous empathy that propelled the interviews along' and admitted she found many of her interviewees to be 'interesting, intelligent and well informed' whilst condemning their 'dogmas of nationalism, racial hierarchies or Christian supremacy.'¹⁵⁷ Similarly - although ideological comparison between these perniciously extreme racial ideologies and Orangeism is definitely not suggested - this study sought to balance the author's empathetic recognition of, and desire to redress, women's institutional inequality with

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.121

¹⁵¹ Campbell, Isobel, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 21 March 2011

¹⁵² Abrams, *Oral history theory*, p.60

¹⁵³ M. Gluckmann, 'The work of knowledge and the knowledge of women's work' in M. Maynard and J. Purvis (eds.), *Researching women's lives from a feminist perspective*, (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 1994), p.162

¹⁵⁴ K.M. Blee, *Women of the Klan: racism and gender in the 1920s* (California: University of California Press, 1991)

¹⁵⁵ C. Koontz, *Mothers in the fatherland: women, the family and Nazi politics*, (London: Routledge, 2013)

¹⁵⁶ L. Klopfer, 'Oral history and archives in the new South Africa: methodological issues', *Archivaria*, 52, (2001), p.110

¹⁵⁷ K.M. Blee, 'Evidence, empathy and ethics: lessons from oral histories of the Klan', *The Journal of American History*, 80, no.2 (September 1993), pp.604-605, and 600

awareness that the ideologies of the Order are often controversially and censoriously considered provocatively ‘sectarian.’

Whilst some chapters – such as those concerned with ritual and media make limited use of oral testimonies (concentrating instead upon representations of Orangewomen within institutional and public discourses), these personal narratives especially illuminate chapters one, two and five expressly relating to Orangewomen’s personal identity and their charitable activism. Orangewomen’s testimonies feature within the first chapter for illustrative purposes (although the focus chiefly rests upon quantitative rather than qualitative data) and in the third chapter they are explored as a counter-hegemonic discourse in the absence of documentary sources generated by the grassroots female membership. Interview data is therefore collated thematically rather than enabling individual women to unravel their story, since this seemed the clearest means of relating data directly to the aforementioned objectives.

Thirty-eight men and women were interviewed including contemporary members, juveniles, former members, detractors, and members of affiliated or related organisations. Questions directed to respondents were open-ended and varied slightly depending on the office, age and length of service of the interviewee, but generally included: their motivations for joining, family connections to the Order, kinship connections to Ireland and Ulster, their external charitable and political commitments, involvement with other organisations, their attitude toward gender-specific issues (dress codes and women’s entry to the District meeting), what they liked and disliked about Orangeism, their experience with the brethren, interjurisdictional connections with fellow Orangewomen and special or outstanding memories of their involvement. Questions were also specifically tailored towards the ladies’ trustees (who were asked about their roles, responsibilities, achievements and their vision for the future of the institution), juveniles (questions were framed in what they enjoyed about Orangeism, dislikes, attitudes of friends and family towards their involvement, views and opinions on women’s role within the Order, and the dynamics of mixed-sex lodge operated), former members (which focused upon their reasons for leaving, experiences of the Order and what – if anything – might induce their restoration to the lodge), male executives (quizzed regarding the status of the Orangewomen, their attitudes toward change and also their experiences and motivations during their term of office) and female trustees in English and Irish jurisdictions (also asked about their relationship with Scottish Orangewomen and the brethren in their own jurisdiction). In order to contextualise Scottish women’s Orangeism, interviews with sisters in neighbouring jurisdictions occurred in Liverpool and Dungannon: these are comparatively alluded to, rather than discussed in their entirety, to illuminate the central focus of *Scottish* lodgewomen. Members of affiliated organisations – such as the Order of the Eastern Star (OES) and the flute bands – were posed similar questions enabling these organisations to be contrasted and compared with Orangeism and pertaining to overlapping ideologies and personnel. Interviews

were semi-structured, also enabling interviewees considerable leeway to shape their self-disclosure and steer proceedings towards their particular preferences.

Goodall et al conducted recent oral history interviews to ascertain insight into Scottish women's attitudes and experiences of sectarianism, found women initially reluctant to admit its impact upon their lives, yet many admitted altering their plans to avoid encountering football crowds on the days of Old Firm matches, illustrating the ways in which specific experiential rather than abstract and generic questions elicit more reflexive, non-formulaic and considered responses.¹⁵⁸ The thorny issue of the Order's alleged 'sectarianism' was never directly broached in Orange interviews because of the need to establish and maintain a degree of rapport and empathy, which might easily be jeopardised by a confrontational style of questioning.

Although never raised by the interviewer, the question of the sectarian allegations levelled at the Order predictably arose during numerous interviews, and was often met with one of two reflex responses: firstly the unequivocal attribution of the charge to the 'bad press' the Order attracts¹⁵⁹ and/or secondly the assertion that it is the Roman Catholic Church, rather than individual Catholics, that remains the target of the Order's animosity and critique. The latter rebuttal reflects MacPherson's observation that 'most of my interviewees were, however, eager to stress that, while they might be opposed to the teachings and doctrines of the Catholic Church, many of their friends were Catholic.'¹⁶⁰ Underlying the apparent casuistry of this argument parroted by interviewees was frequently, however, a sincerity reflected in the heartfelt assertion of Isobel Campbell – whose family is religiously mixed - that 'we are all Christian at the end of the day' and her insistence she was raised to 'respect other people's views.'¹⁶¹ Ulster Orangewoman Joan Beggs also earnestly maintained 'the Ladies' Orange Institution is the only organisation I know that promises not to give offence to the Catholic neighbour' and asserted 'it's not the people you are against, it is the religion.'¹⁶² Her Scottish sister Jackie Knox was, however, more forthright in her irreverent admission that 'We have got members that are idiots' and 'join it because they think we are going to sacrifice a Catholic at the meeting' but, hailing from a denominationally diverse family, she evidently adopted a more tolerant and accepting pan-Christian approach to Catholicism.¹⁶³ Thus the women did, to some extent, inevitably engage with the unavoidable topic of 'sectarianism.' Their responses were never goaded, manipulated or provoked, in line with ethical 'feminist principles of oral history.'¹⁶⁴ The divergent narratives of individual women were frequently interlinked by common reiterations of institutionally-appropriate phrases which blur the boundaries

¹⁵⁸ K. Goodall and M. Malloch, 'Women, football and communities: gendered conceptualisations of 'sectarianism' in J. Flint and J. Kelly (eds.) *Bigotry, football and Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), pp. 171, 173, 175

¹⁵⁹ Knox, Jackie, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 8 February 2013; Gibson, Rhona, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 21 March 2011; Logan, Jean, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 22 March 2011

¹⁶⁰ D.A.J. MacPherson, 'Personal narratives of family and ethnic identity: Orangewomen in Scotland and England, c.1940-2010,' *Immigrants and minorities*, 32, no.1 (2013)

¹⁶¹ Campbell, Isobel, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

¹⁶² Beggs, Joan, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Dungannon, 28 February 2013

¹⁶³ Knox, Jackie, oral history interview, 8 February 2013

¹⁶⁴ Blee, 'Evidence, empathy and ethics', p.604

between rehearsing the official 'line' and individual subjectivity and authentic self-expression. Since it is impossible to disentangle responses from a 'desire to appear acceptable' and the inevitable 'political agenda' and bias of members, it is likely that 'evidence' of oral testimony is both 'revelatory and unreliable.'¹⁶⁵ Whilst Orangewomen are, to some extent, implicated in perpetuating the ideologies which, perhaps divisively, valorise Protestant ascendancy and construct them as subordinate, the interviewer is situated as simultaneously empathetic with their plight as women yet, as a non-member, ideologically distant.

In her ground-breaking study of the life histories of Turin workers under fascism, Passerini discovered that whole life stories often glossed and minimised reference to the impingement of the regime upon their personal lives, which she attributes not only to a 'profound wound' in the psyche, but also an internalised individual acceptance of fascist authority as normative.¹⁶⁶ Her research highlights also the importance of the ways in which these workers 'pro-fascist sentiments' were disguised in interviews 'within dedications expressing dissociation or distance from the regime.'¹⁶⁷ She illustrates also the importance of 'rumours, subversive writings and anonymous protests' as symbolic forms of resistance to the state.¹⁶⁸ Passerini's research into an unrelated topic is pertinent here because the purpose of this thesis is to uncover the ways in which Orange hegemonic gendered ideologies are rendered commonsensical and natural and thus accepted by female members, and also because it enables a model for charting and disentangling the ebbs and flows of their subversion and compliance.

Interviewees were kindly procured by Grand Mistress, Rhona Gibson, and archivist David Bryce. A cross-section of interviewees were selected according to age, rank, attitudinal outlook, encompassing a broad spectrum of both sisters and brethren. However, in order to understand the motives of former Orangewomen in leaving the Order, adverts were placed in national newspapers, local circulars and via Glasgow Women's Library's social media, resulting in three face-to-face interviews – discussed in the second chapter - and a handful of email responses. Whilst this attempt to attract past affiliates and detractors added another enriching layer to the project - and interesting counterpoint to the testimonies of current members - it also, understandably, risked alienating the very Orangewomen and men that had assisted so generously with securing original interviewees and thus raised ethical concerns. Furthermore, since interviewees responding to public advertisements were largely self-selecting their 'representativeness' is impossible to demonstrate, and their motivations for wishing to discuss their testimonies might reasonably be questioned. When the Grand Mistress discovered adverts soliciting interviews with former members, they kindly offered to accommodate these meetings at Grand Lodge and to provide a

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, pp.598-599

¹⁶⁶ L. Passerini, 'Work, ideology and consensus under Italian fascism' in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds.), *The oral history reader*, (London: Routledge, 1998), pp.58-60

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p.129

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p.70

‘trustee of the ladies on hand so to speak in case the lady in question may wish to speak with us.’¹⁶⁹ However the interviews with former members were all conducted prior to this date and it was felt that arranging to meet at the headquarters of the Order might dissuade ex-Orangewomen from participating.

Another issue requiring considerable ethical negotiation was the interviewing of Orange juveniles. Authorisation to conduct interviews was granted by London Metropolitan University’s Ethics Committee.¹⁷⁰ Additional consent forms securing parental/guardian permission prior to the interviews were completed and these meetings were conducted in small ‘focus’ groups to enable the young women to feel more comfortable and enable them to collaboratively discuss issues. Because of the age-related subjectivities and vulnerabilities of these participants, these interviews constitute an insubstantial portion of the research data, but nevertheless corroborate and challenge findings, and prove invaluable in charting generational change and/or continuity.

Interviews were undertaken with Grand Lodge brethren, flute bandsmen and male members of the Eastern Star, reflecting the preoccupation of this thesis with the gendered history of Orangeism in addition to recounting the organisational subjectivities of individual sisters. Linguistic and stylistic differences in male and female narratives reportedly suggest ‘women’s everyday talk tends to be more cooperative and collaborative’ than men’s more linear communication which often attempts ‘to entertain within a hierarchical context.’¹⁷¹ This has clear implications for an organisation with a rigidly delineated, unequal patriarchal structure and therefore a different strategic focus was adopted for interviewing sisters and brethren: whilst Orangewomen’s interviews were more holistic and centred around women’s personal experiences of Orangeism - and concerned with recovering their sometimes contradictory subjectivity and reflexivity - the interviews with the brethren (most of whom were senior Grand Lodgemen) instead concentrated upon better comprehending their interaction with the sisters and attitudes towards sexual equality within the Order. Despite the relative historical and sociological rarity of cross-gender studies, it is important to explore the cross-referential constructions of ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ rather than to consider ‘only the subjugated sex’ and, to some extent, this study succeeds in fulfilling this brief.¹⁷² Occasionally interviews with senior Orangemen succinctly captured their lack of self-aware reflexivity in their decidedly chauvinistic comments thinly veiled in ideologies of sexual difference and complementarity.¹⁷³ These interviews tended to either downplay or trivialise women’s contribution or, conversely, to represent Orangewomen as decidedly militant and domineering.¹⁷⁴ Therefore it is important to research ‘the powerful as well as the powerless’ in order to comprehend the

¹⁶⁹ Rhona Gibson, email to the author, 30 November 2012

¹⁷⁰ Tom Boyle, email to the author, 13 April 2011

¹⁷¹ Abrams, *Oral history theory*, p.119

¹⁷² S. Leydesdorff, L. Passerini, and P.R. Thompson, *Gender and memory*, (New Brunswick: Fourth publishing, 2009), p.7

¹⁷³ Bain, Magnus, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 15 February 2013

¹⁷⁴ For an instance of the former see Bain, Magnus, oral history interview, 15 February 2013; for the latter, see McGimpsey, Chris, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 27 July 2012

structuring of Orangewomen's experiences in a male world and their institutional relationship to men as well as to patriarchal discourse.¹⁷⁵

In addition to the study of male and female oral 'testimony as discourse,' this project attempts also to assess women's personal narratives as keys to their subjective reflexivity.¹⁷⁶ Whilst the heterogeneity and plurality of Orangewomen is accepted, acknowledgement of 'the forms of oppression and interests which divide as well as unite' females need 'not eschew the broader feminist political project of emancipation and social justice for women.'¹⁷⁷ This is especially important, given the accentuated institutionally-engrained sexual inequalities of Orangeism, which demand collective as well as individual redress. Thus the aims of this study are dually and simultaneously both those of women's and gender history: on the one hand, the 'subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, ways in which frequently taken-for-granted assumptions and hegemonic power relations are discursively produced, sustained, negotiated and challenged'¹⁷⁸ are examined, whilst on the other understandings of the unique intersections of Orangewomen's subjectivities by specificities of age, class, geographical location and societal position is explored.

¹⁷⁵ Maynard, 'Methods, practice and epistemology', p.15

¹⁷⁶ Gluckmann, 'The work of knowledge and the knowledge of women's work', p.160

¹⁷⁷ M.M. Lazar, 'Feminist critical discourse analysis: articulating a feminist discourse praxis', *Critical Discourse Studies*, 4, no.2 (August 2007), pp.148-149

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p.142

CHAPTER 1

THE CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS OF SCOTTISH WOMEN'S ORANGEISM

This chapter attempts to explore shifting trends in the socio-economic, aged, occupational, marital, denominational and ethno-religious profile of Orangewomen in the latter half of the twentieth-century. Additionally, peaks and troughs of membership, social, work and church-based local and migratory networks of informal recruitment to the Order, and reasons offered for female suspension and expulsion are considered herein. The local - and previously untapped - dataset of application and transfer certificates, 1949-1990, from Cowcaddens Primrose LLOL13 form the basis of a small-scale case study: statistical findings – although unrepresentative and unextrapolatable - are mobilised to support and/or challenge the wider demographic trends in Orangeism identified by previous researchers, confirming or refuting their accuracy, comprehensiveness and validity.

Commencing with a brief examination of statistical data personally compiled from Grand Lodge annual reports, this chapter seeks to establish gendered membership-wide joining trends over time. Initially, reasons are sought for the unprecedented growth in female Orangeism in the early decades of the twentieth-century. The discussion of generic expulsion and suspension data which follows adds contextualising local insight and illuminates some of the manifold ways in which organisational identification might be compromised by the intersection of marital, political or personal subjectivities. This is followed by a detailed case study of Cowcaddens Lodge data, reflecting upon the extent to which this data confirms or undermines the conclusions of previous quantitative researchers and historians. Speculative reasons for the marked post-1955 decline in female members - in the institution as a whole and reflected in LLOL 13 statistics – is the final topic to receive evaluation. Although this chapter is interspersed with insights from oral testimony to contextualise and explain numerical findings, it focuses decidedly upon the quantitative, since a qualitative analysis of Orangewomen's hybrid identities and organisational subjectivities follows in the subsequent chapter.

Following the inauguration of the first female Scottish lodge in 1909, membership continually soared and during the 1930s Orangewomen numerically outstripped brethren. Women's lodges flourished and peaked in the mid-1950s before entering a period of steady stagnation and decline.¹ That juvenile membership developed largely in tandem - albeit peaking a little later in the late 1960s before adherents started to fall away² - perhaps underscores the centrality of Orangewomen's gendered role as superintendents of youth lodges: as Past Grand Mistress (PGM) Helyne MacLean has affirmed, 'Orangewomen undoubtedly play the greater influence in moulding' the 'Juvenile movement.'³ Male membership suffered inevitable losses following both world wars, but grew

¹ Kaufmann, 'The Orange Order in Scotland since 1860', p. 174

² *Ibid.*, p.15

³ H. MacLean, 'The sash my mother wore', *Centenary Brochure*, (Glasgow: GOLs, 2009), p.9

steadily peaking in 1987 before enduring a steady yet sustained deterioration in lodge membership.⁴ Possible explanations for gendered differentials in rise and decline are now considered.

THE ASCENT OF FEMALE LODGES

During the first decade of female Orangeism, Grand Lodge proactively encouraged districts to install female lodges, urged lodgewomen to ‘aim at doubling’ their membership and tabled – yet ultimately rejected – proposals to confer competitive awards upon the lodge with the greatest annual increase.⁵ Despite the ambivalence and/or hostility of many of the male rank and file – one Glasgow brother argued in 1910 ‘what our Order wants is young men, not young women’⁶ – female membership thrived, especially in Glasgow and the west-central belt of Scotland.⁷ This pre-war growth was also mirrored by an increase in female warrants in the north of England from 14 in 1881 to 53 in 1915 – the bulk of which were installed in Liverpool.⁸ Similarly, by 1915 Scotland boasted 49 ladies’ lodges.⁹ The fact that the Scottish Orangewomen had vastly multiplied female lodges in just six years (whilst their English counterparts had taken thirty-four years to accrue similar gains) is testimony to the strength of their early determination to swell their ranks and also the intensity of Grand Lodge’s dedication to solidify female Orangeism. These coterminous parallel national increases, moreover, suggest growth to have been largely attributable to wider attitudinal shifts in the status of women which, as MacPherson acknowledges, paved the way for greater female involvement in public life in the early decades of the century.¹⁰ Culturally-specific or local variables were therefore of seemingly lesser significance in impacting membership.

The slight torpor in the development of female lodges between 1914 and 1916 is in all probability accounted for by Orangewomen’s considerable wartime charitable and occupational exertions, which left them little energy to devote to initiating and maintaining active lodges.¹¹ This proved, however, only a temporary glitch, and female lodges began to increase again in 1917: indeed women’s Orangeism proved buoyant throughout the 1920s and, by 1931, the number of sisters considerably exceeded that of the brethren, particularly following a dramatic decline in men’s lodges in 1922.¹² This perhaps reflects changes in women’s societal status heralded by the extensions of the female franchise in 1918 and 1928, and the ‘increased range of employment opportunities’ open to Scottish women during the interwar years.¹³ Men’s Orangeism had ‘rebounded strongly’ after the war, possibly due to the sectarian controversy surrounding the 1918

⁴ Kaufmann, ‘The Orange Order in Scotland since 1860’, p.173

⁵ Grand Lodge, Reports of Proceedings, 1911-1912, p.65; 1914-1915, p. 94; 1915-1916, p.16; 1918-1919, p. 55

⁶ Bro. McLean, ‘Female Orange Lodges’, *Belfast Weekly News*, June 1910

⁷ See Tables 1.1 & 1.2, Appendix A; MacPherson, D.A.J., ‘The emergence of women’s Orange lodges in Scotland’, p.7

⁸ MacPherson and MacRailld ‘Sisters of the brotherhood’, p.47

⁹ Table 1.1, Appendix A

¹⁰ MacPherson, ‘The emergence of women’s Orange lodges in Scotland’, p.8

¹¹ Table 1.1, Appendix A

¹² Table, 1.2, Appendix A

¹³ Hughes, *Gender and political identities in Scotland*, p. 37

Education (Scotland) Act¹⁴ and indeed MacPherson has tentatively, yet convincingly, attributed the spectacular decline in male lodges just four years later to a ‘severe depression’ in Clydeside industrial shipbuilding.¹⁵

The 1922 closure of many male lodges coincided with the impressive growth of female lodges, resulting in a noticeable institutional backlash: indeed 1920s organisational discourse dramatically switches from encouraging the growth of ladies’ lodges toward disparaging critique of the supposed decline in the moral calibre of female initiates, cautioning sisters to better scrutinise prospective candidates.¹⁶ In 1927, Grand Lodge raised the price of female lodge warrants to £2, perhaps in attempt to erect an economic barrier to these rapidly-emergent hubs of female Orangeism.¹⁷ Annmarie Hughes has argued the ‘economic stagnation of the 1920s’ to have threatened male breadwinning status and privilege, exacerbating symbiotic tensions between the sexes and proliferating ‘the idea that women were usurping men,’ which culminated in ‘considerable misogyny’ in the workplace, political area and local community.¹⁸ It is therefore possible that Grand Lodge perceived the female outstripping of male Orange lodges as a potentially emasculating challenge to its patriarchal hegemony.

SUSPENSIONS, EXPULSIONS AND POLITICAL RADICALISATION

These gendered anxieties are indeed reflected in the inflated number of expulsions and suspensions from 1912 to 1927, which seem to increase conspicuously throughout the 1920s.¹⁹ Although the private lodge’s Worthy Mistress possessed the discretionary power to apply these penalties, she would have been operating under the watchful scrutiny of a male District Master present in the lodge –as chapter three elucidates - and indeed the rules she was charged with enforcing were devised by a male Grand Lodge. The sheer range of ‘offences’ reflect Orangewomen’s diversity, and range from the petty criminal (embezzlement of lodge funds, theft of firewood) to the sexually transgressive (bigamy, contracting marriage with a Roman Catholic) to the mundane (non-payment of dues or non-attendance) to the openly subversive (insubordination, profane or violent conduct). Reasons for resignation and restoration to the lodge are never stated, and indeed explanations for expulsions, suspensions or rejection are obfuscated in Grand Lodge reports after 1926.

Various misdemeanours are enigmatically and euphemistically codified as ‘unworthy’ conduct, ‘breach of obligation’ or ‘immorality’ and this indeterminate phraseology might allude to sexual misdeeds, insobriety or general violation of a specific law or ordinance: Matt Houlbrook has linked the ‘anxieties surrounding the moral status of public women’ and the proliferation of fears of

¹⁴ Kaufmann, ‘The Orange Order in Scotland since 1860’, pp.172-173

¹⁵ MacPherson, ‘The emergence of women’s Orange lodges in Scotland’, p.7

¹⁶ Grand Lodge, Report of Proceedings, 1923-1924, p.59

¹⁷ LOAS, Conference, 8 October 1927, p.6

¹⁸ Hughes, *Gender and political identities in Scotland*, p.3

¹⁹ Table 1.2, Appendix A

'female sexual deviance' during the twenties to urban modernity and the increasingly 'gendered consumer market.'²⁰ It is indeed likely that some of these expulsions related to suspected sexual 'transgression.' The ambiguity of classification – combined with the fact that penalties for offences were unevenly and arbitrarily applied – renders the quantification of this data problematic and the paucity of any explanatory narrative context, obscures the likely collaborative nature of many of these women's 'offences.' In 1915 for example, it is highly probable that two women of LLOL 24 expelled for supporting a socialist candidate partook in a mutual activism. It is probable also that both of the women expelled from LLOL 4 for violating Protestant endogamy by marrying Catholics in 1926 were reciprocally emotionally supportive, aware their union would render them organisational pariahs.²¹ Marriage to, or even 'keeping company with,' a Catholic seems to have unequivocally incurred the penalty of expulsion. Mixed-marriage constituted not only a breach of endogamous Orange ideology, but also cast doubt upon the sincerity of an Orangewoman's oath to raise her children within the Reformed faith.²² Collectively, these constitutional infringements might be read as acts of resistance to the pervasiveness of Grand Lodge hegemonic power - extending far beyond the remit of the lodge into the personal lives of Orangewomen - and subversion of its sexually-conservative discourses of female domesticity.

The data pertaining to suspension and expulsion reveals a spate of expulsions in 1924-5 for supporting socialist candidates.²³ The Order had always maintained a strong visceral allegiance to the Conservatives, and working-class Protestants often 'voted Tory despite their economic interests.'²⁴ Yet, as Kaufmann observes, despite its potential electoral strength, the Order 'had little influence' over party policy 'owing to the power of cross-cutting [class] cleavages and the fact that sectarian issues had little resonance outside specific working-class locales in west-central Scotland.'²⁵ Angered by the Unionist (as the Conservatives are often termed in Scotland) complicity in the partitioning Irish Treaty of 1921, the Order withdrew its party political support and formed its own - 'short-lived' and electorally unsuccessful - Orange and Protestant Party (OPP) - in a vain attempt to disrupt emergent class politics by substituting socio-economic with sectarian allegiance.²⁶ After the historic success of the Independent Labour Party (ILP) in the 1922 local elections, Grand Lodge condemnation of members engaged in class politics intensified, and the following year the constitution was amended to compel the expulsion of any member allying themselves with the political left.²⁷ Virulent Orange anti-labour propaganda, and imposition of harsh penalties, was insufficient, however, to contain an awakening class-consciousness in an era

²⁰ M. Houlbrook, *Queer London: perils and pleasures in the sexual metropolis, 1918-1957*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006), pp.10 and 148

²¹ Table 1.2, Appendix A

²² Grand Lodge, Report of Proceedings, 1922, p.16

²³ Table 1.2, Appendix A

²⁴ E.P. Kaufmann, *Shall the religious inherit the earth? Demography and politics in the twenty-first century*, (London: Profile Books, 2010), p.185

²⁵ Kaufmann, 'The Orange Order in Scotland since 1860', p.181

²⁶ G. Walker, *Intimate strangers: political and cultural interaction between Scotland and Ulster in modern times*, (Edinburgh: John Donald publishers, 1995), p.67

²⁷ Walker, 'The Orange Order in Scotland between the wars,' pp.181 and 187

of increased 'Red Clydeside' agitation and political militancy.²⁸ Orange male membership shrivelled and longstanding Protestant-Unionist affiliations were severely tested.²⁹ At the 1926 LOAS Conference proposals were discussed, but ultimately rejected, to debar the wives of men who 'hold the political views of socialism, communism' or the Scottish Labour Party from entering the institution.³⁰ Ideological fault lines deepened as ethno-religious and class politics conflicted and collided with gendered subjectivity.

In 1925, Unionist MP Lt. Col. McInnes Shaw had been elected Grand Master – he served as an MP from 1925-1929 and remained at the Order's helm until 1946 - which helps account for the Order's preoccupation with undermining class politics and indeed for the spate of female expulsions for labour activism during a 1925 internal purge of political dissidents.³¹ Annmarie Hughes has called attention to the extent of Scottish working-class women's political involvement with numerous interconnected left-wing organisations during the 1920s, including the ILP, Women's Co-operative Guild, the Clydebank Co-operative Society, the Community Party and the National Unemployed Worker's Movement.³² Similarly McIvor has argued that women's trade union membership significantly increased during the 1930s, despite the entrenched 'sexist values' of the movement,³³ signalling the steady radicalisation of working-class women during the interwar years. However, the numbers of expulsions for these 'offences' after 1925 were relatively few, indicating that women either prioritised sectarian over class politics, or that their activism was surreptitious and undetected within the lodge, requiring considerable cognitive dissonance and fragmentation of their socio-economic and ethno-religious subjectivities. After 1926 Grand Lodge reports decline to supply explanation for expulsions, obscuring the extent to which Orangewomen continued to participate in the politics of the left. Whatever the case, the proportion of dismissals for this and a host of other 'offences' proved insufficient to counterbalance the sharp rise in female membership during the 1920s.

THE POPULARITY OF FEMALE ORANGEISM

MacPherson links this expansion of female membership specifically with women's collective 'entry into the public world of work' and the 'marginally improved opportunities for employment' enjoyed by some Glaswegian and west-central Scottish women.³⁴ Over the course of a decade, the number of female members of the Order had leapfrogged from 3852 in 1921 to 8707 in 1931, for the first time outnumbering brethren who totalled 8308.³⁵ The 'Scotch Orange News' pages of the *Belfast Weekly News* - facilitating diasporic Orange connections between Scotland and Ireland - are

²⁸ W. Kenefick, *Red Scotland: the rise and fall of the radical left, 1872-1932*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p.15

²⁹ Walker, 'The Orange Order in Scotland between the wars', pp.189-190

³⁰ LOAS, Conference, 9 October 1926

³¹ Table 1.2, Appendix A

³² Hughes, *Gender and political identities in Scotland*, pp. 48-49

³³ A. McIvor, 'Gender apartheid?: Women in Scottish society' in T.M. Devine and R.J. Finlay (eds.), *Scotland in the twentieth century*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p.203

³⁴ MacPherson, 'The emergence of women's Orange lodges in Scotland', p.9

³⁵ *Ibid*, p.7

replete with examples of new lodge installations amidst sizeable mixed-sex gatherings.³⁶ In 1932, anniversary celebrations of LLOL 37 attracted, from the length and breadth of Scotland, over four hundred female visitors, and a further hundred women were reportedly unable to gain admittance to the overcrowded venue.³⁷ The popularity amongst both sisters and brethren of social and celebratory events hinged upon female Orangeism - and the high prevalence of inter-lodge visitation during the 1930s - reveals a thriving organisational culture which afforded Orangewomen the opportunity to regionally extend their social networks far beyond their immediate locale. At a female lodge meeting of 1937, a brother calculated there to be 'close upon 200 women's lodges alone, all active' and pondered their 'influence and power' in representing 'all that Protestantism stood for.'³⁸

Indeed a song penned the following year, succinctly captured the rapid development of Scottish women's Orangeism in its opening quatrain:

'The Orange cause is booming strong
Since the ladies joined the Order, O!
They gained large numbers all along
From the centre to the border, O!' ³⁹

The ditty's hyperbolic narrative applauds the collective resolve and single-mindedness of Orangewomen in resisting both 'Jesuit plot' and 'Bishops rage' and represents women's lodges as sites of 'loyalty and progress.' The source of the song, however, is likely to have been English - as allusion to 'ladies' lodges' which 'come to bide' throughout 'old England wide,' and phrases such as 'our English girls shine/bright as pearls' would suggest. Moreover the use of the vernacular term 'lasses' - a term of popular endearment in the North of England where female lodges existed since the later decades of the nineteenth century - cumulatively indicate the song to have been directly imported from south of the border. Nevertheless the chorus - set to the tune of Burn's Scottish ode 'Green grow the rushes, O!' - celebrates the indomitability of British Orangewomen in swelling their ranks, and illustrates also the value of their perceived collective contribution to the Order. The chorus is revealing also, then, of the cultural cross-fertilization of English and Scottish women's lodges - as chapter three details, Scottish women's Orangeism began with the 1909 initiation of some Scottish sisters into a Newcastle lodge - and their coterminous growth. Indeed female members of the Jarrow and Hebburn District constituted 40% of the total membership in 1932, having grown from 17% of the membership in 1908.⁴⁰

³⁶ 'Rutherglen New Ladies' Lodge', *Belfast Weekly News*, 17 September 1931

³⁷ 'Johnston - Anniversary Gathering of Ladies' LOL No. 37', *Belfast Weekly News*, September 1932

³⁸ 'Wishaw Ladies' LOL No.3', *Belfast Weekly News*, 11 March 1937

³⁹ N. Graham, 'The Ladies' Orange Lodges', *The Orange Song Book: a New Collection of Orange Verse, Traditional and Modern*, (Glasgow: GOLS, 1938)

⁴⁰ MacPherson and MacRaid, 'Sisters of the brotherhood', p. 50

Women's Orangeism remained strong throughout, or perhaps because of, the Second World War: as Putnam has observed, war often injects 'a powerful boost to fraternal associations appealing to the spirit of camaraderie and mutual sacrifice.'⁴¹ Wartime privations rallied women of shared faith, patriotism and ideals under the banner of Orangeism and offered comfort, solace and female companionship during the prolonged absence of male kin. Honorary Deputy Grand Master (HDGM) Frank Dorrian informed female delegates at the 1942 Ladies' Conference that they must be 'more loyal than ever before' to keep weaker lodges afloat so that 'when the war was over they would have a membership that would make the Orange voice heard and felt.'⁴² He also represented the war allegorically in highly jingoistic rhetoric, vilifying Germany as an 'unscrupulous force that was void of honesty and truth' and reassuring the sisters that 'truth and righteousness would prevail'⁴³: these rallying discourses unified and galvanised sisters in opposition to a common foe. Shared charitable efforts in support of the troops and the Red Cross, moreover, ensured Orangewomen were collaboratively knitted together rather than riven apart during national distress: the appropriation of the lodge as organisational hub for these activities thus kept the flame of female Orangeism alive during these difficult years.

PRIMROSE LLOL 13, COWCADDENS: 1942-1990

In the absence of comprehensive data sets for each private lodge, the file of new applications and transfer certificates for Primrose Ladies' Lodge, Cowcaddens, represents a particularly rare primary source⁴⁴: the file, housed centrally at Grand Lodge, contains two batches of application forms –carefully designed to elicit different information – the first dating from 1949-1962⁴⁵ and the second from 1958-1990.⁴⁶ A further file of certificates requesting transfer into the lodge is also contained therein, spanning 1942-1987.⁴⁷

The volume of new applications to the lodge proved highest during the first five years of the 1950s.⁴⁸ Kaufmann attributes 'interethnic competition between Protestants and Catholics' to be the significant impetus for increases in Orange membership between the 1920s and the 1960s, but also cites the importance of the Order as a vehicle for maintaining a distinct Irish Protestant identity, asserting post-1970 membership levels to be 'more firmly tied to family tradition than sectarian competition.'⁴⁹ Whilst there is a high concentration of male Orangeism in Cowcaddens,⁵⁰ a 'significant number' of Catholic families have remained resident in the ward since the interwar

⁴¹ R.D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: the collapse and revival of American community*, (London: Simon & Schuster, 2000), p.268

⁴² LOAS, Conference, 11 April 1942, p.5

⁴³ *Ibid*, p.5

⁴⁴ MacPherson examined a similar dataset of application forms for 'Scotland's First' Ladies' Lodge (FLOL 1) from 1920-30 and 1945-57 and found confirmation of "the fundamentally working-class background of most Orangewomen" (MacPherson, 'The emergence of women's Orange Lodges in Scotland', p.8)

⁴⁵ Table 1.3, Appendix A

⁴⁶ Table 1.5, Appendix A

⁴⁷ Graph 1.6, Appendix A

⁴⁸ Graph 1.4, Appendix A

⁴⁹ Kaufmann, 'The dynamics of Orangeism in Scotland,' p. 286

⁵⁰ Kaufmann, 'The Orange Order in Scotland since 1860', p.166

period.⁵¹ Indeed Kaufmann contends regions with higher male Orange membership ‘tend to be those that have a high Irish Protestant population and a high Roman Catholic population’ yet is adamant that the Catholic population density ‘is not as strong a predictor’ of the strength of Orangeism in a particular region as other variables.⁵²

Recruitment networks

Kaufmann’s macro-analysis provides an important framework for understanding membership trends, yet nevertheless obscures detailed insights into the gender-specific ways in which women might have promulgated Orangeism in their local communities. Graph 2.0 invites inference that the local church operated as a hub for lodge recruitment, illustrating new applicants to LLOL 13 often belonged to the same parishes. Because of the strong charitable, Christian ideology shared by both organisations, it is likely that the Kirk would afford an opportunity for informal scrutiny of the character, commitment and abilities of prospective candidates by an experienced Orangewoman, who might approach, recommend and support the initiation of a suitable fellow churchwoman.⁵³ As chapter four illustrates, the sisters of Primrose LLOL 13 also enacted floral services – devised apparently in 1928, although possibly related by oral tradition prior to this – as a means of ceremonial outreach in church and community settings to afford local parishioners a tantalizing glimpse of their symbolic ritual working, and it is indeed probable that such attractive and intriguing public displays might well have attracted female initiates. Callum Brown has observed the extraordinary growth of church membership in the late 1940s and early 50s, and described the ‘powerful resonance’ and popularity of Billy Graham’s 1954-56 British evangelical crusades.⁵⁴ In this pre-ecumenical era, the Orange Order’s Salvationist emphasis on scriptural Christianity was regarded as overwhelmingly compatible with the didactic teachings of the Kirk, rendering the latter a fertile recruiting ground for women seeking to proselytise the Order.

The evidence that the profile of the organisation was raised via workplace networks is slight: following a redesign of the application form in 1958, candidates were not required to state their occupation, which problematizes attempts to definitively assess the significance of occupational links in facilitating lodge growth.⁵⁵ Notwithstanding, there is some evidence of coterminous applications from women of similar professional background.⁵⁶ For instance in 1955 three young bookbinders joined - yet the fact that these women belonged to the same church however, might possibly indicate that public worship, rather than the world of work, had facilitated their initial

⁵¹ Hughes, *Gender and political identities in Scotland*, p. 69

⁵² Kaufmann, ‘The dynamics of Orangeism in Scotland,’ p.279

⁵³ Graph 1.2, Appendix A

⁵⁴ Brown, *The death of Christian Britain*, pp.172-173

⁵⁵ Table 1.5, Appendix A

⁵⁶ Indeed MacPherson attributes the “dramatic increase” in membership during the early 1920s to the “marginally improved employment opportunities for some working-class women” and identifies most of the women in ‘Scotland’s First’ FLOL 1 Glasgow during this period as employees of Templeton’s Carpet factory, Bridgeton (MacPherson, ‘The emergence of women’s Orange lodges in Scotland’, p.8)

contact.⁵⁷ The apparent insignificance of employment links as a catalyst for female membership is supported by the personal narratives of over forty Orangewomen who neglect to explicitly refer to work-based Orange connections, and focus instead upon familial expectation and socialisation as powerful motivations for lodge entry.

Indeed this dataset illustrates that significant numbers of Orangewomen joined the lodge with a female relation and that Orangeism was a shared kinship rite. In both 1979 and 1983, a married and single woman citing the same address (or at least postal code) and parish applied on the same day to the Primrose Lodge, strongly suggesting them to be grand/mother and daughter, or even aunt and niece.⁵⁸ Such data is corroborated by the oral testimonies of Orangewomen such as PGM Margaret Blakely, who as a young woman joined her mother's lodge.⁵⁹ As self-described 'lapsed' member Sandra Stevens revealed, it 'was not uncommon for daughters to follow in their mother's footsteps' to become Worthy Mistress of their private lodge.⁶⁰ These testimonies suggest mother-daughter lodge attendance to be a time-honoured Orange tradition, substantiating and rendering explicit that which is implied in the statistical data.

Lodge life and migration

Several new applicants to Primrose LLOL 13 stipulated their place of birth as England or other regions of Scotland. In 1951 an initiate from Lincolnshire joined, followed a year hence by a woman from Warrington.⁶¹ As housewives, it is likely that migratory women would have appreciated the social, companionate female friendship that the lodge would likely have provided. As Louise Ryan has shown, women's 'localised networks' could generate both 'practical and emotional support' by helping migrants to effectively navigate and negotiate new, otherwise estranging surroundings.⁶² In 1952 and 1953 housewives from Fife and Leith joined respectively. For these intranational urban migrants, the lodge might represent a culturally cohesive space in which they could rehearse familiar ethno-religious identities with like-minded women. MacPherson has indeed called attention to the 'gendered diasporic consciousness' of early twentieth-century Orangewomen actively involved in the 'process of 'mutating' ethnic identity.'⁶³ This conceptual paradigm might be fittingly applied to interregional as well as international Orange migration since the lodge seemingly attracted women keen to retain their ethno-religious identities, yet also seeking acculturation into new environments.

⁵⁷ Table 1.3, Appendix A

⁵⁸ See Table 1.5 Appendix A

⁵⁹ Blakely, Margaret, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 22 March 2011

⁶⁰ Sandra Stevens, email to the author, 25 June 2013

⁶¹ Table 1.3, Appendix A

⁶² L. Ryan, 'Migrants, social networks and weak ties: accessing resources and constructing relationships post-migration', *The sociological review*, 59, no.4 (November 2011), p.712

⁶³ MacPherson, 'Migration and the female Orange Order', pp.620-621

Sociologists have highlighted the dualistic role of intra-ethnic voluntary groups in providing ‘bonding’ social capital to new migrants through ‘network cooperation based on mutual trust’ and reciprocity, whilst also recognising their importance in facilitating the ‘bridging’ social capital needed for seamless integration within unfamiliar locales.⁶⁴ In 1954 a sixteen year old assembly worker born in Elgin joined the lodge, having presumably migrated to Glasgow in search of work. Whilst the circumstances surrounding, and her motives for undertaking, relocation to Glasgow are indeterminable, it is possible the lodge might have afforded ‘bridging’ social capital in the form of useful connections for the securing of employment or accommodation, whilst simultaneously offering ‘bonding’ social capital by operating as a sanctuary of belonging – essentially providing a familiar and protective blanket of friendship, ‘maternal’ encouragement and assistance to younger women new to the city lacking the support and nurturance of family. As Ryan’s exploration of the oral histories of Irish women settling in 1930s London affirms, the city could prove a ‘simultaneously liberating and threatening’ space for new arrivals and women’s dynamic relationships were vital in transforming ‘alien and frequently hostile’ environments into familiar, known places.⁶⁵ For young single women such as this, Orange membership might also have increased the opportunities of safely meeting an eligible, compatible partner: as current Grand Lodge Treasurer J.G. MacLean reminisced, the Order was ‘almost a marriage bureau.’⁶⁶ However, in the absence of firm corroborating data contextualising how, when and why these women migrated to Scotland, such findings remain speculative.

Marital status

Lodge application forms required the prospective candidate to declare her marital status, and to sign a declaration affirming that her husband was Protestant and her children would be raised in the Reformed faith. Orangewomen were therefore defined institutionally - primarily if not exclusively - in terms of her husband’s religious identity, and regarded as a vessel for transmitting Protestant and Orange values to his offspring, rather than as agentic individuals. Between 1949 and 1962, 54% of applications to join Primrose Lodge were married; between 1958 and 1990, this figure plummeted to 42%, and the number of ‘single’ women had correspondingly increased from 31% to 50%.⁶⁷ Given seismic shifts in family structures and the increasing ubiquity of sexual relationships outside of lifelong marriage, it is likely that a large proportion of these women were cohabiting: even though during this period the Order’s Laws and Constitutions contained no explicit embargo upon this casual domestic arrangement, it would likely have met with disapprobation within Orange lodges. Indeed despite the diversification of family life, McIvor has noted the persistence of ‘chauvinistic attitudes and patriarchal values’ which ‘continue to characterise the Scottish

⁶⁴ P. Nannestad, G.L.H. Svendsen, and Svendsen, G.T., ‘Bridge over troubled water? migration and social capital’, *Journal of ethnic and migration studies*, 34, no.4 (2008), pp.627-628

⁶⁵ Ryan, ‘Moving spaces and changing places’, pp.68-69

⁶⁶ MacLean, J.G., oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 28 January 2013

⁶⁷ Graphs 1.7 & 1.8, Appendix A

family.’⁶⁸ Interestingly just one of the lodge applicants cited her status as ‘divorced’ in 1962, whilst a further two applicants in 1968 declined to divulge their marital status, perhaps fearing this disclosure might prejudice their application.⁶⁹ In 1993, Grand Lodge introduced a draconian rule expressly outlawing cohabitation as ‘an offence against the moral principles of the institution’⁷⁰ the penalty for which was suspension. In line with this attempt to shore up the crumbling institution of marriage, the Order also relaxed its interdiction of attendance at Catholic weddings, enabling members to be present at the reception but not to enter the chapel⁷¹ – a tacit acknowledgement perhaps that secularization presented a greater ‘threat’ to the Order than Catholicism. Callum Brown’s conclusion that the ‘puritanical regime of old Scots religion died with little fuss’ between 1963 and 1990⁷² is clearly not applicable to the Orange Order. This fruitless attempt to prevent the inevitable encroachment of wider, secular social trends upon Orange life - by legislating private morality in attempt to reinforce conservative sexual codes of conduct - proved unsuccessful and the prohibition against cohabitation was omitted from the revised rulebook of 2006.

Age

Between 1949 and 1962, 71.25% of applicants to Primrose LLOL 13 were aged thirty-five or under.⁷³ Noticeably, only one older female – a 64 year-old housewife – made application to the lodge during this period.⁷⁴ It is likely that the preponderance of younger members would have been self-perpetuating, as these women recruited lodge peers through social and friendship networks. Primrose Lodge marks a stark contrast with some current lodges, largely populated by older members. As ninety-year old Kilwinning Orangewoman Chrissie Taggart – who joined in 1937 – lamented in 2011, her lodge is comprised of ‘mainly older people’ because ‘we are not getting the young ones coming through.’⁷⁵ This aging population of Orangewomen perhaps reflects locally the steady decline in female Scottish Orangeism since the mid-1950s.⁷⁶

Primrose Lodge data yields no salient age-related correlation within the 45% of female applicants describing their occupation as ‘housewife,’ although women aged between 26-35 years featured slightly more prominently in this category between 1949 and 1962.⁷⁷ This reflects ubiquitous 1950s ideologies of female domesticity which could cut across cleavages of age. Abrams and Fleming have illustrated that ‘there was no questioning of the home-making role of women’ throughout the inter-war years and ‘into the 1950s.’⁷⁸ To borrow Callum Brown’s succinct

⁶⁸ McIvor, ‘Gender Apartheid?’, p. 195

⁶⁹ Table 1.5, Appendix A

⁷⁰ LOAS, *Ladies’ Rule Book*, 1993, p.7

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p.13

⁷² C. Brown, *Religion and society in Scotland since 1707*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), p.1

⁷³ Graph 1.8, Appendix A

⁷⁴ Table 1.3, Appendix A

⁷⁵ Taggart, Chrissie, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 23 March 2011

⁷⁶ Kaufman, ‘The Orange Order in Scotland since 1860,’ p.179

⁷⁷ Graph 1.9, Appendix A

⁷⁸ L. Abrams and L. Fleming, ‘From scullery to conservatory: everyday life in the Scottish home’ in L. Abrams and C. Brown (eds.), *A history of everyday life in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp.63-64

phraseology, ‘The 1950s were about perfecting Victorian values,’ and ‘the family home was at the peak of its sanctification’ during this decade.⁷⁹ Such pervasive age-transcendent domestic gendered discourses – as chapter three illustrates - would have been compatible with, and reinforced by, the Order’s essentialist ideologies of sexual difference.

Social class

The detailed study of Cowcaddens LLOL 13 data complements and speaks directly to MacPherson’s researches into the demographics of Scotland’s first female lodge, Glasgow LLOL 1, from 1909-1940, in which he examines a similar dataset.⁸⁰ Significantly however, Cowcaddens Lodge data from 1949-1990 suggest a slight shift in the classed profile of Glaswegian lodgewomen to have occurred over the course of a century.

The MRS system of classification has been employed as a standardised and commonly used methodological tool to assist in assigning socio-economic status to the self-described occupations of prospective lodge members.⁸¹ This process is complicated both by the need for further disambiguation of job titles and also by the fact that some roles defy easy categorisation.⁸² In the absence of any insight into the classed subjectivity of Orange applicants – hindered by the formulaic brevity of the information supplied within the basic application proformas - this analysis necessarily collapses complexities of classed categorisation into the binary differential between manual and non-manual, which during this period was considered sociologically to be ‘the most important dividing line in the British social structure, whether considered in the light of inequalities in status or of class.’⁸³

Of the 1949-1962 lodge applicants specifying their occupation (rather than self-defining as ‘housewife’) the overwhelming majority were working-class women, employed in a range of skilled, semi-skilled and skilled jobs⁸⁴: Graph 1.2 therefore illustrates the class composition of just 45% of the lodge – since it excludes housewives - and therefore any extrapolations from findings must be treated with considerable caution.⁸⁵ However, the class composition of LLOL 13 largely corroborates the socio-economic status of members of Glasgow LLOL 1 prior to 1940,⁸⁶ and is therefore suggestive of classed continuities in female Orangeism over time. Allowing for the fluidity and flexibility of economic classifications, however, there is also considerable evidence of lower-middle class occupations within women seeking entrance to LLOL 13. Category C1 (lower

⁷⁹ Brown, *The death of Christian Britain*, p.175

⁸⁰ See MacPherson, ‘The emergence of women’s Orange lodges in Scotland’

⁸¹ Devised by the Market Research Society, this widely-used survey categorisation tool enables classed categorisation based solely upon occupational criteria. See Table 1.4, Appendix A.

⁸² For instance, shop-keeper and sales girl have both been encoded as C1 roles, despite the obvious differentiation of status

⁸³ W.G. Runciman, *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice: a Study of Attitudes to Social Inequality in England*, (London: Pelican, 1966), p.51

⁸⁴ Table 1.4 and Graph 1.2, Appendix A

⁸⁵ Table 1.3 and Graph 1.2, Appendix A

⁸⁶ MacPherson, ‘The emergence of women’s Orange lodges in Scotland’, pp. 8-9

middle-class) comprises 33% of the 45% of lodgewomen specifying their occupation, or approximately 15% of the total lodge applicants from 1949-1962.⁸⁷

Kaufmann argues that since the 1950s the Scottish Order's class profile - unchanged from 1881 - has deviated substantially from that of the rest of the population, which had 'shifted in a far more post-industrial and professional direction.'⁸⁸ He also contends the classed composition of the 'elite of Scottish Orangeism differ only slightly from the rank-and-file' and observes 'little representation from the new tertiary and service sectors.'⁸⁹ Indeed Graph 1.3 suggests just 16% of Primrose Lodge applicants between 1949 and 1962 were employed in 'pink-collar' or tertiary roles, illustrating the prevalence of textiles and blue-collar manufacturing as the main sectors employing Orangewomen during this period.⁹⁰ The ability to determine the extent to which the class composition of the lodge changed from 1962 onwards is, however, problematized by the subsequent omission of any question directly pertaining to occupation during this period.⁹¹

Indeed class categorisations present various methodological challenges which, if not deftly navigated, can moderate the accuracy of findings. One such difficulty is ascribing housewives - who comprise almost half of the sample - to a specific class in the absence of accompanying data on their husband's occupation. Housewives have been omitted from class categorisation and are thus absent from Table 1.4,⁹² because their classification within code E cannot be unproblematically assumed. It is probable that a portion of these self-described 'housewives' actively engaged in part-time and/or casual work outside the home for 'pin money' and yet neglected to state this on their application. Indeed the likelihood that these women, through sheer economic necessity, were involved in waged labour is also considerably increased by their residence in or around the district of Cowcaddens, characterised in historical and urban discourses as 'one of the poorest districts in the city of Glasgow.'⁹³ However, as Joanna Bourke has persuasively argued, many working-class women undertaking some form of paid employment prior to 1960 'defined themselves primarily as housewives' and seemed 'pleased to do so.'⁹⁴

Bourke asserts that many working-class women would have been ambivalent about their paid work which, although a financial necessity, 'doubled their workload.'⁹⁵ Women's decision to adopt this self-description is perhaps indicative of their partial complicity with dominant discourses questioning the 'propriety' of married women occupied outside the home⁹⁶: it is also possibly reflective of the ways in which 'housewife' related less specifically to occupational economic

⁸⁷ Graph 1.2 and Table 1.4, Appendix A

⁸⁸ Kaufmann, 'The Orange Order in Scotland since 1860', p.175

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p.18

⁹⁰ Graph 1.3, Appendix A

⁹¹ Table 1.5, Appendix A

⁹² See Appendix A

⁹³ L. Fleming, 'Hearth and home' in E. Breitenbach, L. Fleming, K. Kehoe and L. Orr (eds.), *Scottish women: a documentary history, 1780-1914*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), p.100

⁹⁴ J. Bourke, *Working-class cultures in Britain, 1890-1960: gender, class and ethnicity*, (London: Routledge, 1994), p.51

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, pp.103-104

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, pp.103-104

activity, but instead defined an all-encompassing ‘feminine’ subjectivity which celebrated womanly ‘otherness’ and empowerment through the sanctification of the domestic. Bourke has attempted to reverse hegemonic feminist discourses which have characterized the working-class housewife as downtrodden and oppressed, by demonstrating her exertion of considerable ‘power and control over her family’ and ability to acquire ‘status by competently managing scarce resources.’⁹⁷ It is therefore possible that the 81% of married applicants alluding to themselves as ‘housewife’ between 1949 and 1962⁹⁸ perceived the lodge to be a metaphorical extension of the ‘feminine’ sphere of the home in which the overriding authority of the Worthy Mistress was – only occasionally - moderated by that of the male District Master: the institutionally inscribed ideologies of gender difference and sexual complementarity, rather than equality, might also have been encountered as normative and reinforced the ideological divisions of labour within the home.

Of the employed women in the dataset, exactly 65% were working class.⁹⁹ A small proportion of the non-housewife lodgewomen were employed in traditional skilled trades (such as French polisher and bookbinder), 15% in manufacturing, 10% within the textile industry and 16% filled various white-collar and tertiary roles including salesgirl, post office assistant, clerkess and shop assistant.¹⁰⁰ This corroborates, to some extent, MacPherson’s findings of the range of occupations filled by the women of Scotland’s First Ladies’ Lodge including bookbinder, cleaner, clerical worker, print worker, French polisher and shopworker. MacPherson demonstrated, similarly, that about 44% of FLOL 1 women prior to 1957 were textiles workers employed at the East End Templeton’s Carpet Factory.¹⁰¹

Despite Orangewomen’s frequent use of gender-specific nomenclature - ‘clerkess’ or ‘tailoress’ - to describe their occupations, it is clear that they often occupied roles – including welding machine worker and glass fibre worker - which challenged stereotypical conceptualisations of the ‘feminine.’¹⁰² However, by the end of the 1950s, ‘the symbolic heavy work traditionally done by men’ was considerably ‘challenged by the expansion of services, increased consumerism and women’s employment.’¹⁰³ Lodge data seems to corroborate this assertion and to illustrate the growing heterogeneity of tertiary and ‘petit-bourgeois’ roles in which Orangewomen had secured gainful employment.¹⁰⁴ This 1950s lodge data is captured during, and reflects, a period of industrial flux which witnessed the decline of shipbuilding toward the end of the decade, and the stagnation of the textiles sector¹⁰⁵: as such it reveals prospective lodge members to have been employed within a combination of traditional manufacturing roles, yet also – unlike the women

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, pp.54 and 51

⁹⁸ Graph 1.3, Appendix A

⁹⁹ Calculated by adding C2 and D percentages in Graph 1.2, Appendix A

¹⁰⁰ Graph 1.3, Appendix A

¹⁰¹ MacPherson, ‘The emergence of women’s Orange Lodges in Scotland’, p.9

¹⁰² Table 1.3, Appendix A

¹⁰³ G. Hassan and E. Shaw, *Strange death of Labour Scotland?*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p.206

¹⁰⁴ Kaufmann, ‘The Orange Order in Scotland’, p.16; See also row C1, Table 1.4, Appendix A

¹⁰⁵ D. Newlands, M. Danson and J. McCarthy, *Divided Scotland? the nature, causes and consequences of economic disparities within Scotland*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p.6

featured in MacPherson's dataset - significantly represented within the growing number of emergent administrative and service-based positions.

Denominational and church preferences

Graph 2.0 illustrates the local denominational diversity of Orangewomen in LLOL 13 in the latter half of the twentieth-century. To gain admission to the lodge, the candidate was required to profess themselves a 'regular attender' of a specific evangelical church, and indeed organisations such as the Salvation Army and the Glasgow Foundry Boys feature amongst the range of declared places of worship. However, most frequently cited churches are Presbyterian churches, such as Rockvilla United Presbyterian Church, Possilpark Free Presbyterian Church and Milton Free Church. Orangewomen interviewed expressed very few strongly held doctrinal or theological views, or excessive zeal toward any expressed denomination, but rather self-identified as generic Protestants oppositional to ecumenical compromise with Catholicism, and unswervingly committed to the Christian gospel of salvation by grace and justification by faith.

Glasgow Evangelical Church proved particularly popular with many contemporary Orangewomen. Ian Wilson described this as 'an independent congregational Church' composed 'of members of the Order who had been disaffected from the Church of Scotland.'¹⁰⁶ Highly-esteemed, belated former Grand Mistress Helen Walker was long serving minister of this church: Grand Mistress Rhona Gibson thoroughly regretted that Helen's passing eclipsed the possibility of her conducting the Ladies' Divine Service,¹⁰⁷ and it is likely that her personal charisma, and the affection of friends and fellow Orangewomen, encouraged the church to grow. The overlap between Evangelic Church and Lodge members was especially pronounced and perhaps unsurprising, given that services were conducted in Orange lodges and halls for several years. Isobel Campbell frequents the Evangelical Church, despite her Presbyterian upbringing, formal membership of Denniston Central Church and previous affiliation with the Gospel Hall in Parkhead.¹⁰⁸ Likewise, fellow trustees Kirsty Gardiner and Jean Logan also now attend Glasgow Evangelical Church irrespective of their Church of Scotland upbringing.¹⁰⁹

These defections are clearly rooted in the disenchantment experienced by many Orangewomen within the established Church, and their wariness of its increasing accommodation with Catholicism in recent decades. PGM Helyne MacLean declared herself 'very, very disillusioned with the Church of Scotland' and no longer a very active member, yet hesitantly admitted 'I do keep going back.'¹¹⁰ PGM Ian Wilson identified the source of nagging discontent to be the growing reluctance of churches to welcome Orange worshippers, and shared that he 'felt very hurt'

¹⁰⁶ Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

¹⁰⁷ Gibson, Rhona, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

¹⁰⁸ Campbell, Isobel, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

¹⁰⁹ Gardiner, Kirsty, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

¹¹⁰ MacLean, Helyne, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

by his parish minister's refusal to conduct an Orange service.¹¹¹ An additional bone of contention is interdenominational worship: Orangeman and member of the Glasgow Evangelical Church Chris McGimpsey declined to retain any allegiance to the Church of Scotland after learning a group of nuns had been invited to participate in the Sunday service.¹¹²

According to Ian Wilson, although 'the vast majority' of members 'see themselves in terms of' the Church of Scotland, just one of the Grand Orange Chaplains belongs to the Church of Scotland.¹¹³ Ian Wilson pessimistically wished 'the relationship warmer' between the established Church and the Order, explaining 'a few years ago' the Kirk urged its members not to join the Orange Order and denounced the Order on the premise that 'the great proportion' of members have 'never darkened the door of any church.'¹¹⁴ His allusion is probably to the 2002 Church of Scotland's Church and Nation Committee's observation that the Order 'is widely perceived to be a sectarian organisation' and its advice to Orange members within the Church to 'take this to heart.'¹¹⁵ However, lapsed church attendance - according to Orangewoman Janette Whitlaw - is a gender-specific issue since '95% of the ladies' and only the 'men higher up in the Order' retain their church membership.¹¹⁶ The Church of Scotland's report assumes, therefore, the 'average' rank and file Orangeman's level of religiosity to be representative and normative, thus overlooking the gendered and classed differences in Orange attitudes to formal public worship.

Indeed there is also considerable interjurisdictional diversity in denominational preference and commitment to attendance. Dungannon Grand Secretary of ALOI Joan Beggs and current Grand Mistress Olive Whitten both are weekly attenders of local Presbyterian churches. English Grand Mistress Lilian Hall described herself as a 'non-conformist' christened by the Rev. H.D. Longbottom of Liverpool - firebrand leader of the Protestant Party in the 1930s and 40s - and was part of the 'free church' although her children are Anglican.¹¹⁷ In contrast to Ian Wilson's description of the fractured understanding between the Order and the established Scottish Church, Lilian maintained the Order enjoyed a 'very good relationship' with Liverpool Cathedral.¹¹⁸ The secularisation of Orangeism, and antagonistic relations between Church and Order, to some extent, seem specific to Scotland, and the issue appears also to be highly gendered: however more broad-sweeping comparative analyses of UK would be required to verify these speculative conclusions.

¹¹¹ Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

¹¹² McGimpsey, Chris, oral history interview, 27 July 2012

¹¹³ Two are Episcopalian and one is Pentecostal (Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2013)

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.49

¹¹⁶ Whitlaw, Janette, oral history interview, 23 March 2011

¹¹⁷ Hall, Lilian, oral history interview, 21 April 2013

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*

Perhaps the most striking and important trend this data set reveals is that applications to the lodge peaked in 1952, remained high and then dramatically declined from 1955.¹¹⁹ However, this narrative is problematized by an exceptional spike in membership in LLOL 13 applications in 1968, briefly interrupting a period of continued demise.¹²⁰ This might be explained by the marked changes in social housing policy, which saw the erection of two new high rise towers in Cowcaddens in 1968 to replace the old tenement 'slum' accommodation.¹²¹ As urban populations were decanted en masse to newly-built housing schemes, Gallagher argues, the Order was able to capitalise on its ability to express 'communitarian values at a time when working-class lifestyles were becoming increasingly privatised.'¹²² However it is likely that in the long-term this municipal redevelopment had a detrimental impact upon lodge membership since the new housing schemes 'contributed to the break-up of insular ghetto mentalities' through stimulating non-sectarian 'cross-community social interaction.'¹²³ Indeed Graph 1.6 illustrates the dramatic decline in both new applications and transfers from the 1960s onwards, which might partially be accounted for by these demographic – and subsequent attitudinal – shifts.¹²⁴ The tenement has been imagined in Scottish popular and gendered historical discourse as a site of 'female solidarity and community,' despite its accompanying problems of overcrowding.¹²⁵ It is possible, appropriating Putnam's terms, to conceptualise the shifts in social housing as culminating in the contraction of traditional female neighbourly 'bonding' social capital ('creating strong in-group loyalty') whilst facilitating the increase of a 'bridging' social capital (establishing 'broader identities and reciprocity' amongst heterogeneous groups) which ameliorated sectarian tensions through improving ethno-religious interaction.¹²⁶ These housing shifts might conceivably therefore have adversely influenced the volume of applications to Primrose Lodge in subsequent years.

However, waning interest also reflects wider national patterns of decline: as Kaufmann affirms female Orange membership peaked until the late 1950s and has subsequently experienced sustained, and seemingly, irreversible downturn.¹²⁷ The male Order however – with membership peaking in 1982 - did not substantially begin to diminish until 1987.¹²⁸ Kaufmann attributes this gendered differentiation to 'changing gender roles' and 'alienation at falling Orange church membership since women tend to be far more pious than men.'¹²⁹ He cites also 'the growth of licensed men's Orange social clubs' from the 1960s as well as 'the masculine appeal of Protestant

¹¹⁹ Graph 1.4, Appendix A

¹²⁰ Graph 1.5, Appendix A

¹²¹ I. Paterson, 'Sectarianism and municipal housing allocation in Glasgow', *Scottish Affairs*, 39 (Spring 2002), p. 4

¹²² Gallagher, *Glasgow: The uneasy peace*, p.261

¹²³ Paterson, 'Sectarianism and municipal housing allocation in Glasgow', p.14

¹²⁴ Graph 1.6, Appendix A

¹²⁵ Abrams and Fleming, 'From scullery to conservatory', p. 61

¹²⁶ Putnam, *Bowling alone*, pp.22-23

¹²⁷ Kaufmann, 'The Orange Order in Scotland since 1860', p.179

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, p.31

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, pp.20-21

football and paramilitary culture from this period¹³⁰ as significant determinants of the comparative buoyancy of men's lodges. However, as chapters two and five both illustrate, Scottish Orangewomen were frequently implicated in, rather than resistant to, the Order's militant politicisation: hence these factors alone account insufficiently for the gender-specific rates of organisational decline.

However, institutional discourse seems to support Kaufmann's contention by demonstrating marked distinctions between the priorities of male and female members after 1955: in the early years of Scottish women's Orangeism, PGM David Ness articulated his hope that women's presence in the order might bring the loftier values of temperance, purity and righteousness to bear on the institution and its presence in the public arena.¹³¹ His essentialist, sexual generalisation nevertheless foreshadows the concerns of numerous Orangewomen in the latter decades of the twentieth-century. In 1976 Sister Nancy Johnston wrote to institutional publication *The Torch* to air her disgust at the rowdy and drunken proclivities of some Orangemen whom she felt to be 'bringing the organisation into disrepute' and 'lowering the Order in the eyes of our critics.'¹³² In the same year, Sister McKee wrote to the publication, expressing her sabbatarian dismay that the Order's social clubs were to open on a Sunday and instead urged her fellow Orangemen to 'turn out for church and let the outside world see that we are a Christian body.' McKee passionately concluded 'we cannot be true to ourselves or our Order if we put the clubs in front of our faith.'¹³³

Reflected in this commitment to sobriety was the tacit acknowledgement of 'temperance' as a core component of Protestant identity, reinforced by prevailing discursive constructions of the Irish Catholic 'other' as the demonised embodiment of 'intemperance' resistant 'to ideals of Scottish respectable domesticity.'¹³⁴ Orangewomen arguably self-defined both in contrast to imagined decent Protestant manhood, and in countervailing opposition to profligate Catholic masculinity: 'respectability', as Skeggs has argued, operates as a 'key mechanism by which some groups are 'othered' and pathologised'¹³⁵ and thus Orangewomen's appropriation of a feminised 'respectability' reified their gendered and ethno-religious difference. However 'drinking to excess' is a widely-acknowledged behaviour that intersects ethno-religious specificities and is instead 'associated with traditional and working-class forms of masculinity.'¹³⁶ Attitudes toward drink, however, encapsulate the gendered construction of Orange identity: male members tended – not exclusively – towards a conceptualisation of Orangeism as political, fraternal and convivial; for women, however, institutional affiliation was frequently expressed in terms of the charitable, Christian, adherence to traditional morality and social conservatism. In some respects, late

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, pp.20-21

¹³¹ MacPherson, 'The emergence of women's Orange lodges in Scotland', p. 9

¹³² 'Letter to the editor', *The Torch*, 27 (May 1976), p.6

¹³³ M. McKee, 'Letter to the editor', *The Torch*, 30 (September 1976), p.9

¹³⁴ Abrams and Fleming, 'From scullery to conservatory', p. 53

¹³⁵ B. Skeggs, *Formations of class and gender: becoming respectable* (London: Sage, 1997), p.1

¹³⁶ C. Griffin, A. Bengry-Howell, C. Hackley, W. Mistrall, and I. Szmigin, 'The allure of belonging: young people's drinking practices and collective identification,' in M. Wetherell (ed.) *Identity in the 21st century: new trends in changing times*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p.218

twentieth-century female Orangeism continued to reflect the temperance concerns of precursor organisations such as the International Order of Rechabites: this biblical, ritualistic and mixed-sex benefits society, founded in 1835, shared with Orangeism a commitment to Christian ideology and emphasis on mutual aid, whilst adopting a staunchly antithetical stance towards the ‘profligacies’ of drink.¹³⁷ Thus Kaufmann’s characterisation of the Order from the 1960s onwards as increasingly marginal to the ‘respectable’ church-going piety of Orangewomen is, in many respects, highly consistent.

Kaufmann’s interesting and convincing thesis represents an institutionally-specific contribution to dominant secularisation narratives. Callum Brown has characterised pre-1960s Britain as a ‘highly religious nation’ identifying female ‘profession of purity and virtue’ and ‘attachment to domesticity’ as crucial in exerting moral authority over children and men. However once ‘women cancelled their mass subscription’ to the churches the ‘nature of femininity changed fundamentally’ and a simultaneous ‘de-pietisation of femininity and the de-feminisation of piety’ was, Brown argues, set irreversibly in motion.¹³⁸ Kaufmann has argued – specifically in terms of male membership – discourses of secularisation to have ‘virtually no impact’ on the Order’s decline because religion serves as little more than ‘a boundary marker for ethnic conflict which straddles’ the supposed 1960s watershed, between an era of ‘old/religious’ and ‘new ethnic’ politics.¹³⁹ Orange and Protestant ‘fears’ of Catholicism, Kaufmann maintains, relate not to ‘religious doctrines’ but ‘the rapid growth of an ethnic minority which is deemed unmeltable.’¹⁴⁰ Indeed Walker concurs that the Scottish Order’s ‘most salient characteristic’ to be ‘its importance as a focus for the Protestant Irish identity’ and maintains that identity to be ‘both religious and political.’¹⁴¹ This hybridity of overlapping religious, ethnic and political Orange identifications problematizes simplistic attempts to account for the organisation’s waning membership by reference solely to trends of secularisation. Nevertheless platitudinal and commonsensical accounts for generic institutional decline resurfaced habitually in Orangewomen’s personal testimonies: for example, former member Sandra Stevens argued ‘going to Church does not appear as important’ as it once was and therefore the Order currently lacks the social ‘pull’ it once enjoyed.¹⁴²

Kaufmann, however, refers to the Order’s turbulent and increasingly troubled relationship with the Kirk in order to account for the differential rate of decline in the male and female sections. Describing the growing chasm between the increasingly ecumenical Protestant denominations and the Orange institution from the late 1950s, he demonstrates membership of the Church of Scotland and the lodge to have become increasingly ideologically incompatible. He points also to Orange

¹³⁷ V. Solt Dennis, *Discovering friendly and fraternal societies: their badges and regalia*, (Oxford: Shire, 2005), p.143

¹³⁸ Brown, *The death of Christian Britain*, pp. 9, 195-6 and 192

¹³⁹ Kaufmann, ‘The dynamics of Orangeism in Scotland’, p. 286

¹⁴⁰ Kaufmann, *Shall the Religious inherit the earth?*, p.185

¹⁴¹ Walker, ‘The Orange Order in Scotland between the wars’, pp.178 and 201

¹⁴² Sandra Stevens, email to the author, 25 June 2013

alienation from the more doctrinal, evangelical churches in the post-1960s period, which ‘looked askance at Orange social clubs and their lack of piety.’¹⁴³ Thus Kaufmann complicates and nuances Callum Brown’s secularisation thesis by illustrating that Orangemen and women did not simply fall away from the church through processes of increased scepticism, modernisation or agnosticism, or even the dilution of female religiosity. Instead Orangeism became increasingly marginal to, and divergent from, a Kirk concerned with the pursuit of politically inclusive, ecumenical ideologies: as church modernised and sought to erode inter-faith barriers, the Order doggedly clung to entrenched socio-political ethno-religious identities, consistently defining itself in opposition to an imagined Catholic ‘other.’ If it is accepted that the Orange institution provided a vehicle for tribal and ethnic - rather than faith-based - subjectivities, then, it is possible to conclude that Scottish Orangeism assumed a ‘masculine’ institutional identity as female membership receded, and the combined ascendant forces of ‘Ulsterisation’ and licensing reforms acculturated members to a politicised and alcohol-tolerant (rather than religious and temperate) organisation.¹⁴⁴ Whether the falling away of female members was the result or the cause of this gendered shift in organisational culture is difficult to ascertain, but nevertheless the two trends seem inextricably interwoven and mutually reinforcing.

Various personal testimonies of older members attribute the decline in female Orangeism to various non-gender-specific social trends, including the rise of television and social media which, they maintain, have fundamentally revolutionised communication and significantly undermined community interaction. PGM Helen Hosie wistfully speculated that ‘in the 1960s’ the Order was slow to realise that the world ‘was to see such drastic changes in leisure, making the prospect of getting new members very difficult.’¹⁴⁵ Indeed numerous Orangewomen identified television as a key culprit, diverting the interests and energies of prospective members away from lodge life.¹⁴⁶ Whilst Putnam has identified a ‘negative correlation between television watching and social involvement,’ he also countenances the possibility that individuals ‘who are social isolates to begin with gravitate towards the tube as the line of leisurely last resistance.’¹⁴⁷ Television and internet thus might be symptomatic of the decline in community engagement rather than a direct cause of it. Whilst this cultural shift might account for the downturn in Orange membership in particular -and associationalism in general - evidence is anecdotal rather than conclusive.

Putnam’s study of American community life concludes that towards the latter decades of the twentieth-century, a ‘treacherous rip current’ pulled individuals ‘apart from one another,’ substantially weakening community ties and reversing the 1960s trend of deep civic engagement.¹⁴⁸ Whilst Putnam emphasises the complex ways in which this sense of social cohesion and

¹⁴³ Kaufmann, ‘The Orange Order since 1860’, p.180

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p.21

¹⁴⁵ ‘My story – Sister Helen C. Hosie – Grand Mistress, 1970’, *The Torch*, (February 2003), p.12

¹⁴⁶ Allison, Juliette and Taggart, Chrissie, oral history interviews with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 23 March 2011; Blakely, Margaret, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

¹⁴⁷ Putnam, *Bowling alone*, pp. 234-235

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p.21

participation periodically waxed and waned rather than uniformly wilted, he nevertheless establishes a consistent trans-generational cross-cutting decline in political, religious, voluntary, charitable and associational life.¹⁴⁹ The deterioration of Scottish lodge membership might thus be conceptualised as part of wider transatlantic trend. Indeed comparisons with Ireland are, in this respect, illuminating – in a 2013 press interview Grand Mistress Olive Whitten, rebutting and downplaying suggestions of membership decrease, observed intermittent, sporadic surges in recruitment: ‘In my own Lodge we got three new members last year and one member the year before. But we hadn’t had any new members for about five or six years before that.’¹⁵⁰ Olive also highlighted important regional variations, explaining that in Belfast ‘with the Troubles, a lot of people have moved out of the city, so maybe Lodges there would be struggling.’¹⁵¹ Her remarks illustrate the dynamics of lodge recruitment to be enmeshed with geographic and national specificities, suggesting patterns of membership to be complex, variable and unpredictable rather than revealing of a uniformly linear decline.

CONCLUSION

The richness of this quantitative data pertaining to Primrose Lodge, Cowcaddens, invites more questions than it is possible to consider within the scope of this chapter. This data is significant since it verifies MacPherson’s finding that Glasgow LLOL 1 was comprised of a largely working-class membership prior to 1940, illustrating continued chronological consistency in the socio-economic status of Scottish female members, whilst also demonstrating the emergence of small but significant lower middle-class membership employed in various tertiary and petit-bourgeois occupations.

The Primrose Lodge dataset also confirms at a micro-level Kaufmann’s characterisation of the female Scottish Order as subject to substantive decline from the late 1950s. This atrophy in women’s Orangeism was highly gender-specific as the male section staved off decline for another three decades. Callum Brown’s gendered narratives of secularisation, as Kaufmann has comprehensively demonstrated, are thus of limited usefulness in conceptualising decline in Orangeism because the organisation is not only religious but also political, ethnic and fraternal. Indeed Kaufmann’s related thesis, illustrating the ‘masculinisation’ of Scottish Orangeism from the 1960s onwards, as growing militant ‘Ulsterisation’¹⁵² the licensing of the institutional social club transformed Orange life facilitated the drink-based, politicised and fraternal cultures of maleness to usurp the centrality of female discourses of temperance, charity, church going and ‘respectability.’ Consequently women were rendered both numerically and ideological marginal to the Order and increasingly ‘other’ to its hegemonic identity. These speculative conclusions are

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.27

¹⁵⁰ L. Murphy, ‘The Loughgall lady at the helm of the women’s Orange’, *Belfast Newsletter*, 4 June 2013, p.17

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² Kaufmann, ‘The Orange Order in Scotland since the 1860s,’ p.24

predicated upon monolithic constructions of Orangewomen's performance of conventional 'femininities' which are greatly problematized by the subsequent chapter's exploration of their dynamic and conflicted subjectivities. As chapters two and five demonstrate, moreover, Scottish Orangewomen intermittently articulated a fervent commitment to militant and divisive ethno-religious politics, undermining Kaufmann's presumption that institutional 'Ulsterisation' would necessarily alienate the sisters.

CHAPTER 2

RETHINKING RESPECTABILITY: ORANGEWOMEN, INDIVIDUAL AGENCY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SHIFTING IDENTITIES

In her 2003 letter to *The Torch*, Sister Tracey Jenkins of Cowcaddens articulated her ardent hope that her young daughter might one day experience ‘the pride that comes from being an Orangewoman.’¹ Her remark to some extent corroborates MacPherson’s contention that lodge women’s lives often ‘revolved’ around, and ‘sense of self’ was frequently ‘shaped by,’ the ‘Orange Order.’² This chapter specifically explores how Scottish Orangewomen personally defined and performed their Orangeism in various, shifting contexts. It also seeks to comprehend how enactment of institutional identities was mediated by gendered, classed, aged and ethno-religious subjectivities, and to examine the junctures at which these interlocking specificities intersected Orangewomen’s dynamic agency. Its starting point is therefore an understanding of the category of ‘woman’ as socially constructed upon ‘certain behaviours, expectations and attitudes associated with being a female in certain social/religious communities.’³ The term ‘Orangewoman’ thus betokens and reflects a myriad of heterogeneous and dynamic subjectivities, appropriated fluidly, diversely and situationally.

In attempt to chart the plurality of ways in which Orangewomen negotiated and rehearsed institutional selfhoods, this chapter makes extensive use of their oral history testimonies. Navigating conflicting organisational, societal and familial expectations - and counterbalancing these demands with their desire to express their own subjectivities and exercise agentic power - Orangewomen’s identities were necessarily contested and frequently conflicted. This analysis examines lodge women’s self-narratives thematically to assess the extent to which the construction and enactment of Orange subjectivities involved complicity with and/or transgression of institutional ideologies of sexual difference; conversely it explores how Orangeism might have uniquely facilitated and/or precluded the powerful articulation of gendered subjectivities, and impacted the evolving self-concepts of female members. The complex, multifaceted and highly personal reasons why women join, stay and leave the lodge are, in the course of this chapter, also surveyed.

The majority of Orangewomen interviewed framed their decision to join the Order in terms of rehearsing and continuing a family tradition of Orangeism, confirming MacPherson’s finding that ‘Orange family background’ was ‘a key reason for joining.’⁴ Indeed PGM Helyne MacLean maintains she joined because her ‘mother, sister and aunts were all members’ but also stated her

¹ T. Jenkins, ‘Orange Pride’, *The Torch*, (October 2003), p.5

² MacPherson, ‘Personal narratives of family and ethnic identity’, p.14

³ A. Jule, *Language and religious identity: women in discourse*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p.2

⁴ MacPherson, ‘Personal narratives of family and ethnic identity’, p.6

burgeoning realisation ‘that there was nobody prepared to speak out for the Protestant people’ as a spur to her initial involvement.⁵ Whilst blood kinship often acted as a spur for lodge initiation, women’s embrace of a more inclusive and expansive definition of ‘family’ cemented institutional bonds: describing the Order as part of a ‘wider kinship network,’ Jean Logan alluded to Orangeism as a ‘sort of family’ which offered ‘quite a bit of friendship.’⁶ Likewise, Kirsty Gardiner cited ‘fellowship’ as central to her experiences of lodge life and conceived of the Order as a ‘very large extended family’ around which much of her social life pivoted. For Kirsty, Orangeism sustained her long-term interest and commitment by stimulating her personal and spiritual growth, encouraging her to ‘think of others a lot more’ and to utilise her talents to ‘help a lot of people.’⁷ Stated motivations for joining and remaining were therefore often diverse and interwoven: some of the more complex of these narratives of belonging – along with considerations of what Orangeism meant to the women who practiced it - are discussed as this chapter unfolds.

CONTESTED AND CONCEALED IDENTITIES: WORK

For Kirsty Gardiner –a woman occupying a position of considerable responsibility in her professional life and fully accustomed to ‘men working under’ her - the unspoken gendered expectations of some of the brethren that she would acquiesce in a subordinate institutional sexual status proved difficult to accept.⁸ This dynamic tension between the duality of her experience of equality of opportunity in the workplace and a politics of patriarchy and gendered exclusivity within the Order, spurred her to campaign within the organisation for ‘an equal say’ for the female membership within the district lodge meeting. PGM Ian Wilson remarked on the divergence of Orangewomen’s aged subjectivities and juxtaposed the ‘limited vision’ of the ‘older ladies’ content with their ‘wee charity box’ who ‘are all very women’s guildish’ with the ‘highly articulate, intelligent, well-educated’ current trustees ‘Helyne Maclean and Rhona Gibson.’⁹ He speculated, further, that these women ‘must be feeling the frustration’ that they ‘don’t have a voice’ within the higher echelons and that Grand Lodge ‘keeps a lid on what they are allowed to do’, revealing a marked aged differential in conceptualisations of gender roles. Wilson’s observation points also to the inevitable internalised fragmentation and repression of irreconcilable identities, as the organisation constitutionally limits the opportunities for women’s self-expression and the enactment of agency contradictorily afforded them in professional life.

Within the world of work, moreover, Orangewomen’s ethno-religious identity and organisational affiliation could prove problematic and clash with their responsibilities as an employee, as trustee Isobel Campbell discovered. As a support worker, she relates, ‘I didn’t ever publicise what I was,

⁵ MacLean, Helyne, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

⁶ Logan, Jean, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

⁷ Gardiner, Kirsty, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

⁸ *Ibid*

⁹ Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2011

but if through conversation they found out I didn't have any shame in telling them.'¹⁰ However, when she was asked to accompany a Catholic woman to a funeral as part of her duties, she informed her manager that she 'would be happy to take her to the chapel' but remain 'outside while the service was going on' since as an Orangewoman she could not in conscience attend the Mass. Her manager accepted and respected her personal conviction, enabling her to forego the service. Isobel insists this to have been the 'one and only time it interfered' because 'people don't ask and don't get told.' This anecdote illustrates the way in which Orangewomen attempted, sometimes unsuccessfully, to disentangle and compartmentalise their work-based and institutional identities.

Other Orangewomen expressed a stronger determination to conceal their Orange identity within their sphere of employment. An article appearing in *The Scotsman*, exploring women's motivations for joining the lodge, featured an anonymous 28 year old lodgewoman employed by an examination body: anxious to conceal her identity - because she would 'get criticised a lot' by colleagues were it to be discovered - she spoke powerfully of the self-silencing strategies she imposed to prevent her muted voice from finding exasperated expression when colleagues spoke disparagingly of the Order. 'You can't say anything,' she asserted, because 'it's just me on my own' 'against other people.'¹¹ Her comments reflect her sense of marginalization and alienation from co-workers and her perceived need to construct a 'false' self-narrative to mask her Orange identity. This woman's account, then, is suggestive of the self-imposed repressive and anomic strategies through which some Orangewomen attempted to negotiate conflicting occupational and ethno-religious identities: in some respects her narrative account mirrors the ways in which interwar Orangemen in mining villages successfully differentiated their 'labour militancy' from their 'Protestant tribal feeling' as 'they recognised contradictions' and determined to 'keep different sets of loyalties apart.'¹²

HYBRID AND SHIFTING IDENTITIES: ETHNICITY

Ward contends Ulster unionist women to possess complex, layered collection of 'multiple and situational' British, Irish, Ulster and Northern Irish identities.¹³ This insight affords a helpful prism for comprehending Orangewomen's shifting appropriation of national and ethnic selfhoods. Through recent exploration of the personal narratives of Scottish lodge women – many of whom were second or subsequent generation Irish migrants - MacPherson found that most 'commonly identified' with Ulster and Scottish rather than British identities, indicating the 'durability of Irish ethnicity' and reflecting the general 'slippage of British identity in Scotland over the course of the twentieth-century.'¹⁴ However, interviews conducted with Scottish Orangewomen in 2011, to some

¹⁰ Campbell, Isobel, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

¹¹ 'Women of Orange,' *The Scotsman*, 28 September 2009

¹² Walker, 'The Orange Order in Scotland between the wars', p.193

¹³ Ward, *Women, unionism and loyalism in Northern Ireland*, pp.75-76

¹⁴ MacPherson, 'Personal narratives of family and ethnic identity', pp.14, 18 and 15

extent, qualify this assertion suggesting - in the current pre-referendum climate - a marked shift towards the proud articulation of a decidedly British identity.

Describing herself as ‘a great royalist’, current Grand Mistress and active member of the Constitutional Monarchist Association, Rhona Gibson maintained the Order’s role as ‘protector of the Bible and the Crown’ to be central to her Orangeism.¹⁵ Whilst she ‘joined purely out of friendship’ in 1989, ‘as time went on’ she came to view it ‘very much as a Christian organisation’ celebrating ‘loyalty to the crown.’ Rhona’s sense of Britishness is inextricably connected to her commitment to the historically enshrined values of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, but also in her sentimental devotion to the current monarch: commemorating the 2011 Royal wedding she spoke sincerely and affectionately of ‘our beloved Sovereign, Queen Elizabeth’ whose reputation is ‘envied worldwide’ and of the ‘loyalty and admiration’ she ‘so richly deserved.’¹⁶ Rhona represents the royal family in terms both reverential and intimate, representing the queen as the ‘grandmother’ of an ‘extremely popular and respected’ Prince William, lionising ‘his dedication to duty and obvious compassion.’ The conflation of homely and regal expresses personal affinity and identification with the sovereign as feminised personification of the British state and is thus a highly gendered articulation of Britishness.

Fellow trustee Jean Logan’s participation in royal functions as envoy of the Ladies’ Association was a way of both affirming her pride in a British heritage and of legitimising and celebrating her institutional identity. She fondly recalled her 2010 attendance at the Royal Garden party in Holyrood as representative of the Ladies’ Orange Association of Scotland (LOAS), where she was able to share ‘a few wee words’ with Prince Phillip and ‘tell him a bit about the charitable work that we do.’¹⁷ A few weeks later, Jean’s district arranged a special celebratory evening in her honour, at the Millarbank club where she was greeted by Scottish pipers as she entered.¹⁸ Jean’s personal testimony underscores the ways in which Scottish and British identities complement, overlap and reinvigorate one another. Her participation in ‘the wonderful’ 2007 Edinburgh Act of Union Orange parade, moreover, is further expressive of her public rehearsal of a duality of Scottish and British identity. McFarland has represented nineteenth century Scottish parades as a celebration of the ‘shared traditions and mythologies’ of the Irish Protestant migrant community.¹⁹ A decisive shift has therefore evidently occurred as twenty-first century Orangewomen appropriate Orange walks to articulate adherence to Britishness and allegiance to a politics of Scottish unionism.

These women’s narratives of awe and majesty express a sense of ‘Britishness’ which is distant, rooted in somewhat abstract concepts of realm, civil liberties, state and crown and voiced in

¹⁵ Gibson, Rhona, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

¹⁶ Rhona Gibson, ‘Grand Mistress’s Message’, *County Grand Lodge of Glasgow Boyne Celebrations*, (Glasgow: GOLs, 2011), p.44

¹⁷ Logan, Jean, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

¹⁸ Photographs 1.1-1.3, Appendix B

¹⁹ McFarland, ‘Marching from the margins’, p.62

deferential, respectful and reverential terms. These personal accounts, however, are also infused with personal tenderness and warmth expressive of an emotive attachment to the Royal Family as domesticized emblematic of the British state, rendering them both homely and familiar. Tellingly, both Rhona and Jean conceptualised their Scottish heritage as inseparable from their sense of Britishness. This discovery enriches MacPherson's finding that a distinct sense of Scottishness was central to lodge women's narratives of identity²⁰ by illustrating the myriad of different emphases placed upon the multiple ethnic and national selfhoods associated with, and rehearsed by, this diverse amalgam of women: these self-narratives, then, are suggestive also of the fluidity and malleability of Orangewomen's ethnic identifications, which shift according to socio-political context.

For other Orangewomen, a commitment to Britishness was enacted through political endeavour rather than a devotion to royalty. Since devolution in 1999, the Order has increasingly represented the Scottish National Party (SNP) as a threat to its very existence: indeed prior to the local elections of May 2006, a polemical *Torch* article asserted that an Orange vote for the SNP would be 'tantamount to turkeys voting for Christmas.'²¹ The article entreated disaffected Labour voters to continue to support the party as a bulwark against Scottish nationalism. Indeed in 2011 Boyle perceived the Orange Order to be 'more fearful of the establishment of a new Scottish parliament than the Irish Catholic community' and remarked upon its subsequent willingness to 'actively support all pro-unionist political parties including the Labour Party' to counter 'Scottish nationalism as the single biggest threat to the future of the country.'²² Two years later, Orangewoman Jackie Knox described Scottish independence as 'a big threat to our Order'²³ and spoke passionately of her active campaigning for the diverse Better Together movement, rallying a diverse political spectrum of pro-union support. Orangewomen Mary Duckett and Helyne MacLean were also involved with the Order's strategy committee to orchestrate an organisational campaign to resist independence.²⁴ This looming 'menace' of Scottish independence has arguably reinvigorated, politicised and prioritised some Scottish Orangewomen's sense of Britishness.

Whilst Irish Protestant ethnicity remains important for many Orangewomen, sustained through strong interjurisdictional links with Irish sisters, this diasporic identity nevertheless seems to become more nebulous and remote with each subsequent generation, and less anchored in memory, kinship networks and intimate knowledge of family histories. Second generation interviewee Margaret Blakely recalled her 'very patriotic' father and maternal grandfather both to have both migrated from Raithfriland, County Down, and spoke fondly of attending parades 'in my daddy's town.'²⁵ Ninety year old Kilwinning Orangewoman Chrissie Taggart's father was from

²⁰ MacPherson, 'Personal narratives of family and ethnic identity', p. 18

²¹ Quoted in *21st century Orangeman*, Dir. Niel, BBC, 2007

²² M. Boyle, *Metropolitan anxieties: on the meaning of the Irish Catholic adventure in Scotland*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p.50

²³ Knox, Jackie, oral history interview, 8 February 2013

²⁴ Bain, Magnus, oral history interview, 15 February 2013

²⁵ Blakely, Margaret, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

Carrickfergus and she happily reflected upon her plentiful friends ‘both here and across the water.’²⁶ However, third and subsequent generation descendants of Irish Protestants spoke more tentatively of their family links: Jean Logan hesitantly stated ‘I believe that my grandfather was actually from Northern Ireland and he was a member of the Order’²⁷ and Kirsty Gardiner related that her mum had ‘traced ancestors back’ and her grandfather had been a District Master although she was unable to ‘remember the part of Ireland he was from.’²⁸ This assimilation and acculturation of Irish Protestant families over time into Scottish culture, and the subsequent distancing of imaginings of a diasporic ancestral homeland, was perhaps greatly eased by the fact that ‘Scotland and Northern Ireland are culturally interwoven.’²⁹ Orangewoman Janette Whitlaw had been raised in her mother’s Reformed faith, as her ‘nominally’ Catholic Irish father ‘didn’t bother about his religion’, and she apparently maintained no paternal kinship links with Ireland; she did, however, enjoy friendships with Orangewomen in Ulster, where she annually attended parades.³⁰ Whitlaw’s testimony illustrates the ways in which Orangewomen actively selected and negotiated their own identities, choosing which aspects of ethno-religious cultural heritage to embrace and which to negate or disown. Janette’s firm identification with an inherited Protestant tradition illustrates that ethnic specificities were significantly moderated by religious subjectivity.

Indeed not all of the women interviewed identified with an Irish and/or Ulster Protestant diasporic family past. PGM Margaret Young’s grandfather was a member of the Order but, to her knowledge, she possessed no family roots in Ireland or Ulster³¹; Isobel Campbell joined through a friend of her former mother-in-law yet her own natal family seemingly professed no direct connection to the Order or Ulster-Scots heritage.³² Grand Mistress Rhona Gibson stated she had ‘not on my side at all’ any kinship links to Ireland, although her late mother-in-law’s family hailed from Ulster.³³ Jackie Knox declared herself ‘not from an Orange family’ and spoke instead of a richly diverse heritage of Spiritualists, Catholics and ‘people that just didn’t believe’ scattered throughout her ‘big, wide-spread family’ which had no discernible Irish ethnic links; her husband’s family was, however, rooted in the Ulster.³⁴ The thread of commonality running through many of these women’s narratives seems then to be that intermarriage facilitated an imagined diasporic connection to Irish Protestant heritage.

Yet this tenuous ethnic affiliation seemed never to have deeply penetrated their own subjectivities and indeed their reasons for joining the Order were often to be found elsewhere. For instance, Jackie Knox joined ‘after 9/11 in America’ because:

²⁶ Taggart, Chrissie, oral history interview, 23 March 2011

²⁷ Logan, Jean, oral history interview, 23 March 2011

²⁸ Gardiner, Kirsty, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

²⁹ Walker, *Intimate strangers*, p.v

³⁰ Whitlaw, Janette, oral history interview, 23 March 2011

³¹ Young, Margaret, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 21 March 2011

³² Campbell, Isobel, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

³³ Gibson, Rhona, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

³⁴ Knox, Jackie, oral history interview, 8 February 2013

I just felt like the Taliban were trying to take over everyone and I knew girls that had got involved with Muslims and things like that, and I thought they are trying to convert everyone and take over and that if we don't watch we are all going to have to convert to their ways. And I thought, I was never really a big church goer, and I just thought I do believe in God, I do believe there is a God and as a Christian if we don't stand up you know, we need to stand up and that kind of made me think. I've got Catholic family. I was actually on holiday in a caravan and we passed about three young girls totally burkha'd up and everything in the head-dresses and I thought 'it's coming to a town near you.' It was more for standing up for my religion than standing against anyone's, everyone is entitled to their own religion and beliefs but so am I, so don't take my rights away and that was the main reason.³⁵

This defensive diatribe obscures the Order's expressly anti-racist ideologies, 'small' yet intensely enthusiastic membership in Togo and Ghana, and the fact that in Liverpool - where Ruth Dudley Edwards observed a young black female parading in fancy dress as William of Orange - about 10% of the membership is black.³⁶ Jackie's account provides a useful counterbalance to that of Corby Orangewomen Lynn, interviewed by MacPherson: she postulated that the Post-Reformation principles of religious tolerance and liberty defended by William of Orange might seamlessly 'be transferred into our acceptance of the Muslim faith in England' because the Order defends the right of all to practice as they 'see fit.'³⁷ Both self-narratives, contrastingly, illustrate the ways in which the Orange celebratory Williamite discourses of 'Glorious Revolution' - lauding the 1689 Bill of Rights - might be appropriated in defence of contemporary multiculturalism or, divergently, mobilised to defend and legitimise the fusion of ethnocentrism and religious ascendancy. Whilst MacPherson argues that Lynn's 'lack of engagement with her Irish heritage' enabled her to characterize the organisation as 'more relevant to twentieth-first century British life,'³⁸ Knox's discourse arguably represents the Order as decidedly tangential or oppositional to it.

For Jackie, Orange identity was not especially Protestant but rather synonymous with a generic, perhaps even secular, nominally and universally Christian subjectivity. Her narrative reflects Walker's conceptualisation of Orangeism as a 'nominal token' of Protestant identity, in early twenty-first century pluralist and secular Scotland. Indeed he notes the heterogeneity of Orange identities ranging from 'a conscious expression of religious faith' to a 'social and cultural badge of identity.'³⁹ Jackie's narrative replaces the Irish Catholic with the vilified Muslim 'other' and reconstructs British femininity as the passive site of contested ethno-religious hegemony. Her seeking of solace and refuge in the Orange lodge, in the face of convulsive and alienating social change, reflects the significance of 'fraternal affiliation' in various global contexts in enabling women to confidently 'navigate' seemingly 'threatening social worlds' as metanarratives of

³⁵ *Ibid*

³⁶ Dudley Edwards, *The faithful tribe*, pp.153 and 142

³⁷ MacPherson, 'Personal narratives of family and ethnic identity', p.17

³⁸ Dudley Edwards, *The faithful tribe*, p.17

³⁹ G. Walker, 'Varieties of Scottish Protestant identity' in T.M. Devine and R.J. Finlay (eds.) *Scotland in the twentieth century*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), pp. 266 and 250

urbanisation, mass immigration and industrialisation disrupted the certainties of the ‘white, Protestant establishment.’⁴⁰

Knox’s account of her motivations for joining problematizes Kaufmann’s recent assertion that [male] Scottish Orangeism is stimulated, to a great extent, by both ‘Irish-Protestant descendants or by Scottish Protestant’s competition with local Roman Catholics’⁴¹ by illustrating that newer emergent ethnic and religious identifications also act as impetus for lodge membership, and these might indeed have a wider resonance throughout the organisation than has previously been supposed. Kaufmann’s conclusions, moreover, are further moderated by the fact that Knox’s identification with both Protestantism and Irish ethnicity are decidedly weak, and because her family was religiously diverse. Knox’s candid explanation for joining illustrate that her Irish ethnic subjectivity is strongly negotiated by a definite sense of Scottishness and Britishness.

In 2003, Kathy Charles - an English migrant to Glasgow previously unacquainted with Orange walks – reflected in *The Torch* upon her experience of the 12th July parades:

‘It is so rare to see the flag waved with such pride any more. England has become so sanitised and everyone is so quick to label us racist if we wave the St. George or Union Flag.’⁴² Her remarks illustrate the potential appeal of Orangeism to those disaffected, marginalised and displaced within contemporary multicultural Britain, and also corroborates findings that ‘celebrations’ of ‘Scottishness’ are ‘viewed enviously by many who feel caught between the acknowledgement of that the St George’s Cross and the Union Jack have become symbols linked to the political right, and the perceived political correctness that involves not celebrating Britain and England’s imperial past for fear of offence.’⁴³ Charles’ sentiments are thus indicative of the emergence of identifications with Orangeism linked primarily to discourses of secular nationalism rather than religious Protestantism.

RELIGIOSITY AND SHIFTING RESPECTABILITIES

Skeggs has defined ‘respectability’ as the ‘process of [self] identification and differentiation’ and both ‘a marker and a burden of class, a standard to which to aspire.’⁴⁴ Adhering to evangelical concepts of classed religious respectability, churchgoing represents an important and highly gender-specific aspect of both Orangewomen’s collective organisational identity and individual subjectivities. Orangewoman Janette Whitlaw estimated ‘that 95% of the ladies are members of

⁴⁰ D.B. Turk, *Bound by a mighty vow: sisterhood and women fraternities, 1878-1920*, (New York: New York University Press, 2004), pp.159-160

⁴¹ Kaufmann, ‘The dynamics of Orangeism in Scotland’, p.286

⁴² *The Torch*, (October 2003), p.5

⁴³ S. Clarke, S. Garner, and R. Gilmour, ‘Imagining the ‘Other’/Figuring Encounter: white English middle-class and working-class identifications’ in M. Wetherell (ed.) *Identity in the 21st century: new trends in changing times*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p.149

⁴⁴ Skeggs, *Formations of class and gender*, pp.1 and 3-4

another church' whereas only men 'that are higher up in the Order tend to keep up their church membership.'⁴⁵ She also revealed - and fellow lodgeworkman Chrissie Taggart concurred - that at church parades 'a lot of the men tend just to drop out' early to avoid attending the religious service. This revealing remark illustrates the ways in which women's rank and file Orangeism differs fundamentally from that of their male counterparts, complicating MacPherson's assertion that 'In some respects, Orangewomen were no different to their male counterparts, and many of their activities were similar, from lodge meetings to parades and church services.'⁴⁶ The strict church attendance of Scottish Orangewomen also provides an interesting counterpart to Radford's assertion that the 'Protestant identity' of their sisters in Ulster is 'most cogently expressed not through religious worship but rather through secular loyalist practices.'⁴⁷

An interesting contrast might here be drawn with the mixed-sex masonic OES - an organisation whose female membership overlapped considerably with that of the Orange Order. High-ranking member Joan Steele, herself a lapsed churchgoer, maintains that 'a lot of the people treat' the Star's chapter meetings as if it were 'a church service.'⁴⁸ Clearly this is not the case with the Ladies' Orange lodges which are widely regarded as a complement to, rather than a substitute for, the Kirk. Orangewomen's contemporary commitment to the church, moreover, problematizes Callum Brown's secularization thesis, discussed in the previous chapter, by illustrating not only that women's church attendance is still strong in marginal pockets of society, but also because this continued adherence appears to have little impact on institutional levels of stagnant male religiosity.⁴⁹ Orangewomen's continued church adherence supports findings of recent studies - countering and contesting Brown's idea of dwindling post-1960s female religiosity - asserting that women continue to exhibit greater proclivity toward the sacred than men due to a 'congruence between the caring and nurturing attitudes that are associated with women's roles and a major (but by no means the only) theme of most religious traditions.'⁵⁰

MacPherson contends that many of the women he interviewed felt lodge membership to be 'an extension of their religious commitment.'⁵¹ Indeed Helyne MacLean concurred that, aged thirteen she joined the Order as 'largely an extension of my church membership,' yet admitted herself to be 'very, very disillusioned with the Church of Scotland' and its attempt to promote an ecumenical agenda. 'Tolerance', she asserted, 'is not about trying to change yourself' but rather 'accepting people as they are.' Helyne's attitude toward the Kirk was intensely conflicted: no longer an office-bearer or 'active' within it, she nevertheless still attended regularly.⁵²

⁴⁵ Whitlaw, Janette, oral history interview, 23 March 2011.

⁴⁶ MacPherson, 'Personal narratives of family and ethnic identity', p. 9

⁴⁷ K. Radford, 'Protestant women - protesting faith, tangling secular and religious identity in Northern Ireland' in S. Coleman and P. Collins (eds.), *Religion, identity and change: perspectives in global transformations*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p.136

⁴⁸ Steele, Joan, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 28 January 2013

⁴⁹ Brown, *The death of Christian Britain*, pp.4-6

⁵⁰ M. Trzebiatowska and S. Bruce, *Why are women more religious than men?*, (Oxford: O.U.P., 2012), p.112

⁵¹ MacPherson, D.A.J., 'Personal narratives of family and ethnic identity', p.7

⁵² MacLean, Helyne, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

For Janette Whitlaw, it was the over-zealous proselytising of the evangelical churches which shaped her youth - rather than the current liberalism of the Scottish Kirk - which proved contentious and weakened her formal association with the church. Her powerful reminiscences of herself as an 'impressionable' young girl coerced into attending the 'very, very strict, hellfire and brimstone' sermons preached at the rigidly sabbatarian Sunday Mission proved far-reaching: Janette admitted the experience had 'stayed with' her and resultantly she was 'terrified of the wrath of God.'⁵³ The non-denominational Protestantism of the Order, coalescing around the equitable spiritual principles of 'not treating anyone badly and helping other sisters or anybody no matter what religion' enabled Janette to maintain a Christian identity whilst rejecting the oppressively dogmatic and punitive strictures imposed by a specific church. The consensual spirituality of the lodge therefore allowed her to reconcile the enduring remnants of a scriptural Protestant faith, into which she was forcibly socialised, with a more homely, accepting, instinctual and loving conceptualisation of Christianity based upon 'feminine' tenets of kindness and reciprocity.

For other Orangewomen, the ideological disjuncture between church and lodge appeared less profound. Grand Chaplain Isobel Campbell asserted her conviction that 'a committed church involvement' was a prerequisite of the office. Isobel intimated that she 'took a lot of pleasure out of the role' and spent considerable time contemplating which scripture or prayer would be appropriate for a particular occasion.⁵⁴ PGM Margaret Blakely also spoke wistfully of her 'lovely' role as former lodge chaplain maintaining 'we are a religious fraternity our organisation; we open with bible prayer and scripture reading and finish with it too.'⁵⁵ Linking the collective gendered identity to religiosity, Margaret affirmed that 'the ladies is a very high standard' which has 'good principles to stand by.' She also described with great vigour and knowledge, the intricate history of the Scottish Covenanters. Interlaced with references to reformers Luther and Knox, her narrative historically embedded her Orange subjectivity in a proud Scottish Calvinist historical tradition.

Admitting herself to be a 'stickler for tradition', Margaret insisted upon wearing her hat to weekly Church services despite being 'the only woman to do so.'⁵⁶ This formal adherence to tradition resonates with Callum Brown's observation that Scottish women were encouraged to 'rehearse their femininity through wearing fine dresses, coats, hats and gloves' to attend the Kirk, which suggests the ubiquitous significance of the hat as a totem of female religiosity and respectability in pre-1960s public discourse.⁵⁷ Margaret's habitual performance of this weekly ritualised self-fashioning might be understood as a radical refusal to compromise her gendered religious identity, and a proud assertion of her visual and moral distinction from the rest of the congregation. Indeed the hat recurred as a motif for feminine propriety and decorum in the narratives of many of the

⁵³ Whitlaw, Janette, oral history interview, 23 March 2011

⁵⁴ Campbell, Isobel, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

⁵⁵ Blakely, Margaret, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

⁵⁶ *Ibid*

⁵⁷ C. Brown, 'Spectacle, restraint and the Sabbath wars: the everyday Scottish Sunday' in L. Abrams and C. Brown (eds.), *A History of everyday life in twentieth century Britain*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p.160

female interviewees: Joan Steele of the OES affectionately recalls a neighbour in the 1950s tenements where she was raised who, despite being ‘quite poor’ and ‘not the cleanest of persons,’ invariably dusted off and donned the ‘pristine’ hat from the box beneath her bed before trudging three miles to the masonic hall, ‘immaculately turned out’ for her monthly Star meeting.⁵⁸ Thus the hat was – and remains for some lodge women – a cultural marker of women’s religious and associational respectability. Indeed a contingent of Lurgan Orangewomen marching at Drumcree in 1996 ‘turned out in their Sunday best’ and donned ‘big hats’ – not regularly worn by Irish Orangewomen – in expectation of televised media coverage. Although they eventually abandoned the bonnets as an ‘encumbrance on a four-mile walk’, the Irish sisters nevertheless viscerally recognised, and initially appropriated, the hat as a timeless marker of ‘respectability.’⁵⁹

There was, however, a noticeable distinction and dynamic tension between the religious identities of older and younger Orangewomen. Echoing Callum Brown’s thesis of post-1960s mass secularization, Margaret Blakely argued that lack of religious instruction in the young was proving an obstacle to recruiting new members: ‘I wouldn’t like to live my life without faith’ she asserted, expressing pity for the ‘the children of today’ unversed in Scripture. Margaret speculated that the biblical iconography displayed on lodge banners might prove alienating to a secular youth lacking ‘the grounding’ in Christianity.⁶⁰ Whilst many female juveniles felt the Orange Order provided them with welcome adjunct to the ‘inadequate’ religious instruction they received in non-denominational schools – in which they were reportedly taught ‘about everybody else’s religion but never our own’⁶¹ – there was a clear sense in which the acculturation of the lodge acted as a substitute, rather than complement to, both church and Sunday school alike. Juvenile Amy maintained ‘we don’t go to Sunday School, just to church after parade’ and her friend, eighteen year old Jade, concurred that her overburdening commitments to work, the Territorial Army and a mixed sex flute band precluded regular Kirk attendance, although she still found time for the lodge.⁶² Young Ulster Orangewoman Nicole Reid readily admitted the laxity of her churchgoing, citing the ‘really long, boring sermons’ as the main reason.⁶³ This suggests that age cleavages in church adherence cut across jurisdictions. Ian Wilson admitted he felt ‘very uncomfortable’ with the idea that some people joined ‘because they found the church not to their tastes,’ and remained adamant that ‘the lodge isn’t a church.’⁶⁴ This trend however, amongst younger Orangewomen suggests perhaps a negation of the formal re-enactment of traditional church-based ‘respectabilities,’ and their embrace of the lodge as alternative transmitter of religious cultural heritage. Indeed critics of the commonly circulated narratives of post-1960s secularisation maintain that, despite the decline in church attendance, ‘self-declared Christian adherence’ (defined in terms of ‘a range of meanings tied to interwoven commitments and belongings-linked to family,

⁵⁸ Steele, Joan, oral history interview, 28 January 2013

⁵⁹ Dudley Edwards, *The faithful tribe*, p.438

⁶⁰ Blakely, Margaret, oral history interview, 28 January 2013

⁶¹ Elliott, Lauren, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 18 February 2013

⁶² Rosie, Jade, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 18 February 2013

⁶³ Reid, Nicole, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Dungannon, 28 February 2013

⁶⁴ Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

class, history, values, ethnicity and nation’) remains high in Britain.⁶⁵ It is such broadly expansive definitions of Christianity with which many younger Orangewomen apparently self-identify.

IDENTITY ON PARADE

There is, furthermore, a marked generational shift away from tacit complicity with the Order’s ideologies of sexual difference – which anchors and thematically unifies the narrative of Orangewomen such as Margaret Blakely – toward engagement with the exploration of postfeminist subjectivities. Younger Orangewomen are participating more frequently in flute bands, traditionally a male preserve, and most of the twenty-four Kelvinhaugh Covenanters, or ‘Pink Ladies’ as they are more commonly known, are members of the juvenile Orange lodge.⁶⁶ The band, which frequently accompanies the Orange Ladies’ Day events, is the only single-sex flute band in Scotland. The ‘Pink Ladies’ was co-formed by Helen Cameron, member of the Ladies’ Orange Committee, in 1988, as an all-female ‘blood and thunder’ band. Unlike the Orange Order, flute bands ‘make no claim of middle-class respectability’: their ‘fiercely provocative’ music and ‘aggressive’ uniform formation represent an urban spectacle of bombastic triumphalism and a vehicle for the rehearsal of ‘tribal’ and territorial, ‘mythic identities.’⁶⁷ Flute bands are regarded as decidedly ‘masculine’ and associated with ‘raucous’ political militaristic tunes in contrast to the ‘genteel’ ‘female’ accordion bands which play ‘only sacred hymns or religious music.’⁶⁸ The involvement of women in flute bands is therefore particularly, and prominently, subversive of gendered norms of traditional feminine Orange religiosity. Brady has recently described the marching band as a ‘culturally-specific expression and presentation of Protestant masculinity’, speculatively linking the increase in band participation in Ulster to ‘the decline in the extent to which Protestant masculinity commanded the politics of the state.’⁶⁹ The involvement of young Orangewomen in the flute band, in a similar vein, might be understood as a reflection of – and reaction against – their gendered marginalisation within the Order.

True to their nomenclature, the Pink Ladies parade arrayed in a shocking pink, equipped with pink base drums; through this appropriation of an exaggerated girliness, they are able to disarmingly usurp the androcentric public space of the ‘march’ and defy the Order’s normative gendered ideologies to partake in a pseudo-militaristic ‘blood and thunder’ marching tradition. In the context of Ulster, membership of flute bands remain overwhelmingly male, despite the steadily ‘widening gender balance’⁷⁰ and, according to lifelong bandsman Harry McArthur, this is also the case in

⁶⁵ L. Woodhead, ‘Introduction’ in L. Woodhead and R. Catto (eds.) *Religion and change in modern Britain*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), p.6

⁶⁶ Gardiner, Kirsty, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

⁶⁷ D. MacDonald, *Blood and Thunder: inside an Ulster Protestant Band*, (Cork: Mercier Press, 2010), pp.24 and 9

⁶⁸ Radford, ‘Protestant women’, p. 137

⁶⁹ S. Brady, ‘Why examine men, masculinities and religion in Northern Ireland?’ in L. Delap and S. Morgan (eds.), *Men, masculinities and religious change in twentieth century Britain*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.233

⁷⁰ MacDonald, *Blood and Thunder*, pp.19 and 181

Scotland.⁷¹ This transgressive resistance of traditional ‘feminine’ subjectivities, and Orange discourses of essentialist sexual difference, affords these women the opportunity to enact radically hybrid identities. As will become apparent in chapter four, Scottish Orangewomen are prohibited from wearing trousers on parade and are expected to adhere to strict gender-specific dress codes, often at the expense of personal comfort and/or practicality.⁷² Their subversive mobilization of the colour pink echoes postfeminist discourses of popular culture in which the colour signifies ‘a woman’s gender entitlement’ yet is also emblematic of ‘fun, independence and confidence.’⁷³ The bold use of pink, it has been argued, acknowledges a tension between ‘supposedly essential feminine qualities and an acknowledged performance of femininity.’⁷⁴

In a 2003 article in *The Guardian*, Pink Ladies’ flutist Lindsay, also an Orange juvenile, was interviewed whilst excitedly journeying to Belfast in anticipation of the ‘twelfth’ celebrations. A Scottish Orange interviewee of Ruth Dudley Edwards described some of the bands journeying to Belfast as ‘ferocious,’ ‘obnoxious’ and eager ‘to go to the harder areas’ and ‘get stuck into the beer on the way down.’⁷⁵ A narrative of militant triumphalism emerges in this feature as, in confrontational tone, she reveals her determination to ‘show we are not going to back down to anybody.’ Her jubilant exhilaration at the prospect of the ‘party atmosphere’ awaiting her hyperactively aroused her desire to ‘run the parade instead of walk’ and to ‘start dancing.’⁷⁶ Whilst the 1993 ladies’ Orange rule book clearly circumscribed the behaviour of female members parading in the interests of decorum, expressly forbidding ‘dancing or jazzing with banners,’⁷⁷ Lindsay’s performance of a less rigidly hidebound ‘feminine’ identity illustrates the mutative and context-dependent nature of Orangewomen’s subjectivities. Her account demonstrates that these women’s self-presentation and rehearsal of public identities was dynamic and negotiated, and could shift substantially when publicly representing other groups and freed from gendered organisational strictures of Orangeism. Parading with the band rather than the lodge, then, enabled Pink Ladies/Orangewomen to temporarily resist the docile and ‘respectable’ identity of female ‘other’ ascribed them through dominant domestic discourses of Orangeism. In much the same way, Francis, a female member of the James Connolly Republican Flute Band, regarded the group as a non-gendered space where ‘you are not classed on whether you’re a man or a woman,’ but rather on the ways your participation demonstrates that ‘you want social change.’⁷⁸ Trans-jurisdictional mobility and the appropriation of postfeminist symbolism also afforded these women the agency to experimentally perform exciting ‘new’ gendered identities in environments which might prove simultaneously invigorating, precarious and liberatory. This journeying to an imagined site of

⁷¹ McArthur, Harry, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 4 February 2013

⁷² See Appendix B

⁷³ Lazar, ‘Entitled to consume’, pp. 381-382

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p.385

⁷⁵ Dudley Edwards, *The faithful tribe*, p.138

⁷⁶ A. Gillan, ‘Off to the Loyalist Mecca with three bottles of vodka, two cases of beer and a sea of union flags’, *The Guardian*, 12 July 2003

⁷⁷ LOAS, *Ladies’ Rule Book*, 1993, pp.42-3, 9 and 13

⁷⁸ Schiesari, N. (Director), *Green Flutes*, Channel 4, documentary transcript, TS., shown 3 March 1984, p.10

freedom from fettering domestic ideology, parallels Ryan's account of the experiences of young working-class Irish Catholic women as economic migrants to London, actively negotiating place and space and encountering the cityscape as both thrilling and dangerous.⁷⁹

Indeed Grand Lodge executive Chris McGimpsey maintained Scottish Orangewomen to be 'more militant' than the brethren, citing two Kelvingrove women's lodges which parade annually in the Ardoyne, where many 'men wouldn't,' despite coming under fire from 'bottles, bricks, or petrol bombs.'⁸⁰ He also contended that much of the 'support' for the 'paramilitary element' in terms of 'the songs and whatever' that remains within the Order – keenly emphasising that Grand Lodge had virtually eradicated this militant element – 'actually comes from the ladies.' The validity of these claims is difficult to verify, given the clandestine nature of such support. Indeed the empirical difficulties for the researcher in teasing out this kind of information are not easily overcome.⁸¹ The Kelvingrove sisters McGimpsey describes are reminiscent of those 'militant' loyalist women of South Belfast lodge women 'responsible for putting 'orange footprints' on the Lower Ormeau Road before the Twelfth of July 1999, by way of a protest at the official decision to re-route the parade.'⁸² In 2005, Armagh Orangewoman Honor Hawthorne was expelled from the Association of Loyal Orangewomen of Ireland (ALOI) after her attendance at an Orange funeral cortege in full regalia and prescription sunglasses generated anxieties that the event had resembled a 'paramilitary procession' and tainted the image of the Order through association.⁸³ The debacle reflected the ways in which women's transgression of normative 'feminine' dress codes was automatically conflated with extremist dissidence and subversion in institutional gendered discourses within a politically charged context. The issue also echoes the Scottish Grand Lodge's classed apprehension that the bands were appropriating replica paramilitary uniforms.⁸⁴

What the evidence clearly suggests in the Scottish context is that in recent decades the involvement of some Orangewomen with flute bands has occasioned them the opportunity to publicly rehearse 'new', experimental and contested gender-specific identities. Orangeman and lifelong flute bandsman Harry McArthur asserted the Order to be aspirationally and deferentially middle-class, in contrast to the solidly working-class bands.⁸⁵ Scottish Orangewomen have therefore combined 'respectable' traditional middle-class femininities - symbolised by skirts and hats which form their dress code when parading with their lodge⁸⁶ - with appropriation of more strident, working-class 'masculine' and androgynous selfhoods (symbolised by their militaristic band uniforms) illustrating the hybridity and interchangeability of Orangewomen's gendered and classed public identities. Skeggs has noted the classification of the working-class into 'rough' and 'respectable' and this is

⁷⁹ Ryan, 'Moving spaces and changing places', p.70

⁸⁰ McGimpsey, Chris, oral history interview, 27 July 2012

⁸¹ S. McEvoy, 'Loyalist women paramilitaries in Northern Ireland: beginning a feminist conversation about conflict resolution,' *Security Studies*, 18, no.2 (April 2009), pp.267-268

⁸² Ward, *Women, unionism and loyalism in Northern Ireland*, pp.70-71

⁸³ 'Woman challenges Orange expulsion', *Belfast Newsletter*, 20 March 2010

⁸⁴ Marshall, *The Billy Boys*, p.165

⁸⁵ McArthur, Harry, oral history interview, 4 February 2013

⁸⁶ Tables 1.4-1.6 and 2.0, Appendix B

indeed a helpful framework, in the parlance of the everyday, for conceptualising these performed identities.⁸⁷

FORMER MEMBERS AND DETRACTORS

Whilst the above examples illustrate the ways in which Orangewomen actively negotiated multiple identities through resistance to and/or acquiescence with Orange gendered ideologies, attention now turns to the women who experienced as intolerable the clash of personal subjectivities and institutional ideology and consequently left the Order. Interviewee Ann Hamilton was raised in a family with a strong tradition of Orangeism, and joined Southside LLOL 93 during the 1970s. She quit the institution in 1995 shortly after a new Worthy Mistress assumed control of the lodge: as Deputy, Ann was expecting to fill the vacancy and struggled to adapt to the new office-bearer's 'slap-dash' approach and 'lack of standards,' and found herself dismayed at the 'in-fighting' and 'backbiting bitchiness' which had replaced the friendship and consensual harmony which had previously reigned.⁸⁸ Her decision was less a disavowal of the institution per se than the result of social alienation and marginalization within her particular lodge. Indeed Ann remained adamant that she would still 'do everything to promote' the institution and still avidly attends parades and pines for the camaraderie, 'the order of the Order, its structure, being part of something and the social side' despite her disinclination 'to enter another lodge room.' Ann's conflicted position illustrates the ways in which Orangewomen's identity might be fragmented, and their identification with the organisation impaired, by the content and quality of her interaction with fellow lodgewomen.

Her reluctance to return, however, is also impeded by her disavowal of the Grand Lodge's gender politics. Ann's self-narrative thus represents an interesting counterpoint to Annmarie Hughes' assertion that lodge membership offered 'status as well as a sense of purpose to women.'⁸⁹ Ann revealed herself to have been particularly outspoken in the lodge yet was keen to stress that she was 'not one of those burn your bra-types.'⁹⁰ Her remarks are reminiscent of Hughes' description of a 'rough kind of feminism' enabling working-class women to 'reject a feminist identity' yet nevertheless 'behave in feminist ways.'⁹¹ Because she had 'stood up and said it should be one member one vote' and voiced her objections to Grand Lodge's denial of Orangewomen's right to self-representation within District meetings, her belated father, a senior Grand Lodgeman, was irreverently told to 'sort your daughter out.' For Ann, it was always 'a man's institution' which had 'allowed women in as secondary members.' This disillusionment with the Order's gendered institutional power structures, together with personal rivalries within the private lodge, proved insurmountable obstacles to her reinstatement despite her equivocation that 'the Orange' is 'still in

⁸⁷ Skeggs, *Formations of class and gender*, p.3

⁸⁸ Hamilton, Ann, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 8 November 2012

⁸⁹ Hughes, *Gender and political identities in Scotland*, p.80

⁹⁰ Hamilton, Ann, oral history interview, 8 November 2012

⁹¹ Hughes, *Gender and political identities in Scotland*, pp.12 and 204

my heart.’⁹² Ann’s contradictory narrative of simultaneous belonging and alienation, interlaced with a ubiquitous and enduring emotional affinity with Orangeism, challenges binary representations of fixed insider/outsider institutional subjectivities.

Esther, Ann’s younger sister by twenty years, is also a former member, yet with strikingly different experiences and opinions of the lodge. Enrolled into the junior lodge, Esther described herself as ‘never into religion’ and rejected Orange ideologies as socially divisive.⁹³ Her blatant rejection of Orangeism was interwoven with narratives of intergenerational rebellion, and there was a clear sense in which she had actively defined herself in opposition to the Orangeism of her parents. A tension emerges in her narrative between the values of ‘respect for people and elders’ which her parents attempted to instil, and her own desire to exercise agentic power – ‘to be my own person’ - crystallised in her assertion that ‘they are not dictating my life to me.’ Transposing this conceptual framework of pervasive intergenerational conflict upon her reminiscence of the juvenile lodge, Esther characterised the adult superintendents of the juvenile lodge as ‘old witches’ who were ‘very religious’ and repressively discouraged ‘children from acting like children’ or ‘making too much noise.’ She reportedly felt Orangeism to have been ‘forced upon’ her because her father was ‘constantly in it’ and she was expected to follow suit. Her testimony effectively blurs the boundaries between repressive parental and lodge authority; for Esther, then, Orangeism is conflated with a lack of individual autonomy and represents anachronistic conformity and her rejection of the lodge constitutes a defiant assertion of agentic power. There is however, underpinning her resolute rejection of the Order, a paradoxical continued support for Orange principles such as the ‘freedom to walk with an open Bible,’ commitment to civil liberties, and ‘tolerance for all.’ Esther’s denunciation of Orangeism was bound up not primarily in terms of objection to its ideological precepts, but rather in the ways in which her experiences of the lodge intimately and irrevocably signified personal acquiescence to collective family norms and values, and the denial of individual subjectivity and self-expression.

Other former Orangewomen were less antagonistic toward the Order: South Lanarkshire sister Sandra Stevens’ thirty year membership lapsed after her relocation abroad and she has never considered re-joining, arguing that we live in ‘changed days indeed’ where church-going is less important and subsequently the decline in membership to be ‘a sign of the times.’⁹⁴ Jean Logan related her perception of a vast decline in recent years, pondering ‘some folks feel it’s because of the inequality; others feel it’s just that women are working now and trying to work several jobs and manage families.’⁹⁵ Isobel Campbell concurred that anachronistic dress codes and the attitudes of ‘older members stuck in the past’ to be alienating younger members who refuse to ‘move with the

⁹² Hamilton, Ann, oral history interview, 8 November 2012

⁹³ Gilmour, Esther, oral history interview, 8 November 2012

⁹⁴ Sandra Stevens, email to the author, 25 June 2013

⁹⁵ Logan, Jean, oral history interview, 22 March

times.’⁹⁶ Such comments reveal the inability of the Order to keep pace with social changes in the role of women to be detrimentally impacting membership. Janette Whitlaw maintained the ‘unequal partnership’ between male and female sections and the unwillingness to relinquish some of the ‘old school traditions’ to be off-putting to younger potential candidates.⁹⁷ Ian Wilson spoke of the need to render Orangeism ‘more relevant’ for those potentially interested⁹⁸ and Helyne MacLean identified the ‘need to change the way we do things’ whilst retaining the Order’s core principles to reach out to the many disenchanting young people who ‘feel the need to belong to something.’⁹⁹ The Order’s insistence on outmoded dress codes, an auxiliary role for women and the pressures of juggling family and work commitments are all therefore attributable causes for the relative decline in female membership.¹⁰⁰

Indeed there is considerable evidence that some young women oppose not simply the Order’s outmoded gendered ideologies but also, more fundamentally, experience its divisive emphasis on sectarian politics to be troubling and repugnant: Elizabeth Scott, a Kilmarnock woman who had declined to join the Order, was particularly scathing in her critique. Elizabeth had encountered Orangeism through the parades she attended with her grandfather, a lodgeman whose membership reflected a pride in his Scottish and Protestant heritage. His wife had been Catholic and tenaciously refused to allow her children to enter the lodge, believing instead ‘they should be universal Christians.’¹⁰¹ Elizabeth credits her grandmother’s unyielding stance as ‘the reason why we are no longer in it.’ This clear sense of women’s ability to control, and therefore responsibility for determining, the ideologies into which their children are socialised and acculturated, for Elizabeth, implicates Orangewomen in the intergenerational transmission of what she perceives to be ‘hateful and ugly’ ideologies. She thus maintained that the sexual specificity of Orangewomen’s role in ensuring their beliefs are ‘reinforced in the home’ intensifies their culpability for propagating Orangeism despite their marginality to its power structures.

Elizabeth derides the Order’s attempts to ‘package parades’ as faith-based ‘family’ events and considers the female participants to be ‘part of the incitement’ through their conspicuous display of ‘the same sort of symbolism, the language, the songs and the ‘no surrender’ iconography.’ Dudley Edwards, in the context of Ireland, contrastingly referred to the ‘family-orientation that makes so many Orange parades a happy event.’¹⁰² Conceding there to be ‘less drunkenness’ amongst the women who tend in the main to ‘present themselves in a dignified manner’ despite some ‘very questionable behaviour,’ she nevertheless held the women accountable for failing to intervene when the men appear drunk and are ‘talking their nonsense.’ There is however, an ambivalence in

⁹⁶ Campbell, Isobel, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

⁹⁷ Whitlaw, Janette, oral history interview, 23 March 2011

⁹⁸ Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

⁹⁹ MacLean, Helyne, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

¹⁰⁰ Similarly, Clawson has characterised women’s freemasonry as “distinctly out of step with modern social trends” and thus experiencing plummeting membership, quoted in P. Calderwood, *Freemasonry and the press in the twentieth century: a national newspaper study of England and Wales*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p.197

¹⁰¹ Scott, Elizabeth, oral history interview, 16 July 2013

¹⁰² Dudley Edwards, *The faithful tribe*, p.100

her gendered assertion that ‘I don’t feel that it is so much the women, but they are there, they believe in it’ but ‘I think it’s difficult because there’s probably women there who are just like my mum, who see it as part of their heritage, as a thing you can take kids on as there’s flutes and drums and various things.’¹⁰³ This nuanced distinction between the subjectivity, motivations and understanding of the diverse spectrum of women the organisation amalgamates as members is important.

Elizabeth’s thoughtful observation reflects broader debates over the extent to which women belonging to ‘sectarian’ organisations have been historically represented in binary terms, and either excoriated as more ideologically dogmatic than their male counterparts or vindicated by their conceptualisation as disempowered, unagentic dupes of an invidious ideology. Historians of women’s involvement in right-wing organisations have indeed noted, in a range of contexts, their complicity in ‘transmitting their values to the next generation.’¹⁰⁴ Elizabeth’s testimony provides a useful counterpoint to the self-narratives of Orangewomen explored earlier in this chapter, illustrating the conflicting and contradictory ways in which Orangewomen’s public identities are constructed in discourse, and also the gendering of their individual agency and the rooting of this firmly within the familial rather than institutional sphere. Indeed recognising that the ‘feminine’ qualities of maternal nurturance and caregiving might be exploited to benefit the institution, Grand Secretary James Rice maintained newly-instituted Orangewomen would prove invaluable ideological inculcators of the young: ‘The hand that rocks the cradle’ he averred ‘is the hand that rules the world.’¹⁰⁵

GENDERED SECTARIANISM

A 2003 attitudinal survey commissioned by Glasgow City Council found the Orange Order was widely considered a deeply sectarian organisation, with numerous residents experiencing parades as a ‘provocative’ expression of religious intolerance.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, dominant Orange narratives construct sectarianism as an issue largely overblown by the media and opportunistically exploited by Alex Salmond for political gain. In 2011, *Torch* editor Ian Wilson dismissed this ‘supposed national problem’ and goaded those ‘who believe Scotland has a serious sectarian problem’ to experience ‘a taste of life in the Balkans.’¹⁰⁷ Whilst Grand Lodge acknowledged the need to weed out the ‘unruly and unwelcome’ aggressive element accompanying parades - and failed to condemn outright the 2010 papal visit to Scotland - the quality and pace of internal debate and willingness to compromise has been critiqued.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Scott, Elizabeth, oral history interview, 16 July 2013

¹⁰⁴ P. Whaley Eager, *From freedom fighters to terrorists: women and political violence*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p.72

¹⁰⁵ Grand Lodge, Report of Proceedings, 1909 -1910, p.66

¹⁰⁶ NFO, ‘Sectarianism in Glasgow – Final Report’, (Edinburgh: NFO, 2003), pp.1 and 13

¹⁰⁷ ‘Here we go Again!’, *The Torch*, (July/August 2011), p.1

¹⁰⁸ Boyle, *Metropolitan anxieties*, pp.50 and 58

A recent focus of Scottish sociological debate has been to the extent to which sectarianism is still endemic in West Central Scotland. Definitions of ‘sectarian’ are necessarily ambiguous and what, for some, might be ‘viewed as an expression of cultural solidarity’ is to others perceived ‘as an attempt to insult and intimidate.’¹⁰⁹ Inevitably, much obviously depends upon context, intent, and the subjective meanings applied by those involved. Bruce asserts that post-war non-sectarian housing allocation policies, the rise of mixed marriages and increased educational opportunity have fostered social integration, promoted tolerant coexistence and eroded this pernicious phenomenon.¹¹⁰ Countless studies nevertheless attempt to establish the ubiquity of an attitudinal culture of prejudice, as well as the pervasiveness of occupational and social inequalities linked to religious identity. The latter – less than the former since much of the evidence is necessarily anecdotal – respond to Bruce’s call for objective ‘society-wide statistical data.’¹¹¹ Indeed, following a comprehensive study of 2001 census data, Raab and Holligan concluded ethno-religious differences in educational and professional attainment amongst young generations to be negligible, and forecast the continued erosion of socio-religious divisions.¹¹²

Holligan and Deuchar’s 2008 study of Glasgow gang culture, however, found the continued presence of sectarian attitudes promulgated by ‘family values, football and organisations such as the Orange Lodge’¹¹³ and the ubiquity of ‘sectarian humour’ dismissively normalised as ‘harmless ‘banter.’’¹¹⁴ The rise in racism ‘in the light of the influx of asylum seekers, refugees and Eastern Europeans in recent years’ was identified by some as a more pressing issue than sectarianism.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless racism is often ‘embedded within sectarianism,’¹¹⁶ exacerbating rather than eradicating the prevalence of ethno-religious identity politics. Indeed, interviews with young Orangewomen revealed the extent to which ethnicity and religious identity had become interwoven: Juvenile Lauren Elliott explained that her nondenominational school in Sighthill ‘got all the immigrants’ and ‘there wasn’t much talk about Catholic or Protestant, it was more about everything else.’¹¹⁷ Fellow lodgewoman Kelly Fitzpatrick elaborated ‘I was never taught Catholic or Protestant’ but instead learned about ‘Buddha and the Asian faith.’¹¹⁸ Intersections of ethnicity and religiosity thus significantly reshape the content, and shift the parameters of, sectarian discourses as overarching narratives of multiculturalism and secularisation complicate, and undermine the continued relevance of, simplistic Catholic-Protestant dualities.

¹⁰⁹ S. O’Loan, A. Poulter, and D. McMenemy, ‘The extent of sectarianism online’ (Glasgow: Nil by Mouth report, 2005), p.22

¹¹⁰ Bruce et al, *Sectarianism in Scotland*, pp.96-7 and 114-115

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, p.154

¹¹² G. Raab and C. Holligan, ‘Sectarianism: myth or social reality? Inter-sectarian partnership in Scotland, evidence from the Scottish Longitudinal Study’, *Ethnic and racial studies*, 35, no.2 (November 2012), p.1934

¹¹³ C. Holligan and R. Deuchar, ‘Territoriality and sectarianism in Glasgow: a qualitative study’, (Glasgow: British Academy Report, 2008), pp.16-7

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.4

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.11

¹¹⁶ M. Savaric, ‘Racism and sectarianism in Northern Ireland’, *The politics of ethnic diversity in the British Isles*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p.181

¹¹⁷ Elliott, Lauren, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

¹¹⁸ Fitzpatrick, Kelly, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

Subverting dominant narratives of Orange sectarianism, several Orangewomen represented themselves as educationally-disadvantaged and marginalised by their Protestantism. Amy Bell asserted:

In our schools we learn about everybody else's religion but never our own. Maybe we are not good enough¹¹⁹

Fellow juvenile lodgewoman, Jade Rosie explained that her parents had written to her primary school objecting to the lack of teaching 'about the Protestant faith.'¹²⁰ Lodge sister Kelly Fitzpatrick conversely stated that her parents would be 'fine with me going to a Catholic school because we are all Christians.'¹²¹ She also agreed with separate Catholic schooling on the basis that 'everyone has their own faiths and there are some parents who wouldn't like their children to go to a mixed school.'¹²² This variable degree of tolerance in the narratives of young Orangewomen is underscored by an experiential awareness of religiously-inscribed difference resulting in alienation from the ideologies of multicultural mainstream education. Primary teacher and lodgewoman Caron McLellan, however, maintained that she 'teaches the children' to 'develop a tolerance for people of a different religion' and used this argument within a promotional brochure to legitimise the Order as anti-sectarian body.¹²³ Discourses around mainstream education are therefore fractured and conflicted, balancing the need to promote understanding and acceptance of different faiths against the desire to consolidate a sense of hegemonic Protestant identity - as juvenile testimonies illustrate, the latter is now satisfied almost exclusively by the Lodge.

Within Orange, academic and media discourses, sectarianism is constructed as a gendered problem: bigotry is decidedly a 'boy's game'¹²⁴ linked to 'male tribalism and machismo.'¹²⁵ Researchers exploring the sectarianism of 'Old Firm' football message boards found 'facetious sexist comments' to be incredibly 'common.'¹²⁶ Aggressive displays of gendered sectarianism are unlikely to be publicly exhibited by female members of a socially conservative organisation, confounding the difficulty of reliably ascertaining the depth and breadth of prejudicial attitudes amongst Orangewomen.

Female interviewees – many of whom were trustees and long-established Orangewomen selected by the Grand Mistress – were obviously keen to project a progressive and tolerant image of Orangeism and the common refrain was that they opposed the institution of the Roman Catholic Church rather than individual Catholics. The extent to which this conviction was heartfelt, and to

¹¹⁹ Bell, Amy, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

¹²⁰ Rosie, Jade, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

¹²¹ Fitzpatrick, Kelly, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

¹²² *Ibid*

¹²³ C. McLellan, 'What Orangeism means to me', *The future is Orange and Bright*, (Glasgow: GOLs, undated), p.37

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, p.52

¹²⁵ Holligan and Deuchar, 'Territoriality and sectarianism in Glasgow', p.17

¹²⁶ O'Loan, Poulter, and McMenemy, 'The extent of sectarianism online', p.64

which it was a justification parroted ad nauseam to temper perceptions of organisational bigotry, is unknowable and probably varied significantly according to individual respondents. Whether this position— dissociating individual members from the organisation to which they belong - is tenable is highly questionable, since the institution is unavoidably fashioned by its adherents, and reciprocally, individual conduct is invariably influenced by membership of a faith-based institution. However, several of the women pointed to Catholics within their own family circle with whom they enjoyed close relationships. It was decided not to press interviewees upon this issue - which might jeopardize goodwill – and would likely elicit only defensive response.

Nevertheless, despite the deliberate lack of directly probing questioning, attitudinally revealing comments towards Catholicism were passed: Janette Whitlaw related her opinion that the Catholic Church had ‘lost a lot of members through abuse’ and expressed disgust at institution-wide cover ups. She also related the tragic testimonies of individuals left mentally ill following sadistic abuse by nuns in care homes in Southern Ireland.¹²⁷ Although she conceded sexual scandals to be common to all denominations, her lingering emphasis upon the institution-wide failure of the papal hierarchy to address the issue condemns Catholicism as cruelly complicit in physical abuse and sexual exploitation.¹²⁸ The narratives of most Orangewomen, however, confined their analysis to the local and anecdotal rather than global and controversial.

Orangewomen’s extensive charitable outreach and sporadic support for a diverse range of causes¹²⁹ clearly problematizes charges of blinkered allegiance to an ethno-religious organisation. Furthermore, lodgewomen’s commitment to Christian evangelism and initiatory oath to be ‘ever abstaining from all uncharitable words, actions and sentiments towards those of the Roman Catholic Church’¹³⁰ also circumscribe manifestations of flagrant sectarianism. The complex interplay of Orangewomen’s negotiated spiritual, occupational and political subjectivities – numerous sisters worked on a paid and voluntary basis in public sector, caring occupations and articulated a commitment to improving their local communities¹³¹ - undermine constructions of the female membership as monolithically prejudiced, narrowly focussed, self-serving or bitter: indeed, Ulster Orangewoman Joan Beggs related that within her religiously ‘mixed’ horticultural society, she sold roses ‘for our special [Orange] centenary’ to raise funds for Breast Cancer, and many Roman Catholics were ‘happy to support a charity that was helping everybody.’¹³² Moreover, female interviewees were all highly personable, and often coherently articulated reasoned and

¹²⁷ Whitlaw, Janette, oral history interview, 23 March 2011

¹²⁸ Likewise Indiana Klan women’s “anti-Catholic allegations” detailing the “sexual perversity” of priests and nuns “normalised hatred of the Klan’s enemies” and increased organisational “public credibility amongst white protestants” (Blee, *Women of the Klan*, pp.87 and 92)

¹²⁹ Fully surveyed in chapter five

¹³⁰ LOAS, *Ladies’ Rule Book*, 1993, p.4

¹³¹ Larkhall Orangewoman Mary Duckett, for example, was involved with a diverse profile of organisations including the Congregationalist Church, Community Council, Ladies Civil Defence Rescue Team, and Hamilton Crime Prevention Panel. She also undertook outreach work with drug addicts and prisoners (‘The lady with the roses: Sister Mary Duckett’, *The future is Orange and Bright*, p.15)

¹³² Beggs, Joan, oral history interview, 28 February 2013

tolerant world views which largely focused more upon the affirmation of their own identity than denigration of the ‘Other.’¹³³

Differing responses to accusations of institutionalised sectarianism emerge in the narratives of Orange members. Ulster Orangewoman Joan Beggs asserted that she was raised as the ‘only Protestant family’ in a Catholic townland and thus ‘never had any difficulty’ relating personally to Catholics. Beggs argued the ALOI to be ‘the only organisation I know that promises not to give offence to the Catholic neighbour’ and asserted ‘it’s not the people you are against, it’s the religion with people being made saints and things like that.’¹³⁴ Such contentions, although sincerely expressed, fail to address exactly why such an express vow might be necessary and the ways in which institutional ideology might consolidate social division. Moreover, definitions of ‘sectarianism’ as unrelated to violence and hatred, but rather a theoretical framework insistent upon the ‘centrality of difference as a typical mode of thought’¹³⁵ undermine the subtly persuasive sophistry of arguments objecting to the institution rather than the individuals whom comprise it.¹³⁶

Primary teacher and Orangewoman Caron McLellan reversed charges of Orange bigotry by arguing accusations of ‘sectarianism’ to be especially ‘hurtful’, and levelled by pupils who ‘are often so prejudiced by the attitude of their families that they cannot see any of the good done by the Orange Order.’¹³⁷ McLellan’s subversive strategy - directing charges of closed-minded intolerance against those accusing the Order of the same – also involves emphasizing the ‘many people’ who ‘benefit greatly from our generosity’ in order to demonstrate the innate ‘worthiness’, inclusivity and Christian concern for all as the sound ideological foundation of Orangeism.¹³⁸ Contrastingly, Jackie Knox candidly admitted ‘we have got members that are idiots’ who ‘join it because they think we are going to sacrifice a Catholic at today’s meeting’ but avowed these to be an unwelcome minority.¹³⁹ Orangewomen’s varied engagement with, and attitude toward the Catholic ‘other’ are therefore detectable despite the lack of interrogative enquiry into this contentious issue.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to engage with the myriad of thematic sites at which Orangewomen’s identities were contested, fragmented, and dynamically reshaped. As has been illustrated, the ways in which women performed their Orange selfhoods were moderated not just by ethnicity,

¹³³ Nevertheless, in much the same way Blee discovered Klan women were “not uniformly hate-filed” but instead committed, in many cases, to peace movements, economic re-distribution and feminism whilst also endorsing a pernicious politics of racial exclusivity (Blee, *Women of the Klan*, p.6)

¹³⁴ Beggs, Joan, oral history interview, 28 February 2013

¹³⁵ Savaric, ‘Racism and sectarianism in Northern Ireland’, pp.179-180

¹³⁶ Similarly perhaps, some ideologues of racist organisations now minimise a discourse of hate propagating the mantra of their “love of the white race rather than hatred of others” in order to make their intolerance “more palatable” (B. Perry, ‘White genocide: white supremacists and the politics of reproduction’ in A.B. Ferber, *Home-grown hate: gender and organised racism*, (London: Routledge, 2004, p.74)

¹³⁷ McLellan, ‘What Orangeism means to me’, *The future is Orange and Bright*, p.37

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, p.37

¹³⁹ Knox, Jackie, oral history interview, 8 February 2013

class and age but also by their individual religiosity, politics and conceptualisations of how best to enact their 'feminine' subjectivity within the organisation. The plurality, complexity and hybridity of Orangewomen's intersecting public, work, church and familial specificities have also been surveyed. It has been argued that traditional, aspirationally middle-class performances of 'respectable' churchgoing female Orange selfhoods are now beginning to combine with more emergent articulations of militant and marching, stridently working-class bandswomen's identities – finding particular expression in women's dual membership of both the lodge and the 'blood and thunder' band – affording Orangewomen multiple opportunities to publicly enact conventional and transgressive 'femininities.'

What is evident is not only the incredible diversity of Scottish women's articulation of their Orange identities, but also that the intensity of their identification with the particularly religious, political or social/fraternal aspects of Orangeism was situational, context-dependent and dynamically shifted chronologically. This is reflected also in the fluidity with which they might both appropriate and negate different Orange and personal subjectivities, and also in the ways in which their work-based and institutional selfhoods occasionally proved impossible to integrate and reconcile. This chapter has argued that there has been an apparent weakening of identification with ethnic Irish identity amongst some Orangewomen – especially those with generationally distant diasporic migratory ties or for whom connections existed only through marriage - towards the embrace of a pre-referendum politicised dual Scottish and British unionist identity. It is argued, moreover, that the juncture at which gendered institutional identities of Orangewomen proved impossible to personally synthesise - and impinged upon individual autonomy, empowerment and agency - they quit the Order, as the testimonies of Ann and Esther both contrastingly illustrate. The agency of Orangewomen in negotiating and dynamically shaping their own mutative sense of selfhood, both relational to each other, and to the Order's androcentric discourses of sexual difference, has therefore been illustrated. Women, therefore, demonstrably identified with and enacted differing conceptualisations of Orangeism, organised along intersecting lines of gender, age, class, nationality and ethno-religiosity.

CHAPTER 3

BEADS, BAUBLES AND ‘SECOND CLASS CITIZENS’: THE CONTESTED STATUS OF ORANGEWOMEN

‘Power’ relates to an individual’s ‘control over outcomes,’ the term ‘status’ refers directly to their position within a social hierarchy’ and is ascribed according to individual specificities of ethnicity, gender and class.¹ Within this theoretical framework, ‘status’ is continually reconfigured through discourse and social interaction. This chapter explores the critical intersections, from 1909 to the present, at which Scottish Orangewomen attempted active renegotiation of their collective status. However, it illustrates sisters to have remained largely auxiliary and supportive, rather than initiatory and trailblazing, over the past century. The dynamic interplay between dominant and counter-hegemonic institutional discourses is charted, to reveal the interchangeability of Orangewomen’s conditional complicity with, and resistance to, organisational patriarchy.

The focus is very much upon two adversarial debates: the first over women’s contested entry to the Order in 1909; the second relating to Orangewomen’s current rights of self-representation at the District Lodge. Historical parallels between the arguments – herein identified as ideologically underpinned by either sexual essentialism, equality and/or maternal feminism - rallied by both sides reveal thematic continuity in cyclical and reflexive institutional discourses. The shifting emphases of - and blurred boundaries between - these discrete ideological approaches suggest a plurality of discursive strategies were situationally evoked, either to legitimise inequalities and/or advance women’s status. This chapter also examines, through oral testimony insights, the interactive relationship between sisters and brethren, contextually elucidating understandings by way of reference to the fitting social psychological concepts of ‘benevolent sexism’, ‘paternalism’, and ‘backlash.’

A broadly chronological structure is followed, commencing with a thumb-nail sketch of the key developments in Scottish female Orangeism over the course of a century: the emphasis here is not upon comprehensiveness but rather upon identifying catalysts for change – and reasons for stasis – in women’s institutional standing over time.² Contrasts and parallels are drawn between the comparative status of Scottish Orangewomen with sisters in neighbouring jurisdictions, and with female members of masonic fraternal organisations.

¹ M. Cikara and S.T. Fiske, ‘Cooperation? Consent: how women react to their place, based on a social relations and ambivalent sexism’ in S.J. Correll (ed.), *The Social Psychology of Gender*, 24, Emerald, (2007), pp.100 and 102

² Appendix D offers an exhaustive chronology

EARLY CAMPAIGNS

This chapter contends the early inception of Scottish female lodges to have resulted from continual pressure from individual brethren, the Protestant Ladies' Auxiliary, and - perhaps most crucially - from the Grand Orange Lodge of England (GOLE). It was not (as hagiographical institutional publications are retrospectively eager to assert), the result of a principled or enlightened commitment to sexual equality but rather a pragmatic concession dispensed by the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland (GOLS) due to lack of discernible alternative.

Prior to an institutional merger in 1876, there is evidence of two operational female lodges in Glasgow (about which very little is known) under the jurisdiction of the Liverpool based Loyal Orange Institution of Great Britain³ which failed to survive organisational convergence. Despite scant documentation, the very existence of nineteenth century Glaswegian female lodges – combined with women's contested involvement in parades during the 1890s⁴ - is illustrative of an early appetite for female Orangeism decades prior to the official 1909 inception of women's lodges.

Endemic, if sporadically expressed, pockets of grassroots support for women's Orangeism existed decades prior amidst entrenched widespread opposition. In 1897 and 1899, Paisley Orangeman Dr Griffith unsuccessfully attempted to moot the installation of female lodges before a stubbornly resistant Grand Lodge.⁵ In 1901 two Greenock brethren were the impetus for driving the unwelcome topic back onto the agenda: unsurprisingly, their proposals also met with defeat.⁶ Hoping to capitalise upon Grand Lodge's concerns regarding a decline in male membership⁷ Edinburgh Orangemen tabled the thorny issue again in 1905, but to no avail: instead Grand Lodge attempted, largely unsuccessfully, to reverse this atrophy by lowering the age of admission to sixteen. The controversial resurrection of the matter at the 1907 GOLS Conference 'met with such a storm of opposition and prejudice that it was thrown out.'⁸

Realising the passage of time was unlikely to weaken Grand Lodge's implacable resistance to the idea, sympathetic lodgemen advised women desirous of entry to the Order to form the Protestant Ladies' Auxiliary (PLA). Branches were established across West-Central Scotland, meeting monthly to engage in 'propaganda work' to 'educate the brotherhood in their way of thinking.'⁹ Their very name suggestive of their tactful resolve not to 'infringe in any way upon Grand Lodge' authority, the PLA nevertheless articulately undermined its patriarchal politics of gendered exclusion. The shrewd selection of the term 'auxiliary' self-consciously represented these women

³ David Bryce, 'Scotland's First Ladies', *The Torch*, (May 1999), p.5

⁴ Grand Lodge, Reports of Proceedings, 14 December 1894 and 14 June 1895

⁵ *Ibid*, 1887 and 1889

⁶ *Ibid*, 1900- 1901, pp. 11 and 14

⁷ *Ibid*, 1902 -1903, p.48

⁸ '1909-1959', *The Vigilant*, 6, (June 1959), p.4

⁹ 'Ladies' Orange Association,' *Belfast Weekly News*, 25 November 1909, p.110

as a collective of potential helpmeets, rather than a diverse body of agentic individuals. Omission of the term ‘Orange’ in favour of ‘Protestant’ demarcated their sphere of interest as primarily religious rather than fraternal or political, whilst the gendered choice of ‘Ladies’ was expressive of their complicity with classed norms of demure feminine respectability, morality and propriety. This organisational title thus enabled pioneers of Scottish women’s Orangeism to disarmingly perform a tactical deference, thereby allaying concerns of their potential threat to male authority.

Self-presenting as a malleable, consensual conglomerate of women - united around a shared acquiescent acceptance of their ancillary status – the Ladies’ Auxiliary carefully demonstrated themselves easily and usefully assimilable by the Order. They argued compellingly that female lodges were long-established throughout the British world, insisting themselves to be ‘surely as intelligent, as law-abiding, and as loyal as their sisters in other countries.’¹⁰ This appropriation of discourses of equality to subvert Grand Lodge ethnocentrism referenced global Orangewomen – rather than the Scottish brethren – as the direct object of comparison, thus moderating the directness of the challenge to organisational hegemony. The PLA constructed their case in the rhetoric of reverence, rather than rights, deferentially maintaining female Orangeism to be a ‘pride and privilege’ rather than an entitlement. However, their diplomatic oratory proved ineffectual and Grand Lodge remained unyielding.

Dramatically changing tactics, Glaswegian Dorothy Wilson – along with daughters Annie and Harriet – underwent initiation into a Newcastle women’s lodge.¹¹ Relatively little is known about these women, but their lineage is traceable to ‘a good Orange family’ in County Armagh. It is possible - although unprovable – that they were the descendants of participants in early Irish Ladies’ lodges.¹² *The Vigilant* enigmatically refers to Harriet as ‘dedicated to the upliftment of her people and the removal of those oppressions which denied them happiness.’¹³ This ambiguous statement is suggestive perhaps of her involvement with wider philanthropic and political causes, indicating – albeit without corroborating evidence - that PLA women enjoyed connections with expansive networks of social activism.

ENTRY TO THE ORDER

Following their initiation into the Newcastle lodge, the Wilson sisters once again petitioned Grand Lodge and this time the motion was ‘carried by a great majority.’¹⁴ The PLA was not permitted to represent their case in person before Grand Lodge and instead awaited news in a large tea-room in the city centre. When a telegram arrived relaying the decision they ‘gave vent to their feelings of

¹⁰ *Ibid*

¹¹ MacRailld, *Faith, fraternity and fighting*, pp.99 and 132

¹² Irish women’s Orangeism fell dormant after 1887 (‘Sisters in the Cause’, *A celebration, 1690-1990: the Orange Institution*, (Belfast: GOLI, 1990), p.64)

¹³ ‘Sixty glorious years – Diamond Jubilee Demonstration’, *The Vigilant*, 15, no.5 (May 1969), p.2

¹⁴ ‘1909-1959’, *The Vigilant*, 6, (June 1959), p.4

joy with a cheerful rendition of ‘For they are jolly good fellows.’ On 17th November 1909, the first Scottish women’s lodge was installed in Glasgow, and sixty-eight women were initiated.¹⁵

A missive from a Philadelphia female lodge congratulating the sisters on their ‘noble work’ strongly suggests transatlantic diasporic sisterly networks played a supportive role in establishing Scottish women’s lodges.¹⁶ MacPherson has drawn important parallels between Ontario Orangewomen’s 1890 procurement of a charter from the Ladies’ Loyal Orange Association of the United States - side-stepping the need for reluctant Canadian brethren to confer authority - and the Scottish sisters’ obtainment of a warrant from the English Grand Lodge.¹⁷ Scottish Orangewomen were evidently impressed by the effectiveness of Canadian Orangewomen’s subversion of ‘their own country’s Orange hierarchy’ to secure a foothold into this androcentric organisation.¹⁸

Hagiographical official institutional literature often downplays the GOLE’s role in pressurising the GOLs to admit install female lodges, instead conceptualising the Scottish Grand Lodge as progressively magnanimous in ‘welcoming’ women ‘before Fanny Pankhurst got going.’¹⁹ Alternatively, they commend the courage and defiance of the Wilson women in deftly manoeuvring Grand Lodge into acceptance of female Orangeism as ‘a fate accompli.’²⁰ These discourses are problematized by the rare 1933 testimony of William Livingstone, an English Orangeman with a self-confessed ‘hand in the Scottish business.’²¹ He maintained that the Wilson women’s attempt to plant a lodge in Glasgow under a GOLE warrant sparked fears of ‘an invasion by England,’ coercing GOLs to concede the women’s ‘just demands.’ His account minimises the self-determinism and agency of the Scottish sisters by highlighting Newcastle Orangewomen’s ‘enthusiasm’ and resolve ‘to see justice’ for their Scottish counterparts, and also by representing the matter as a territorial power struggle between two patriarchal governing bodies.²² Whilst institutional archivist, David Bryce, remained adamant that the GOLE lacked the authority to issue warrants out with its geographical remit, it seems likely that threats to Scottish autonomous functioning, and interjurisdictional harmony, proved the driving impetus behind the installation of female lodges.

EARLY FEMALE LODGES

One of the few surviving minute books of a female lodge, recording the business of newly-instituted Blantyre LLOL 6 from 1910, suggests there to have been an unsatisfactorily high degree of male involvement. Although brethren were unreservedly encouraging and appreciative of the

¹⁵ ‘Ladies’ Orange Association,’ *Belfast Weekly News*, 25 November 1909, p.110

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.110

¹⁷ D.A.J. MacPherson, ‘Irish Protestant women and diaspora: Orangewomen in Canada, c.1890-1930’, unpublished and supplied courtesy of the author, 2013, p. 299

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p.299

¹⁹ D. Bryce, ‘Scotland’s First Ladies’, *The Torch*, (May 1999), p.5

²⁰ McCracken, *Bygone days of yore*, p.37

²¹ W. Livingstone, ‘A veteran’s contribution’, *Belfast Weekly News*, 2 February 1933

²² *Ibid*

sisters' efforts in successfully growing and administering their lodge, in 1910 the lodge secretary proposed Orangewomen be afforded 'more control over their own lodges.'²³ The motion was unanimously passed and referred to Grand Lodge. Disappointingly, there is no further mention of the matter in Private or Grand Lodge minutes. The dearth of documentation problematizes attempts to gauge the extent to which this desire for greater self-determination was shared by other female lodges. Around the same time, fuelled perhaps by the buoyancy of suffragism, English Orangewomen became increasingly vociferous in defiance of their subordinate institutional status, as an anecdote which neatly reverses the gendered dynamic of the Blantyre lodge illustrates: in 1912, the Rose of Hebburn Ladies' Lodge Worthy Mistress 'rebuked forcibly and publically' District Master Bro. Rowan for neglecting to attend their lodge meeting.²⁴ The absence of officiating brethren was therefore embraced by some women as liberating yet disdained by others as disrespectful affront.

The keen involvement of Scottish Orangemen in ladies' lodges might, to some extent, be accounted for by the sharp decline in male membership²⁵ and attendant conceptualisations of the compensatory value and exemplary power of women's lodges. Women's praiseworthy attendance and readiness to inculcate Orange values into the young also commended them to Grand Lodge at a time when the male section was dwindling.²⁶ Female lodges spread exponentially and by 1911 over forty ladies' warrants had been granted.²⁷ Indeed MacRaill has noted a similar spike in English women's lodges - increasing from just 14 in 1881 to 53 by 1915 - yet maintains English brethren 'still held on to the reins' of leadership.²⁸

In the years immediately prior to 1914, the GOLS proactively lobbied apathetic and oppositional districts to initiate women's lodges. Addressing Wishaw District, which had absolutely 'refused' to countenance the idea, Grand Secretary James Rice rhetorically asked:

...why not share the glory with the females? You know Burns said 'What signifies the life o'man, if it was'na for the lasses?'²⁹

Emotively appealing to the brethren's sense of Scottishness, Rice subverts their conceptualisation of resistance as adherence to a continued patriarchal tradition by illustrating the national bard to have recognised over a century earlier the intrinsic worth of women. Similarly, in 2009 PGM Helyne MacLean scathingly observed Orangemen as slow to recognise the validity of Burns' conviction that the 'Rights of Women merit some attention.'³⁰ Rice's narrative implies women's initiation to Orangeism to be in keeping with, rather than a radical departure from, a progressive

²³ Blantyre LLOL 6, Reports of Proceedings, 25 May 1910

²⁴ MacRaill, *Faith, fraternity and fighting*, p.137

²⁵ Grand Lodge, Report of the Proceedings, 1912 -1913, p.63

²⁶ *Ibid*, p.66

²⁷ 'The ladies celebrate 80 years', *The Orange Torch*, (April 1989), p.7

²⁸ MacRaill, *Faith, fighting and fraternity*, p.136

²⁹ Grand Lodge, Report of Proceedings, 1909 -1910, p.64

³⁰ McLean, 'The sash my mother wore', *Centenary Brochure*, p.9

national tradition. However, despite concerted attempts to grow female Orangeism, in 1912 Rice gloomily acknowledged some Districts were ‘still fighting shy of it.’³¹

During this period, the gendered terminology used to describe the sisters was contested, reflecting both institutional anxieties about the role of this swelling corpus of women, and Orangewomen’s consciousness of the linguistic construction and reinforcement of their sexual subordination. Perhaps inspired by early twentieth-century discourses of ‘new womanhood’ - repudiating genteel ‘separate spheres’ Victorian ideologies - in 1914, some Orangewomen requested the prefixing of lodges in organisational literature with ‘women’ rather than ‘female.’³² However, this attempt to subtly engineer a reconceptualization of women’s institutional status through appropriation of emergent, progressive phraseologies was heavily defeated by the male executive.³³

DISTRICT MEETINGS

A growing source of malcontent amongst early Orangewomen was their systematic exclusion from the processes of decision-making within higher institutional courts. Women’s lodges fell directly under the administrative remit of the local male District Lodge, which in turn reported to County Lodge and, ultimately, was accountable to Grand Lodge.³⁴ Orangewomen were debarred from District – and higher level - meetings, dependent upon elected male delegates to represent their interests, and fully inform them of business transacted. This reliance upon male envoys severely restricted the autonomy of female lodges and subjected them to constant male invigilation. Whilst the Worthy Mistress enjoyed the right to preside at lodge meetings and have her edicts ‘acquiesced in without remonstrance or remark,’ the male District Lodge retained the authority to overrule her decisions.³⁵ The grandiose and exaggeratedly reverential title of ‘Worthy Mistress’, then, belied her nominal and easily interdicted ‘power.’ Whilst the Worthy Master’s corresponding role and responsibilities were identical, he was at liberty to represent his lodge at District level, chair private lodge meetings unsupervised, and accept promotion to high office.

By 1917 awareness was mounting that the election of brethren as District intermediaries by private lodges was inherently flawed and open to abuse. At the September Grand Lodge meeting objections were raised that some Districts were unconstitutionally ‘appointing,’ rather than allowing female lodges to select, male representatives. Whilst the right of the sisters to choose their own delegate was reasserted, Grand Lodge fudged the issue by equivocally defending ‘the right’ of a particular District to assign a brother ‘to look after the interests of a female lodge’ if they

³¹ Grand Lodge, Report of Proceedings, 1911-1912, p.18

³² A. Heilmann and M. Beetham, ‘Introduction’ in A. Heilmann and M. Beetham (eds.), *New woman hybridities: femininity, feminism and international consumer culture, 1880-1930*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), p.4

³³ Grand Lodge, Report of Proceedings, 1913-1914, p.13

³⁴ Table 1.1, Appendix C

³⁵ LOAS, *Ladies’ Rule Book*, 1925, pp.16-17

‘thought it wise to do so.’³⁶ This prevarication reveals the rules governing female lodges to therefore have been arbitrary, conditional and unevenly enforced rather than absolute principles safeguarding the already-limited rights of female lodges to some measure of self-determination.

POST-WAR CONCESSIONS

In 1915, Rice predicted ‘when the war is over’ it will ‘be more evident’ that ‘women are coming to the front, and are proving themselves in almost every sphere the equal of men.’³⁷ Such ruminations were fortified by women’s vital paid and voluntary wartime contributions, which were fast eroding limiting misconceptions of their parochial capabilities and talents. This ‘gender-neutral’ discourse of ‘emancipatory’ feminism subverted ‘separate spheres’ ideologies by minimising sexual difference and representing women an equivalent and invaluable ally in Orangeism. Rice also, however, deployed ‘maternal’ feminist rhetoric to legitimise a more expansive organisational role for women – exemplifying Taylor Allen’s observation that the seemingly incongruous arguments of equality and maternal feminism were in practice ‘used interchangeably.’³⁸ In 1918 he argued for the incorporation of girls into juvenile lodges from the premise that their optimal fulfilment of their future motherly role (nurturing ‘good, healthy Protestant families’ to continue the ‘good’ work of the Order) depended upon their involvement.³⁹ His argument proved persuasive, and mixed-sex children’s lodges were subsequently sanctioned.⁴⁰ This valorisation of women’s reproductive difference, however, also subtly mirrored the biologically-deterministic complacent Grand Lodge discourses essentializing sexual ‘difference’ to legitimise institutional inequalities.

In 1917, in recognition of the Sisters prolific wartime contributions, Grand Lodge established a sub-committee to discuss the ‘way ahead.’⁴¹ In 1918 the first Ladies’ rule book was subsequently sanctioned by Grand Lodge. Represented in institutional literature as an unequivocally ‘progressive’ measure, its introduction purportedly encouraged ‘greater harmony’ and ‘enthusiasm in our Women’s Order.’⁴² A ‘petition signed by a great many of the Worthy Mistresses’ proved the impetus for this long-awaited constitutional reform.⁴³ The rules, devised by a Grand Lodge committee - and prefaced by a sweeping disclaimer enabling the male executive any ‘alterations, additions or amendments’ and liberty to arbitrate ‘all other matters not herein provided for’ - were decidedly permissive rather than proscriptive.⁴⁴ Although instigated by Orangewomen, this framework of gendered legislation – increasing accountability, uniformity and control - reflects

³⁶ Grand Lodge, Report of Proceedings, 1917, p. 5

³⁷ *Ibid*, 1915, p.4

³⁸ A. Taylor Allen, *Feminism and motherhood in Western Europe, 1890-1970: the maternal dilemma*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.4

³⁹ Grand Lodge, Report of Proceedings, 1917-1918, p.56

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.15

⁴¹ R. Gibson, ‘The Ladies Orange Association of Scotland – a brief history’, *Centenary Brochure*, (Glasgow: GOLs, 2009), p.4

⁴² *Ibid*, 8th December 1917

⁴³ *Ibid*, 7 April 1917, p.14

⁴⁴ LOAS, *Ladies’ Rule Book*, 1925, pp.2 and 17

Grand Lodge concerns over the shifting societal status of women, and operates as an open-ended blueprint for potential re-subordination of sisters.

In April 1919 the biannual ‘Ladies’ Half-Yearly Conference’ was established, ostensibly to discuss matters pertaining specifically to female lodges and formulate recommendations for Grand Lodge validation. Since female office bearers were not elected until 1934, the business was initially conducted by senior brethren.⁴⁵ It has been interestingly observed that ‘organisations of women who have a serious purpose (not merely that of spending time with one another) cannot use the word *lady* in their titles.’⁴⁶ The Ladies’ Conference greatly conformed to this definition since meetings seem to have been convivial, and agendas focused upon female-specific business peripheral to Grand Lodge priorities.⁴⁷

At the 1920 Ladies’ Conference, it was proposed that a ‘warrant of dispensation of authority’ be granted to ‘form a Supreme Lodge to conduct the business of the Women’s Order subject to the approval of the GOLDS.’ However, following ‘energetic discussion,’ the suggestion was rejected ‘by a good majority.’⁴⁸ This decision significantly and perhaps irrevocably changed the course of Scottish women’s Orangeism and the matter appears to have never been resurrected. Reasons for the defeat of the motion can only be inferred. Arguably a fresh enthusiasm for the new apparatus of governance – the Conference and rulebook – satiated women’s appetite for greater responsibility, authority and independence, and consolidated their organisational presence, by providing a forum to collectively resolve gender-specific affairs and a formal apparatus of governance. Of additional import perhaps was a strong desire for organisational unity, and gendered collaboration, immediately following a sexually-divisive war.

THE INTERWAR YEARS

At the 1921 Ladies’ Conference, LLOL 30 proposed tightening the rules to prevent brethren from interfering in the business of the female lodge.⁴⁹ Although the motion was subsequently withdrawn, it illustrates that dissatisfaction at male encroachment upon women’s autonomous lodge-working found periodic re-expression.⁵⁰ Indeed at the following year’s Conference, it was proposed by President –titled ‘Grand Mistress’ after 1930 - Margaret McWhinnie that in future ‘all grievances in connection with female lodges’ be ‘settled by a Committee of women.’ However, Grand Secretary Rice maintained ‘this would only be forming another court of the Order’ and would not circumvent the ‘right’ of disgruntled members to ‘appeal to’ male District Lodge and the

⁴⁵ R. Gibson, ‘The Ladies’ Orange Association of Scotland’, *Celebratory Brochure*, (Glasgow: GOLDS, 2009), p.4

⁴⁶ R. Tolmach Lakoff, *Language and woman’s place: text and commentaries*, (Oxford: O.U.P., 2004), p.54

⁴⁷ Bain, Magnus, oral history interview, 15 February 2013

⁴⁸ LOAS, Conference, 8 November 1919, 6c

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 8 October 1921, 7a

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 8 April 1922, 5d

proposal was heavily defeated.⁵¹ Rice's comments reveal the status of the Ladies' Association to be ultimately subordinate to that of the District Lodge. Indeed reissues of all subsequent rulebooks explicitly reiterate the Ladies' Conference to possess equivalent status to the District Lodge – 'in respect of forwarding a Notice of Motion from the Conference direct to Grand Lodge.'⁵² Any attempts to bypass male interference with the governance of the female section within this structure, as will become apparent, would therefore remain thwarted.⁵³ Minutes of the 1926 LOAS Conference confirm that some female lodges, deferential to male authority, were unconstitutionally 'installing brethren as office bearers.'⁵⁴ Conversely, however, Orangewomen were increasingly leading mixed-sex initiatives, for instance in 1928 'able conductor' Flo Stevenson was appointed mistress of the newly-established Orange Choir.⁵⁵

In 1929, Grand Master took the unprecedented step of inviting President Helen Kennedy to officiate the Ladies' Conference after a decade of male officiation, likely motivated by recognition of her impressive abilities and also a need to offload extraneous responsibilities.⁵⁶ At the following Conference, the sisters 'Grand Mistress' would replace 'President' as the title of their supreme figurehead.⁵⁷ This preoccupation with the procedural and superficial trappings of office diverted Orangewomen's attention from their systematic exclusion from Grand Lodge business.

The 1920s, then, was a decade of gradual, unspectacular and piecemeal changes in the organisational status of women. Whilst most of the, albeit minor, 'advances' in women's standing were initiated by Grand Lodge, aided by Orangewomen's overwhelming complicity, there is clearly a sense in which innovations suggested by women were opposed by Grand Lodge officials and/or resisted by more conservative sisters. Perfunctory and formulaic minutes penned by a male Grand Secretary obscured the rationales underpinning decision-making. Periodically resurgent attempts by individual sisters to assert a measure of collective autonomy proved unsuccessful: a 1929 motion, for instance, to rename the Ladies' Conference the 'Ladies' Grand Lodge' was opposed by two past female presidents.⁵⁸ Seemingly a change of style over substance, unaccompanied by any proposed transfer of responsibility, the proposal might nevertheless be conceptualised as symbolically subversive of Grand Lodge authority. Despite the failure of such motions to gain traction, they illustrate nonetheless a continued tradition of sporadic gendered resistance.

⁵¹ LOAS, Conference, 14 October 1922, 6d

⁵² LOAS, *Ladies' Rule Book*, 1980, pp.23 and 2

⁵³ See 1.3, Appendix C

⁵⁴ LOAS, Conference, 10 April 1926, p.16

⁵⁵ 'Glasgow Orange Choir: a Musical Evening', *Orange Choir file*, (Glasgow: GOLS archive, 12 September 1935)

⁵⁶ LOAS, Conference, 12 October 1929, p. 2

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 11 October 1930

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 12 October 1929, p.2

POST-WAR STASIS

In 1948, GM Bessie Cathcart proposed the inauguration of an entirely new office - a Supreme Grand Mistress – to facilitate liaison with overseas sisters. The Grand Master adamantly insisted, however, it ‘would not be an asset to the Ladies’ Association.’⁵⁹ Accommodating this position would necessitate radical restructuring and rethinking of women’s precarious position within the Order. Cathcart’s proposal illustrates that Orangewomen were seeking to horizontally, if not vertically, expand their administrative remit, and deriving inspiration from appraisal of women’s functionality within other jurisdictions diplomatically gleaned from diasporic global Orange networks. Grand Lodge’s rejection of this initiative is suggestive perhaps of a jealous desire to maintain paternalistic influence over female lodges, by preventing the formal consolidation of sisterly inter-jurisdictional links which might weaken its hegemonic control.⁶⁰ Once again, Orangewomen’s attempts to significantly reform their status failed.

Indeed the Grand Master’s 1950 address to the Ladies’ Conference celebrated and reinforced Orangewomen’s complicity, as he patronisingly boasted ‘we have had no trouble at all from the Ladies’ and reiterated the importance of gendered unity in combatting ‘trouble outside the Orange.’⁶¹ During this decade, the relative stasis in Orangewomen’s institutional status reflected the ubiquity of conservative post-war sexual ideologies. The 1955 expansion of the female rulebook introduced largely cosmetic and niggardly changes, the most significant of which being the replacement of ‘female lodges’ with ‘women’s lodges.’⁶² The following decade also witnessed few changes for Orangewomen, possibly due to Grand Lodge preoccupation with extensive external pressures including ecumenicalism, deindustrialisation and, from the late 1960s, the eruption of the Northern Irish ‘Troubles.’⁶³

1970 ONWARDS

In 1971, an article penned by Bro. Owen Smith appeared in *The Vigilant* asserting the need for the ‘sisters to have equal status’ at ‘all levels of the Order.’⁶⁴ Smith proposed establishing a separate yet parallel female hierarchy to enable male trustees to focus upon pressing political concerns.⁶⁵ Whilst this never materialised, towards the end of the decade Grand Lodge permitted the Grand Mistress to extend her annual term of office, and delegated minuting of the Ladies’ Conference to

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 23 October 1948

⁶⁰ Indeed, at the 1970 Imperial Conference, Scottish sisters welcomed – yet failed to implement - the subversive suggestion of the Canadian Imperial Grand President that they establish a “a Grand Council all of their own” (‘Imperial Grand Orange Council – Glasgow’, *The Vigilant*, 16, no.9, (September 1970), p.1)

⁶¹ LOAS, Conference, 29 April 1950

⁶² LOAS, *Ladies’ Rule Book*, 1955

⁶³ Walker, *Intimate Strangers*, pp.91-2

⁶⁴ O. Smith, *The Vigilant*, 17, no.4 (July/August 1971), p.2

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p.2

female trustees, to unburden senior Grand Lodgemen whilst representing these concessions as significant ‘advances’ in Orangewomen’s institutional status.⁶⁶

Orangewomen’s right to self-representation within the District Lodge was finally mooted by sisters later in the decade, having remained a dormant bone of contention. Bro. David Bryce’s reminiscences of his role as a male District Representative during these years highlight some of the challenges of the role. He recollected Sadie McCutcheon curtly declaring ‘Bro. Bryce will speak only when I ask him to’ during an early encounter with this indomitable Worthy Mistress. His attendance was permitted in a strictly observatory capacity and unsolicited participation in lodge business would be unconstitutional. As District Representative, he was however, obligated to ‘point out’ any discernable ‘violation’ of rules.⁶⁷ Bryce assured McCutcheon privately that, whilst he had no wish to ‘intrude,’ he would certainly intervene ‘without fear or favour’ if he witnessed ‘something against the rules of the institution.’⁶⁸ His characterisation of the incident reflects an attitude of ‘paternal benevolence’ towards the lodgewomen he represented.⁶⁹ McCutcheon’s forceful assertion of autonomous power– and reluctance to ‘temper’ with ‘a display of communal warmth’ her ‘agentic qualities’ – incurred a verbal ‘backlash’, reaffirming the legitimacy of his overriding gendered authority.⁷⁰ This anecdotal reflection illustrates the capricious degree of mutual rapport and cooperation – and diplomatically negotiated gendered power relations – pivotal to the efficacy of this system of representation. In order to address these potential communicational issues, Grand Lodge instituted a District Committee (attended by the master/mistress and secretary of every private lodge) to discuss business and form recommendations for the ratification by District Lodge:⁷¹ designed to protect the privacy of this all-male preserve, this convoluted compromise fudged the issue of equitable access yet succeeded only temporarily in removing it from the agenda.

In 1980 Grand Lodge introduced a far more comprehensive female rulebook, enjoining Orangewomen ‘to obey the laws of the Grand Lodge,’ ‘abide by its decisions’ and ‘do her utmost’ in furtherance of its objectives.⁷² Constitutional obligations and expectations of gendered subservience thus encoded institutional compliance as a female-specific moral duty. This document refers repeatedly to ‘the Orange sisterhood’– seemingly appropriating the liberatory rhetoric of feminism yet without intended topicality, since Orangewomen historically were referred to as ‘sisters.’⁷³ Apparently acquiescent in their own inequality, however, Orange sisters

⁶⁶ Bain, Magnus, oral history interview, 15 February 2013

⁶⁷ Grand Lodge, *Laws and Constitutions*, 1993, 38

⁶⁸ Bryce, David, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, Glasgow, 23 August 2012

⁶⁹ L.A. Rudman and J.E. Phelan, ‘Sex Differences, Sexism and Sex’ in S.J. Correll (ed.), *The Social Psychology of Gender*, 24, Emerald (2007), p.27

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p.36

⁷¹ Grand Lodge, *Laws and Constitutions*, 1980, p.53

⁷² Grand Lodge, *Ladies’ Rule Book*, 1980, pp. 9, 24 and 5

⁷³ This is especially true in the context of Edwardian northern English Orangeism (MacRaild, *Faith, fraternity and fighting*, p.133). Indeed unease over the gendered language of Orangeism persists: PGM Ian Wilson’s revealed that his wife, Helen, considers the term ‘ladies’ to be ‘a bit of an affront’ (Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2013) reflecting ‘feminist’ conceptualisations of the term as “demeaning” and “condescending” (Tolmach Lakoff, *Language and woman’s place*, p.54)

demonstrated seemingly little interest in establishing their own separate ‘parallel’ organisation, and dissolving the Ladies’ Association, when this was radically mooted by GM Bain at the 1986 Ladies’ Conference: those present, he maintains, ‘didn’t even take a vote’ or ‘progress it at any length at all.’⁷⁴ Magnus attributes this apathy – confirmed by the lack of implemented reforms generated by the female grassroots - to women’s preference for ‘more mundane matters’ such as fundraising.⁷⁵ His casuistic explanation might be understood as an expression of ‘benevolent sexism’ – an ‘insidious form of bias’ in which ‘ostensibly favourable’ female stereotypes of women as ‘warmer or more nurturing’ can impede their enactment of ‘high status, or even equal status roles.’⁷⁶ GM Rhona Gibson suggested Orangewomen’s acquiescence with male power structures emanated from their ‘lack of self-belief.’⁷⁷ It is possible also that consensus prevailed amongst lodgewomen that severing of ties, as Helyne MacLean has argued, might prove ‘detrimental to the Institution.’⁷⁸

In 1997 Ian Wilson replaced Magnus Bain as Grand Master. Possessed of views antithetical to his predecessor, in 2003 he surveyed every Scottish female lodge to garner the strength of Orangewomen’s opinions on their right of self-representation within District Lodge.⁷⁹ The survey methodology allowed for the accumulation of both qualitative and quantitative data, and open-endedly invited innovative ideas for change. The questionnaire neglected to directly ask whether sisters wished to disband the Ladies’ Association and converge with the brethren, or secede into an autonomous single-sex organisation: questions were therefore narrowly focused and fashioned to elicit support for ameliorative rather than sweeping reform. Although survey responses were unavailable - classified as ‘current business’ rather than archival material - PGM Bain estimated an incredibly high non-response rate of ‘approximately 60%.’⁸⁰ Lacking any decisive mandate, Wilson shelved proposed reforms.⁸¹

Generic explanations for Orangewomen’s apparent indifference to their status are assessed later in this chapter. Lack of survey engagement, however, might specifically be conceptualised as subversive non-cooperation, communicating distrust of the rationale for, or frustration at the limited nature of, proposed changes. Abstention arguably represents ‘a silent form of social power,’ reflecting non-voter intimations of their ‘subservient role in the political structure’ and ‘delegitimizing’ hegemonic systems of governance.⁸² Clearly an ideological chasm existed between the relatively small clique of members pressing for change and the ambivalent rank and file: the extent to which this division correlated to variables of age, gender, social class or region –

⁷⁴ Bain, Magnus, oral history interview, 15 February 2013

⁷⁵ *Ibid*

⁷⁶ S.J. Correll, S. Thebaud and S. Benard, ‘An Introduction to the Social Psychology of Gender’, in S.J. Correll (ed.), *Social Psychology of Gender*, 24, Emerald, (2007), p.6; Rudman and Phelan, ‘Sex Differences, sexism and sex’, pp.23-24

⁷⁷ Gibson, Rhona, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

⁷⁸ MacLean, Helyne, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

⁷⁹ See Appendix E

⁸⁰ Bain, Magnus, oral history interview, 15 February 2013

⁸¹ Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

⁸² H. Sherrer, ‘Non-voting as an act of secession’, in C. Watner and W. McElroy (eds.), *Dissenting electorate: those of refuse to vote and the legitimacy of their opposition*, (Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2001), pp.126-129

or indeed unique intersections of these specificities – requires further quantitative institution-wide statistical corroboration. Attention now turns to analysis of representations of the ‘District issue’ in organisational discourse.

EMANCIPATORY VERSUS ESSENTIALIST DISCOURSES

Because the prevailing assumptions that women’s struggle for equality is now ‘won’ transformed feminism from a contemporary to a historical movement,⁸³ Orangewomen’s continued campaign for the right of institutional self-representation remains tangential to, and insulated from, contemporary mainstream meritocratic public discourses. The case for women’s entry into the District Lodge has often taken the form of anecdotal, experiential objections, or has borrowed the hackneyed 1960s ‘women’s rights’ rhetoric – paradoxically drawing succour from a movement antithetical to a socially conservative Orange ideology. The lack of current theoretical and discursive tools to construct and anchor specific arguments to wider political debates has resulted in the advance of a fragmented case for reform, drawing simultaneously from contradictory discourses of equality feminism and essentialist theories of gender complementarity.⁸⁴

Helyne MacLean - a vociferous advocate for Orangewomen’s equality –maintained the roles of sisters and brethren to be ‘very different’ yet ‘nevertheless equally important.’⁸⁵ This ‘equal-but-different’ mantra attempted to assuage concerns that reforming District representation would unavoidably catalyse the conferral of further ‘concessions’ upon Orangewomen, thereby undermining patriarchal hegemony. Her essentialist arguments - demonstrating ‘difference’ does not imply inferiority - subvert, yet to some extent risk conflation with, dominant institutional discourses referencing the biological ‘fixity’ of sexual roles as theoretical justification for Orangewoman’s subordination.

Rather than speculating upon Orangewomen’s untapped potential and underexploited latent abilities, Helyne MacLean contends women’s current contribution - often trivialised and undervalued — to be deserving of greater respect:

Women do all the important things: ok, they can laugh and say we make the tea but an army marches on its stomach⁸⁶

Her reassertion of the value of the everydayness around which Orangewomen’s collective institutional functions revolve - through which their identities are formulated and enacted - is subversive of patriarchal constructions of ‘high office’ as the pinnacle of Orange achievement

⁸³ J. Mather Saul, *Feminism: issues and arguments*, (Oxford: O.U.P., 2003), p.1

⁸⁴ Likewise, mixed-sex fraternal groups in early-twentieth century Britain situationally evoked and blurred distinctions between emancipatory and maternal feminism as ideological rationales for their spiritual praxis (Dixon, *The divine feminine*, pp.82 and 123)

⁸⁵ MacLean, Helyne, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

⁸⁶ *Ibid*

which prioritise hierarchical status over activities serviceable to the Order. MacLean's polemical discourse dualistically seeks both to convince brethren stoically resistant to change and also to imbue Orangewomen with 'a wee bit of confidence' by celebrating their gender-specific involvement.⁸⁷

Contrastingly, PGM Ian Wilson mobilises historically-embedded concepts of equality feminism to press for women's inclusion into the District Lodge:

I don't really adhere to theory that men are from Mars and women are from Venus. I don't believe we are that different, but in many respects we are brought up differently and we do develop sexually different attitudes to things⁸⁸

Wilson rejects the gender complementarity concepts of sexual 'difference' commoditised by populist self-help genres to argue sexual differences to be socially constructed. His commitment to emancipatory feminist imaginings of gender is invigorated by deliberate rejection of the media-generated postfeminist 'synergistic reiteration' of trite 'slogans and buzzwords'⁸⁹ to repudiate equality feminism as redundant.⁹⁰

Grand Treasurer J.G. MacLean is another lodgeman mobilising equality feminist arguments to lobby for change. Adopting a less theoretical and less equivocal stance than Wilson, he asserted 'women don't have any different views from the men' on 'the great issues of our time concerning the Orange Order.'⁹¹ This minimising technique, stressing gendered commonality, is in direct contrast to the essentialist arguments of his wife, Helyne MacLean. It seems, then, that 'progressive' brethren conceptualise the District issue in terms of equality; the arguments of Orangewomen - marginalised as institutional 'other'— are contrastingly shaped by an incumbent need to refute their own perceived 'inferiority' and unsurprisingly therefore emphasise women's unique achievements and abilities to affirm their innate individual and collective worth.

HEGEMONIC INSTITUTIONAL DISCOURSES

In 1980 *The Torch* featured an article revealing of the religiously-legitimised socially conservative gendered ideology foundational to Orangeism, contending 'husband and wife' were 'not supposed to be equal' but instead had been divinely created as 'the perfect complement to the other, functioning within their own roles.'⁹² Former Grand Secretary David Bryce comparably argued the current sexual division of institutional labour to be inevitable because 'women by nature' possess

⁸⁷ *Ibid*

⁸⁸ Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

⁸⁹ Y. Tasker and D. Negra, 'Introduction: feminist politics and post-feminist culture' in Y. Tasker and D. Negra (eds.), *Interrogating post-feminism: gender and the politics of popular culture*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), pp. 3 and 28

⁹⁰ S. Faludi, *Backlash: the undeclared war against women*, (London: Random House, 1992), p.1

⁹¹ MacLean, J.G., oral history interview, 28 January 2013

⁹² R. Allen, 'Am I just old-fashioned? Or are changing values killing our nation?', *The Torch*, (May 1980), p.15

the ‘gift of empathy’ and so are ‘more given to charitable endeavours.’⁹³ Bryce’s contemporary, Magnus Bain, similarly asserted Orangewomen were possessed of ‘a compassion that men didn’t have.’⁹⁴ Such assertions – implying the universality of biologically-inscribed sexual difference – echo evangelical domestic ‘separate spheres’ ideologies consigning sisters to a permanently ancillary role.⁹⁵ As Rudman et al persuasively illustrate, stereotypes of the intrinsically ‘helpful,’ ‘warmer or more nurturing’ female can detrimentally pigeonhole women into ‘more caregiving type roles.’⁹⁶ The sophistry of Bain’s assertion that he treated Orangewomen ‘as equals but equals in two different organisations,’⁹⁷ troublingly encapsulates the role of this seemingly innocuous ideology in subtly legitimising a discriminatory institutional dialectic of gendered exclusivity.

Some Orangemen, however, justified their opposition to women’s entry to District Lodge by reference to the immutability of ritual, rather than biological, differences. Chris McGimpsey – the youngest contemporary Grand Lodgemen – was unequivocally outspoken in assertion ‘there’s no if, buts or maybes about it – it’s a male Order.’⁹⁸ He emphasised the role of ‘totally different’ gender distinct Orange ritualism in spiritually legitimating women’s auxiliary status within Orangeism and he ‘wouldn’t class’ male and female rites as ‘equivalent.’⁹⁹ As the next chapter further elucidates, the conferral of status within Orangeism by elevatory ritualism is heavily gendered, and women’s marginalisation ceremonially inscribed.

SECOND CLASS CITIZENS

Proffering a ‘solution’ to the District debacle, Magnus Bain reiterates the need for women to dissolve the Ladies’ Association and either fully converge with, or secede from, male Orangeism. Under the current arrangement, he insists, Orangewomen might be permitted to attend District Lodge in a purely observatory capacity with ‘no voice and restricted rights’ - effectively ‘second-class citizens’ who ‘couldn’t open their mouth’ because of their status as institutional underlings.¹⁰⁰ Bain’s coining of the term ‘second-class’ echoes the appropriation of the phrase by golf clubs, admitting women ‘as second-class members’ at a lower fee.¹⁰¹ His arguments are powerfully undermined by long-standing lodgeworkman Janette Whitlaw’s commonsensical observation that the sisters are currently ‘treated as second class citizens’ since there are ‘a lot of things going on that the women don’t even know about’ and, in any case, they are not ‘allowed to make decisions.’¹⁰² Whitlaw’s subversive use of Bain’s phraseology – ‘second class citizens’ – robustly rebuts his glib legitimization of Orangewomen’s peripherality to power structures.

⁹³ Bryce, David, oral history interview, 23 August 2012

⁹⁴ Bain, Magnus, oral history interview, 15 February 2013

⁹⁵ B. Griffin, *The politics of Gender in Victorian Britain*, (Cambridge: C.U.P., 2012), p. 4

⁹⁶ Rudman and Phelan, ‘Sex Differences, Sexism and Sex’, pp.34 and 7

⁹⁷ Bain, Magnus, oral history interview, 15 February 2013

⁹⁸ McGimpsey, Chris, oral history Interview, 27 July 2012

⁹⁹ *Ibid*

¹⁰⁰ Appendix E

¹⁰¹ Rogers, *Men only*, p.43

¹⁰² Whitlaw, Janette, oral history interview, 23 March 2011

Ian Wilson has challenged Bain's discriminatory suggestion that women be permitted to mutedly observe District meetings. Wilson's proffered compromise would enable Orangewomen to retain their separate identity, ritual and control over their own gender-specific affairs, yet at the same time granting their self-representation within the District Lodge.¹⁰³ Wilson's fudged theoretical proposal, however, requires the positions of District Master and District Secretary – required to officiate at County and Grand Lodge meetings from which Orangewomen would remain excluded – to be occupied by brethren. Although this compromise would inevitably be 'rough for women to accept,' Wilson believed it palatable on the grounds that it nevertheless allows women a 'foot in the door.'¹⁰⁴ However, the concessionary nature of Wilson's proposal satisfies fully neither those desiring nor opposing change.

THE APPEAL TO TRADITION

Arguments advanced by opponents of amelioration of Orangewomen's status rely primarily upon a priori assumptions of the self-evident value of unquestioning adherence to inert and authoritative 'traditions.' Jarman maintains the Order's rigorous defence of its customs and practices as 'traditional' enable it to represent them as 'unchangeable, almost sacred.'¹⁰⁵ Indeed Wilson argues those resisting reform to be largely 'traditionalists' devoid of reasoned objections yet opposed on the basis that 'it's never been done.'¹⁰⁶ In his seminal study, Hobsbawm argued traditions to be 'invented,' appropriated and reasserted as the rapid rate of social transformation destructively undermines old certainties.¹⁰⁷ Hegemonic Orange discourses of gender exclusivity conform to Hobsbawm's paradigmatic definition by seeking to 'establish continuity with a suitable historic past' to legitimise, and resist challenges to, male organisational ascendancy.¹⁰⁸

Campaigners for reform of women's status have also appealed to historical 'tradition' to support their case. Helyne MacLean subverts historical constructions of Orangeism as a rigidly male preserve: asserting 'that's just about how all organisations started off in the 1790s or whenever' she illustrates these anachronistic arguments to be descriptive rather than predictive.¹⁰⁹ Evoking pioneering early Orangewomen who gained entry to the Order when 'women didn't even have the vote,' Ian Wilson proudly asserts a more progressive historical narrative of Orangeism's preemptive receptivity to societal shifts, tolerance and open-mindedness rather than its staid adherence to unyielding 'tradition.'¹¹⁰ Indeed his arguments echo those of Annie Wilson a century earlier, emphasising a proud historic tradition of women's assistance 'in times of national distress' as

¹⁰³ Wilson, I., oral history interview, 18 February 2013

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁰⁵ N. Jarman, 'The Orange Arch: creating tradition in Ulster', *Folklore*, 112, no.1, (April 2001), p.2

¹⁰⁶ Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

¹⁰⁷ E. Hobsbawm, 'Introduction' in E. Hobsbawm, and T. Ranger (eds.) *The invention of tradition*, (Cambridge: Canto, 2012), pp.4-5

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p.1

¹⁰⁹ MacLean, Helyne, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

¹¹⁰ Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

theoretical justification for their institutional presence.¹¹¹ The rooting of Orangewomen's contemporary struggle in an ongoing 'tradition' of spirited female resistance and organisational progressiveness is thus powerfully subversive of uncritical reliance on 'tradition' as axiomatically legitimising of continued institutionalised sexual inequality.

ORANGEMEN, DEFERENCE AND PATERNALISM

All interviewed Orangewomen expressed desire for modest reform in terms of their long-coveted District Lodge entry, and remained adamant they wished to retain the current sexually-distinct structure, ritual and lodges. Jackie Knox was resolute that she 'wouldn't want to be in the Ladies' Association if it broke away from' the brethren, insisting 'a lot of the ladies feel like that as well.'¹¹² Trustee Isobel Campbell expressed her moderate ambition to 'have a say in what happens' within her District, yet harboured no desire 'to become a man or take part in a man's lodge' ritual.¹¹³ Declaring herself to be 'quite happy' with the present District arrangement, Jean Logan differentiated herself from her less ambivalent, 'more stronger-minded' sisters.¹¹⁴ Varying in intensity - and slightly in emphasis - these women's opinions coalesced around a common commitment to the status quo or ameliorative concession rather than equalising reform. It is possible that the presentation of their aims as decidedly measured might be a tactical manoeuvre to reassure diehard traditionalists, yet it is likely also to be indicative of Orangewomen's innate sexual conservatism: as current Grand Mistress Rhona Gibson has affirmed, 'the women are very subservient to the brethren' and, failing to 'recognise the great worth that they have,' they 'don't aspire to do anything special.'¹¹⁵ Her remarks are suggestive perhaps of Orangewomen's internalisation of hegemonic institutional discourses of sexual difference.

Explanations for lodgewomen's apparent acquiescence with the gendered ideologies which valorise and legitimise sexual inequality are indeed elusive. Dworkin perceptively avers 'women have been trained to respect and follow' the 'very persons, institutions and values' that 'glorify her powerlessness.'¹¹⁶ Perceiving their 'survival depends on it', they 'desperately try to embody the male-defined feminine ideal' transforming themselves into 'the dulled conformists' and 'obedient followers.'¹¹⁷ Viewing this 'system of sex oppression' as entirely 'closed and unalterable,' the logic of their pragmatic endorsement of the domesticating status quo is therefore entirely 'substantive and compelling.'¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ A. Wilson, 'Female Orange Lodges', *Belfast Weekly News*, 7 July 1910

¹¹² Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

¹¹³ Campbell, Isobel, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

¹¹⁴ Logan, Jean, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

¹¹⁵ Gibson, Rhona, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

¹¹⁶ A. Dworkin, *Right-wing women*, (New York: Pedigree, 1978), pp.30 and 17

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 14 and 70

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 231 and 233-234

Beyond these abstract musings, historiographies of women in socially-conservative and/or politically right-wing organisations have explored the complexity of their resistance to, and reinforcement of, insidious organisational ideologies. Bush's study of 'anti-suffrage' women notes their simultaneous willingness 'to defer to male ideologies' in the interests of creating 'a public display of unity,' yet also acknowledges their 'genuine deference to male expertise.'¹¹⁹ Gottlieb's analysis of seemingly acquiescent BUF women represents them as never expressly or inclusively 'feminist,' yet nevertheless possessed of a 'vague commitment to the advancement of their sex.'¹²⁰ It is possible to conceptualise Orangewomen's paradoxical complicity with and/or opposition to organisational ideology within similarly dualistic, contradictory conceptual frameworks.

Social psychologists Cikara and Fiske maintain displays of female deference to male authority to be frequently rewarded by the conferring of liking, warmth and respect in the form of 'paternalist prejudice' whilst women competing with men for power are penalised by hostile male 'backlash.'¹²¹ Women 'do not necessarily accept' their 'subordinate status' but comply with 'benevolent' paternalistic gestures unaware 'they are reinforcing their own low-status role' or simply to avoid male antipathy.¹²² These insights provide an invaluable conceptual schema for framing the experiential interactions of individual sisters and brethren.

Kirsty Gardiner expressed her robust commitment to granting women 'equal say' at District level - recoiling at the possibilities for miscommunication inherent in the current system of representation - yet conversely found her ability to articulate this conviction severely constrained by an invidious form of patriarchal 'benevolence.' Kirsty explained:

I do feel quite bad pushing this issue forward because we have a good relationship with the District Officers¹²³

This comment exposes Orangewomen's diplomatic desire to placate - and estimation of personal friendships over internecine politics - as a potentially insurmountable impediment to assertively lobbying for reform.¹²⁴ Describing the brethren as 'very, very courteous' and reflecting on the pervasive institutional 'family bond,' Gardiner's testimony illuminates the subtle means by which conferral of warmth and liking 'as a consolation prize for foregoing competition with men for social power' is institutionally enacted.¹²⁵ Orangewomen's apparent complicity is therefore less political indifference than a discerning intimation that working cooperatively rather than confrontationally will likely yield optimal results.

¹¹⁹ Bush, *Women against the vote*, p.225

¹²⁰ J. Gottlieb, 'Female "Fanatics": women's sphere in the British Union of Fascists', in Bacchetta, P. and Power, M., *Right-wing women: from conservatives to extremists around the world*, (London: Routledge, 2002), p.31

¹²¹ Cikara and Fiske, 'Cooperation? Consent', pp.106-7

¹²² *Ibid*, pp.114 and 116

¹²³ Gardiner, Kirsty, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

¹²⁴ Cikara and Fiske, 'Cooperation? Consent', p.101

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, p.106

Some Orangewomen, conversely, characterised institutional gendered relations as habitually fraught and even openly disrespectful. Margaret Young forthrightly observed ‘sometimes the brothers don’t want to listen’ when sisters ‘are afforded a say.’¹²⁶ Jackie Knox candidly denounced many lodgemen as ‘scared of the women’ because they actively ‘give their support better’ to Grand Lodge, implying the fragile relationship between sisters and brethren to have been marred by resentful ‘backlash’ at women’s increasing involvement.¹²⁷ Whilst Jean Logan was clear that the relationship had ‘improved’ considerably in recent years,¹²⁸ Janette Whitlaw emphasised the need for ‘a better friendship’ with the brethren.¹²⁹ The desire to improve these potentially deleterious relationships, thus to some extent, explains Orangewomen’s apparent reticence and complicity.

EQUALITY: LEGAL REDRESS

In 2011, the issue of women’s contested entry to all-male organisations was resurrected as St Andrews golf club considered amending its constitution to comply with the 2010 Equalities Act.¹³⁰ Analogies from the golfing world are particularly pertinent since female members of private clubs are still denied full voting and membership rights. Nevertheless, the Ladies’ Golf Union has diplomatically refused to condemn the reluctance of clubs to countenance women’s equal admission, and insisted they would rather slowly convince than legally compel unwelcome reform.¹³¹ Indeed women seeking entry to, or parity within, long-established patriarchal organisations often fear applying too fervent pressure for equalising status might eviscerate the nature of the organisation, violate its traditions, and alienate the male membership. For these reasons, then, golfing women have been slow to court press coverage publicising their unequal treatment, litigate, or encourage boycotting of major golf tournaments.

Orangewomen’s disinclination to provoke male ‘backlash’ also deters the LOAS trustees from seeking legal or public redress, albeit for different reasons. As current Grand Mistress Rhona Gibson contended:

We could take them to equal rights and all that but then we get enough bad press ourselves. So we try to do it the nice way¹³²

Rhona’s commitment to the gendered tactics of persuasion, cooperation and diplomatic deference to mollify resistance to reform is clearly evident. Ian Wilson, concurring, anecdotally related that a former Grand Mistress had confided in him that the situation whereby sisters ‘pay full whack to Grand Lodge but they don’t have equal say’ was one which she ‘could make some hay over.’

¹²⁶ Young, Margaret, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

¹²⁷ Knox, Jackie, oral history interview, 8 February 2013

¹²⁸ Logan, Jean, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

¹²⁹ Whitlaw, Janette, oral history interview, 23 March 2011

¹³⁰ ‘Men-only golf club looks to admit women,’ *The Guardian*, 28 April 2011

¹³¹ M. Dempster and M. McLaughlin, ‘Royal Burgess votes against allowing women members,’ *The Scotsman*, 18 December 2013

¹³² Gibson, Rhona, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

However, he concluded, Orangewomen ‘aren’t quite that revolutionary.’¹³³ This disinclination is seemingly indicative less of lodgewomen’s inherent conservatism than of conflicted gendered and organisational subjectivities.

All kinds of possible explanations abound for this aversion to involving civic authorities. As has been duly noted, law and jurisprudence serve ‘primarily male’ interests and reflect patriarchal values, and thus are potentially intimidating avenues for women seeking justice.¹³⁴ This insularity is likely exacerbated by dominant perceptions amongst the membership that media-generated public animosity toward Orangeism might prejudice a fair intervention and further besmirch the Order’s already sullied reputation. Furthermore, a unifying sense of indignation and injustice at media (mis)representation, and perceptions of ubiquitous societal hostility towards the Order, reifies through the shared experience of alienation the bonds between sisters and brethren. Moreover, petitioning Equality Agencies to impose non-consensual mandatory compliance with antidiscriminatory frameworks might counterproductively entrench opposition and inflame resentful internal tensions, foiling possibilities for genuine intersexual cooperation and equality. This reluctance to ruthlessly press for change illustrates that, when gendered and institutional interests collide, Orangewomen tend to value internal harmony - and the external reputation of the institution - above their desire to advance their own collective sexual status.

Despite their persistent strategy of gently advocating for ameliorative, incremental change, the most outspoken sisters have nonetheless incurred the ad hominem wrath of recalcitrant brethren. Bain contends the Orangewomen agitating for entry to the District Lodge to be ‘in a minority’ and admitted ‘in an unkind moment’ that change would not be forthcoming if ‘some of these women had been born men.’¹³⁵ Whilst he extended paternalistic benevolence to the overwhelming majority of sisters, he reserved acerbic invective for more militant Orangewomen, implying them to be superficial and power-hungry:

A favourite saying that I’ve got is ‘baubles and beads’ – baubles are fancy chains and beads of office, once you’ve had it you don’t like to lose it and that’s taking away your power

As Rudman and Phelan maintain, ‘negative reactions toward ambitious and capable women’ present ‘a difficult barrier’ ‘in performance settings.’¹³⁶ Clearly females who transgress sexual stereotypes are often ‘derogated as interpersonally hostile’ and judged more harshly than women held to be ‘less capable.’¹³⁷ Bain’s outburst thus conforms to this paradigmatic explanation.

¹³³ Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

¹³⁴ U. Gerhard, *Debating women’s equality: towards a theory of law from a European perspective*, (Piscataway: Rutgers University Press, 2001), p.12

¹³⁵ Bain, Magnus, oral history interview, 15 February 2013

¹³⁶ Rudman and Phelan, ‘Sex Differences, Sexism and Sex’, p.20

¹³⁷ Correll, Thebaud and Benard, ‘An Introduction to the Social Psychology of Gender’, p.8

THE DISTRICT MEETING: BARRIER TO ORANGEWOMEN'S AGENCY?

Bain represents Scottish Orangewomen as exceptionally passive, maintaining he was 'hard-pushed to find anything the ladies bought forward' whilst perusing their history.¹³⁸ However, as Ian Wilson argues, female members work consistently on various committees and working parties, performing 'most of the work done by the organisation' irrespective of the fact that they may not be credited with instituting specific reforms.¹³⁹ If, however, more fluid and expansive definitions of 'power' are accepted, it is possible to discern less visible, gender-specific means by which Orangewomen exerted considerable influence in Grand Lodge decision making: J.G. MacLean maintains 'before we had female suffrage...I'm quite sure that women had their own way of influencing their men and how their vote should go.' He also ruminates that female members applied informal pressure through familial networks to ensure 'a brother, would never get very far if his wife wasn't a member.'¹⁴⁰ Women's emotional networks and attachments could thus be deployed to bypass and transgress institutional power structures.¹⁴¹

Indeed GM of England, Lillian Hall, revealed Orangewomen within her jurisdiction often 'bend the arm' of their husbands at the District meetings which they can attend but are denied a vote.¹⁴² Orangewomen were resourcefully and unofficially able to subtly undermine, if not directly challenge, institutional hegemony to directly influence its main business: in many respects, their behaviour recalls that of the nineteenth century aristocratic Ulsterwomen who, according to Diane Urquhart, 'did not need to a vote' but could instead 'exert political sway' as the confidantes, hostesses, friends and patrons of leading Tories.¹⁴³ The similar domestic strategies deployed by both Ulster patrician socialites and working-class Scottish Orangewomen – both disenfranchised from, and peripheral to, civic or institutional democratic processes – illustrates the transgressive tactics used to overcome gendered oppression transcend specificities of class, ethnicity and nationality.

THE IMPACT ON MEMBERSHIP

Ian Wilson was adamant that prevailing sexual inequality has prompted 'a number of women' to quit the Order.¹⁴⁴ Former member Ann Hamilton, who left for altogether different reasons, cited organisational gender politics as a major disincentive to her return, asserting:

¹³⁸ Bain, Magnus, oral history interview, 15 February 2013

¹³⁹ Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

¹⁴⁰ MacLean, J.G., oral history interview, 28 January 2013

¹⁴¹ As Hughes has perceptively observed, working-class Scottish women have frequently utilised alternative "strategies of empowerment" including the "potentially subversive" use of "intuition and empathy" (Hughes, *Gender and political identities in Scotland*, p.8)

¹⁴² Hall, Lillian, oral history interview, 21 April 2013

¹⁴³ Urquhart, *The Ladies of Londonderry*, p.111

¹⁴⁴ Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

I'm not a feminist as in fighting for things. But women pay the same band dues as men but can't go into District meetings and make representation¹⁴⁵

Ann's remark is reminiscent of Annmarie Hughes' description of 'a rough kind of feminism' pervasive amongst Scottish working-class women which was situational, unintentional, unarticulated, and blurred the distinctions between women's consciousness and feminist behaviour.¹⁴⁶ Orangewoman Jackie Knox however, adopted the opposite approach to Hamilton, declaring herself to be 'of the position that I can't change it if I'm not in it.'¹⁴⁷ The auxiliary status of Orangewomen provoked, therefore, divergent and highly personalised responses ranging from complete disengagement to actively championing the case for change.

INTERJURISDICTIONAL COMPARISONS

In 2000 Patricia Ellis 'became the first Lady Grand Master' of New Zealand's 'Mixed Grand Lodge.'¹⁴⁸ Whilst this variety of Antipodean Orangeism is structurally gender-neutral, and the office of Grand Master has recently been occupied by a woman, Orangewomen in England and Ireland remain engaged in ongoing struggles for parity of status.¹⁴⁹ Although English Orangewomen have since the late 1990s enjoyed rights of access and self-representation at District, Provincial and even Grand Lodge meetings, they remain unable to vote or officiate at assemblies.¹⁵⁰ Lillian Hall explained that – in common with their Scottish sisters – English Orangewomen oppose convergence with the male section, preferring to retain 'their own identity,' yet simply desire 'an equal say.' Whilst she predicted 'if it goes our way here it'll help in Scotland,' the apparent lack of organised inter-jurisdictional collaboration over the issue possibly retards mutual progress.¹⁵¹

The ALOI exists in Ireland as a separate yet parallel organisation to the men's Order,¹⁵² yet inter-cooperation is strong. In 1995, Doreen Williamson, PGM of Ireland, represented the sisters as keenly 'willing to help' the brethren, prefiguring them as a malleably supportive – rather than autonomously goal-driven – organisation.¹⁵³ Parading Irish Orangewomen are not subjected to the gender-specific dress codes to which Scottish Orangewomen must conform; yet unlike their Scottish counterparts, Irish sisters require the brethren's written permission to participate.¹⁵⁴ Moreover, J.G. MacLean – expressing his scepticism at the 'much vaunted entirely separate' status of the ALOI – maintained the Irish brethren to have assumed an 'entirely dominant role' in joint

¹⁴⁵ Hamilton, Ann, oral history interview, 8 November 2012

¹⁴⁶ Hughes, *Gender and political identities in Scotland*, pp.6 and 8-9

¹⁴⁷ Knox, Jackie, oral history interview, 8 February 2013

¹⁴⁸ 'New Zealand', *Report of International Orange Women's Council*, (Melbourne: GOL, 14-20 April 2012), p. 28

¹⁴⁹ Hall, Lillian, oral history interview, 21 April 2013

¹⁵⁰ See 1.6, Appendix C

¹⁵¹ Hall, Lillian, oral history interview, 21 April 2013

¹⁵² See 1.4 and 1.5, Appendix C

¹⁵³ 'Sisters in the Cause', *A celebration, 1690-1990: the Orange Institution*, (Belfast: GOLI, 1990), p.64

¹⁵⁴ Beggs, Joan, oral history interview, 28 February 2013

‘decision making.’¹⁵⁵ Their ‘autonomy’ is thus enacted within clearly circumscribed parameters, and energies of this corpus directed towards the needs of the brethren.

CONCLUSION

Over the course of the century, significant change in women’s institutional status has proved disappointingly elusive. In 1910 Annie Wilson’s scriptural rejoinder to brethren antagonistic to women’s public adoption of ‘Orange principles’ was to ask why they expected sisters to ‘hide our light under a bushel?’¹⁵⁶ In 2011, Rhona Gibson urged the brethren to ‘Let us use our talents.’ The ‘widow gave her mitre’, she contended, ‘why won’t you let us give ours?’¹⁵⁷ These biblical allusions indicate the discursive similarities in the rhetoric adopted by Orangewomen ardently pressing for equal representation within the District Lodge and their forebears a hundred years previous, seeking to consolidate and legitimise their precarious position as newly-initiated Orangewomen.

Whilst it is clear that conferring the right of self-representation within the District Lodge is not synonymous with organisational sexual equality – and would fail to address the fundamental structural disparities which position sisters as peripheral to the main business of the Order – the current fetishization of ‘entry to the District’ has become something of a cul-de-sac for ‘progressive’ Orangewomen. It is however, conceptualised as a necessary hurdle to be vaulted on the road to greater institutional modernisation, and the first of many stepping stones towards eventual equality.

It is indeed difficult, as Magnus Bain challenged, ‘to find an initiative that the women came up with for themselves’ over the last century.¹⁵⁸ Whilst Orangewomen’s lack of confidence and deference towards Orangemen has impeded progression toward greater influence and authority, generic concepts of ‘paternal benevolence’ and ‘backlash’ are invaluable in explaining their apparent complicity and reluctance to defiantly transgress gendered norms. A shared experience of media calumny and societal hostility united and reified bonds between sisters and brethren, subtly encouraging Orangewomen to sublimate and relegate assertive and confrontational advancement of their own collective gendered interests toward joint pursuit of institutional objectives.

However, interwoven through the history of the institution, there is also a continued tradition of determined resistance and subtle subversion. Orangewomen tabled changes at various Ladies’ Conferences, though their efforts were often thwarted by Grand Lodgemen or lukewarmly greeted

¹⁵⁵ MacLean, J.G., oral history interview, 28 January 2013

¹⁵⁶ A. Wilson, ‘Female Orange Lodges’, *Belfast Weekly News*, 7 July 1910

¹⁵⁷ Gibson, Rhona, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

¹⁵⁸ Bain, Magnus, oral history interview, 15 February 2013

by the more conservative sisters. Moreover lodgewomen were able to overcome their constitutional mutedness to exert influence by informal networking and directing the votes of their husbands at meetings. Indeed the interplay between dominant and counter-hegemonic discourses continues unabated as these opposing forces seek - a hitherto elusive - satisfactory synthesis.

CHAPTER 4

EQUAL RITES? THE GENDERED ICONOGRAPHIES OF ORANGEISM

As the previous chapter briefly indicated, Orange ritual has been cited as the symbolic source of institutional gendered hegemony. The emblematic differences between the male and female rites are pronounced, and frequently alluded to in organisational discourse to reify and spiritually legitimise essentialist understandings of sexual difference upon which Orangewomen's subordination is predicated. A comparison of the iconographies of these distinctive rites will herein be considered. Acknowledging the challenges of analysing ritual rubrics as 'static objects', this chapter recognises 'meanings' are 'open-ended' and actively and collaboratively renegotiated with each performance.¹ The reasons for attempting this textual inquiry are three-fold: firstly very little historical attention has been directed toward exploration of the sexual specificity of Orange rites; secondly because the gender differentiated iconography of both rites has been mobilised to spiritually reinforce and consecrate institutional sexual inequalities and, finally, because ritual is pivotal to establishing 'a sense of belonging'² and therefore, analysis of Orange ceremonial expectedly affords insight into Orangewomen's self-formulation of institutionally-appropriate identities. The performative nature of ritualism, and the significance of the historical context in which it is enacted, are obscured rather than elucidated in the process of textual interpretation and over emphasis on descriptive written rubrics negates the intrinsic orality and improvised dramatization central to its enactment. Any reading must therefore balance the 'criterion of ritual invariance' against the situational 'inevitability of both historical change and individual choice.'³

Beginning with a discussion of Grand Lodge anxieties over the uniformity of Orangewomen's ritualism prior to 1940, this chapter deconstructs the gynocentric iconography of the female rites, tracing their etiology to the mixed-sex masonic OES. Attention then turns to an analysis of Orangewomen's self-devised and publicly performed floral and harvest rituals as innovative sites of ritual self-expression, followed by brief consideration of the wider cultural resonances of their gendered imagery. The focus then shifts to an examination of the phallic iconography of the men's rite. Finally, consideration is given to Orangewomen's gendered role in parades – as a public rehearsal of ritual identity – with emphasis upon the contested dress codes which not only aestheticize Orangewomen, but visually codify them as the sartorial and sexual 'other' of the brethren and publicly perform institutionalised gender difference. Orange attitudes towards gender-specific dress are explored both through personal testimony and institutional literature. What emerges is an appreciation of ritualism as a contested site of gendered politics within the Scottish institution.

¹J. Lennard and M. Luckhurst, 'Introduction', in J. Lennard and M. Luckhurst (eds.), *The drama handbook: a guide to reading plays*, (Oxford: O.U.P., 2002), p.2

²Ward, *Women, unionism and loyalism in Northern Ireland*, pp.76-77

³*Ibid.*, p. 39

RITUAL, REGULARITY AND RESISTANCE

Much of the ritual working of Scottish female lodges can be credited to the invaluable assistance of the Canadian sisters in ‘getting up the Rituals.’⁴ During the early decades of female Orangeism, Grand Lodge policed the enactment of Orangewomen’s ritual working with increasing alacrity. The concern was that ‘irregular’ and unsanctioned Eastern Star ‘ceremonies and odes’ had crept into the female rite.⁵ The overlap in membership of the Orange lodge and this masonic mixed-sex Order therefore fostered either deliberate ceremonial cross-fertilization, or simply a confusion of the distinctive separateness of each organisation’s distinct ritual. Grand Lodge anxieties, exacerbated by a continuous surge in female membership prior to the 1950s,⁶ reflect concerns to quell non-conformity, and reassert patriarchal institutional control. In 1919, therefore, a delegation of ‘properly qualified’ Orangewomen was dispatched to outlying female lodges to ‘train them in the workings of the Order.’⁷

Whilst some lodges appeared ‘very anxious to learn the work’⁸ – suggesting their ‘aberrant’ practices to emanate from genuine ignorance rather than deliberate attempts at subversion – others offered greater resistance. In 1923, the deputation were curtly refused entry to Broxburn women’s lodge ‘on the grounds that they were capable of doing their own work,’⁹ whilst a visit to LLOL 47 had enigmatically ‘fallen through.’¹⁰ However such evasive and defiant tactics incurred stern censure and in the same year Grand Lodge admonished sisters to remember that they were part of an ‘ancient order and what is expected of such.’¹¹ Realising these all-female envoys had failed to establish authority and gain traction with female lodges, it was decided to appoint a mixed-sex committee in each district to enquire into ‘standardising the ceremonials in ladies’ lodges.’¹²

In 1923, female lodges were invited to perform their lodge’s version of the rite in order that the ‘various ceremonies’ might be demonstrated and debated.¹³ The display of the authorised rite was recorded prosaically in the minutes as ‘satisfactorily wrought.’¹⁴ The unauthorised degree working – in which five sisters seated in the centre of the lodge emblematised Faith, Hope, Charity, Anchor and Heart – was represented as striking in its symbolic similarities to OES ritualism.¹⁵ This ceremonial syncretism and hybridity is testimony to the ingenuity, imaginative vision and symbolic sophistication of early Orangewomen, determined to re-appropriate richly resonant and personally

⁴ Grand Lodge, Report of Proceedings, 14 December 1909, p.9

⁵ *Ibid*, 14 April 1923, 6l

⁶ Table 1.2; Graph 1.1 Appendix A

⁷ LOAS, Conference, 8 November 1919, 8.3

⁸ *Ibid*, 14 April 1923, 6c

⁹ *Ibid*, 13 October 1923, 13

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 13 October 1923, 14

¹¹ *Ibid*, 13 October 1923, 17

¹² *Ibid*, 13 October 1923, 18

¹³ *Ibid*, 13 October 1923, 9

¹⁴ Grand Lodge, Ritual Committee, 4 November 1923

¹⁵ *Ibid*

meaningful imagery in a variety of contexts. Resenting the encroachment of the iconography of a rival body, Grand Lodge regarded the Star's symbolic influence as an adulteration of female ritualism and a threat to its institutional hegemony. Whilst the committee unsurprisingly elected to maintain the ritual status quo –rejecting the assimilation of OES imagery - the vote was close.¹⁶

The Ritual Committee's presentation of their findings at the Ladies' Conference of April 1924, however, pre-empted a heated discussion to which there appeared 'no possibility' of 'agreement.'¹⁷ A further independent all-male committee was therefore appointed to devise 'a ritual which could be accepted by both sides.'¹⁸ The changes made to the first of the two female rites were prosaic and minor: some of the Star's imported additions were permitted to remain such as the forming of a closing circle of sisters at the end of the meeting, and the inclusion of an organist.¹⁹ The symbolic purging of potentially subversive Star imagery from the second degree – albeit with a few minor concessions - was more substantive and the practice of seating five sisters at the centre of the lodge to personify five key precepts/heroines of the OES was completely rejected and replaced by a sequence in which the Worthy Mistress would explain the Orange emblems of faith, hope and charity symbolised by cross, anchor and heart.²⁰ Grand Lodge unanimously approved the new rite as 'binding on all Ladies' Lodges without any additions.'²¹ By 1925 the new rite was credited as having engendered 'better feeling and sisterly spirit in the Order.'²²

In the same year, Grand Lodge saw fit to police the external esoteric proclivities of members and decreed that any sister 'who becomes a spiritualist' would face suspension or expulsion.²³ Alex Owen has conceptualised spiritualism as a potential site of 'transgressive femininity' which, through the exercise of 'female spiritual authority,' signified 'the subversion of existing power relations between men and women.'²⁴ The perceived strength of the unorthodox threat that the growing popularity of mediumship represented to the gendered ideology of Orangeism is evinced by the paranoid extension of this embargo to the brethren.²⁵

After the publication of the revised Ladies ritual in 1925, Grand Lodge cautioned sisters to exercise greater scrutiny when 'searching into the characters' of prospective candidates.²⁶ Determination to maintain hegemonic control over the swelling female membership underpinned Grand Lodge attempts to regulate Orangewomen's ritualism and reservations about the sexual conduct of members were disguisedly interwoven within discourses of ritual sanctity, uniformity and

¹⁶ Grand Lodge, Ritual Committee, 4 November 1923

¹⁷ LOAS, Conference, 12 April 1924, 8d

¹⁸ *Ibid*

¹⁹ Grand Lodge, Ritual Committee, 27 August 1924, 5-6

²⁰ *Ibid*, 18 August 1924, 13

²¹ Grand Lodge, Report of Proceedings, 13 December 1924, 8d

²² Grand Lodge, Report for the Year ending 31 May 1925

²³ LOAS, Conference, 11 April 1925, 8e

²⁴ A. Owen, *The Darkened Room: women, power and spiritualism in Late Victorian England*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1989), pp.12-13

²⁵ Grand Lodge, Report of Proceedings, 10 October 1925, 7

²⁶ LOAS, Conference, 11 April 1925, 13

competence. For instance, Rice ‘depreciated the custom’ of the high volume of brethren ‘visiting women’s lodges’ and the accompanying ‘fuss’ which detracted from the solemnity of the rite.²⁷ Disquiet that these occasions might encourage sexual ‘immorality’ was clearly the subtext rather than simply concern to protect the integrity of female ritualism.²⁸ The right and responsibility of female lodges to ‘refuse any brother admittance to their meetings’ was established at the 1926 Ladies’ Conference.²⁹ The implication of this proclamation - neatly absolving the brethren of culpability and underestimating the difficulties sisters faced in curtailing the most determined of male visitors - was that Orangewomen’s dereliction of duty had created the problem. The introduction of the ‘new’ female rite, then, was appropriated as part of a more general, sustained Grand Lodge campaign to eradicate both ritual and sexual transgressions – euphemistically conflated in institutional discourses - and to exert more comprehensive and far-reaching ‘moral’ control over the female membership. Grand Lodge thus mimicked and reacted to wider societal anxieties at women’s perceived abandonment of ‘a prudish and repressive sexual morality’ and supposed engagement ‘in various forms of cultural and sexual experimentation,’³⁰ by enforcing a more stringent ritual uniformity and lodge discipline, and by encouraging sexual segregation.

FEMALE LODGE RITUALISM

Attention will now turn to a symbolic analysis of the ritual of Orangewomen’s two degrees.

First degree

Typical of the ritualism of most fraternal degree-working, the first degree is largely pedestrian, familiarising the candidate with the organisation’s modus operandi, symbolism, and expected standards of conduct. After the lodge is duly opened with prayer, scripture reading and the singing of odes, the candidate swears oaths of civic obedience, fraternal allegiance and fidelity to the monarch and the Reformed faith.³¹

The Deputy Mistress then reads a charge, extolling the superlative qualities of the ‘Refined woman’: represented as the epitome of ‘feminine’ compassionate domesticity and affectionate nurturance, this ‘kind-hearted’ and ‘gentle’ ‘angel of mercy’ is celebrated for the ‘love’ and ‘sympathy of her heart’ she displays to the sick and distressed.³² Reflecting and reinforcing the themes of hegemonic institutional discourse, this gendered construction of womanhood as

²⁷ *Ibid*, 14

²⁸ Similarly, the UGLE maintains its institutional separation from the OWF by prohibiting its male members from visiting female masonic lodges on the pretext of preventing “over-familiarity” between the sexes (Calderwood, *Freemasonry and the press in the twentieth century*, p.19)

²⁹ LOAS, Conference, 9 October 1926, 9

³⁰ B. Soland, *Becoming modern: young women and the reconstruction of womanhood in the 1920s*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), p.6

³¹ LOAS, *Ritual of Introduction*, 9

³² *Ibid*, 11

synonymous with grace, benevolence and placidity mobilises essentialist conceptualisations of sexual difference which ‘naturalise’ a supportive and auxiliary caregiving role for women.

Second degree

The rite positions the candidate as the protagonist within the performative re-enactment of the biblical story of Ruth, and celebrates her unflinching devotion to her widowed mother-in-law Naomi. The candidate enters the lodgeroom hood-winked, the Chaplain narrates the story, explaining Ruth to be a recently-widowed Moabite woman who refused to abandon her Hebrew mother-in-law to return to her birth family and their pagan gods. During the performance, a sister personifying Boaz explains that Ruth (the candidate) has found favour in his eyes and instructs his labourers in the field to deliberately ‘let fall, also, some of the handfuls of purpose’ for her to glean.³³ The extended metaphor of sowing and reaping and the image of the ‘faithful gleaner’ thematically unify the rite. After the singing of odes and swearing of obligations, the Chaplain asks Ruth what she needs most, to which she replies ‘Light.’ Her blindfold is thus removed and a reaping ode is sung. Grips, passwords and signs are then conferred. The Worthy Mistress then reads a Charge, explaining Ruth to be ‘a beautiful example, worthy of the imitation of the wives and daughters of Orangemen.’ The Deputy Mistress then applauds Ruth for seeing ‘the truth of the religion of the Patriarch’ and for her faithful devotion to Naomi in spite of the ‘dark dispensations of Divine Providence.’ This allegorical rite is intended to demonstrate self-sacrifice and the duty to ameliorate the ‘wants of the sorrowing’ and those ‘in dire necessity.’³⁴

This degree, then, seemingly reinforces the importance of woman’s deferential role and her compliance with masculine authority. The name ‘Ruth’ literally translates as ‘companion’ and ‘Boaz’ as one with ‘power in him’³⁵: the etymology of the names thus symbolically legitimises the supportive role of Orangewoman and her acquiescence with patriarchy. Ruth’s subservient and economically-dependent familial status is affirmed, and her humility, tenacity in times of hardship and self-sacrifice are ultimately rewarded by male benevolence. The rite closes with a reading of Proverbs 31, reproducing the iconic image of the ‘virtuous woman’ whose ‘price is far above rubies,’ as the lofty personified benchmark of wifely obedience, industriousness, and charitable kindness. Thus the exemplary Orangewoman is represented as essentially domesticated, pious and supportive of male authority.

However, the ritual of Ruth also might be resistantly read as endorsing a radically empowering notion of sisterhood, avowing the value of female loyalty and womanly networks of mutual support which transcend specificities of religion, ethnicity or nationality. Indeed MacPherson has

³³ LOAS, *Ritual of Introduction*, 25

³⁴ *Ibid*, 30

³⁵ R. Rusca, *Feminine Mysteries in the Bible: the soul teachings of the daughters of the goddess*, (Rochester: Bear and Co., 2008), pp.80; 83-85

interpreted the rite as ‘confirming the importance of sisterly relations.’³⁶ The potential of Orangeism to function as ‘an important cultural and associational nexus for women’ despite its ‘patriarchal’ structure and ‘ethos’³⁷ is, to some extent, perhaps encoded within the ritual. Some biblical scholars have conceptualised Ruth’s steadfast commitment to lowly and disenfranchised widow Naomi as a radical challenge to male hegemony and celebration of inter-womanly bonds transcendent of age, religion, nationality and class. Ruth, moreover, has been lauded for independently and courageously ‘making her way in a man’s world.’³⁸ The rite might thus be subversively enacted as affirmative of an empowering and liberatory model of sisterhood, fundamentally challenging women’s institutional subordination.

Furthermore, biblical scholars have interpreted the legend of Ruth loosely as ‘a fertility-cult narrative’³⁹ featuring Ruth and Naomi as archetypal personifications of pagan deities, Persephone and her mother Demeter, the corn mother and goddess of the harvest.⁴⁰ Although these associative resonances are, of course, not immediately obvious to the sisters working the rite, the imagery of the divine feminine earth mother at the heart of their rite is unwittingly subversive of the Order’s gendered hierarchy.

RITUALISM OF THE EASTERN STAR: A SHARED SYMBOLOGY

As previously discussed, the ritualism of the OES (founded in 1876) had been assimilated into the ritual of Ruth prior to 1923. The Star’s mixed-sex chapters (lodges) perform five degrees, each themed around a biblical heroine emblematic of a specific idealised female relational identity: Adah (daughter), Ruth (widow), Esther (wife), Martha (sister) and the pagan convert Electa (mother). Each of these women represents a particular gender-specific ‘virtue’, with Ruth symbolising faithfulness to the ‘demands of honour and justice’ and associated with the colour yellow, reminiscent of the wheat sheaf.⁴¹

The centrality of the story of Ruth to both ritual organisations is not the only similarity, illustrating the OES’s considerable influence on the Orangewomen’s ritualism: the Star’s guiding precepts (charity, truth and loving-kindness) mirror the central tenets of female Orangeism - faith, hope and charity.⁴² Both close their ceremonies with the sisters holding hands and forming a circle, alluded to in the Star’s ritual texts as the ‘golden chain’⁴³ and in Orange rites as the ‘bond of union.’⁴⁴ In the gendered context of Orangeism, this cyclical formation might be regarded as symbolically

³⁶ MacPherson, ‘Personal narratives of family and ethnic identity’, p.10

³⁷ Fleming, ‘Hearth and home’, p.209

³⁸ A. Belford Ulanov, *The female ancestors of Christ*, (Einsiedeln: Daimon Verlag, 2006), p.51

³⁹ *Ibid*, p.56

⁴⁰ Rusca, *Feminine mysteries in the Bible*, p.87

⁴¹ General Grand Chapter of the Eastern Star, *Ritual of the Order of the Eastern Star*, (Sioux Falls: NuVision Publishing, 2005), p.48

⁴² *Ibid*, p.41

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 55

⁴⁴ Grand Lodge, *Odes for use in Female Lodges*, (Glasgow: GOLs, undated), p.14

subversive of pyramid patriarchal organisational structures.⁴⁵ Another shared highly gender-specific emblem is the silencing motif, which underscores not only the secrecy of ceremonial working, but is also proscriptive of general conduct: upon initiation into the Star, the candidate is instructed to ‘preserve’ their ‘lips from slander’⁴⁶; the Orangewoman is likewise directed to ‘be more ready to hear than to give the sacrifice of fools, known by a multitude of words.’⁴⁷ This directive appears entirely absent from Orangemen’s ritualism, and thus reproduces uncritically essentialist gendered assumptions of ‘feminine’ verbosity and gossip. The ideological and ritual commonalities between the OES and women’s Orangeism are additionally underscored by an overlapping membership.⁴⁸

FLORAL SERVICES: SELF-EVOLVED RITUALISM

Whilst Star iconography was greatly expunged from Orangewomen’s ritualism during the 1920s, some lodges responded by incorporating this imagery into their own innovative floral rites: indeed the first Flower Festival was performed in 1928.⁴⁹ Much Star ritualism featured the imagery of the garden, and the appropriation of this jettisoned symbolism within Orangewomen’s harvest and flower rites is immediately apparent. Orange floral rituals were performed in local churches and the Women’s Guild, ‘as a means of public outreach’ to generate interest from prospective members, affording a taster of Orange ritualism, whilst preserving the secrecy of lodge degree working.⁵⁰ These rituals personified various flowers and fruits as illustrative of specific ‘aspects of Orange culture.’ Sister Weir ‘fondly recalled’ playing the part of a bunch of heather’ dyed by the blood of her ‘Covenanting forefathers’ illustrating ‘the importance of an Ulster-Scots’ heritage and identity.⁵¹

Such rites were seemingly devised collaboratively by lodgewomen, and hand-written records assume the form of disparate scraps of paper noting a personal explanation of a flower’s spiritually symbolic import. These rites might therefore be understood as improvised rituals, inspired and freely adapted by the women who performed them and thus potentially empowering to write and rehearse. Because these rituals were not authored or imposed by Grand Lodge, they display considerable interpretative variation in their content and symbolism.

⁴⁵ Indeed the male RAP degree closes with brethren forming a phallic ‘chain of fellowship’ (W.P. Malcolmson, *Behind closed doors: the hidden structure within the Orange camp*, (Banbridge: Evangelical Truth, 1999), pp.88-99 and 113)

⁴⁶ General Grand Chapter of the Eastern Star, *Ritual of the Order of the Eastern Star*, p.75

⁴⁷ LOAS, *Ritual of Introduction*, undated, p.8

⁴⁸ Senior Orangewomen Rhona Gibson, Helyne MacLean, Isobel Campbell and Jean Logan all declared themselves current or former members of the Star

⁴⁹ Gibson, ‘The Ladies Orange Association of Scotland – a brief history’, *Centenary Brochure*, (2009), p.4

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.4

⁵¹ MacPherson, ‘Personal narratives of family and ethnic identity’, p.10

Greenock LLOL 16 Harvest Service

The Annual Harvest Service for the Lily of Scotland Greenock LLOL 16 and the flower service of Primrose LLOL 13, Cowcaddens will each be assessed in turn. The Greenock rite represents each female office bearer as a particular fruit, comprehensively listed along with their symbolic import in Table 1, Appendix F. The Worthy Mistress, for example, is emblemized by the Orange – she addresses the [male] District Secretary as follows:

‘Worthy District Sir, it is with pleasure I ask you to accept these oranges, they are to remind us that our Order stands for the pure principles of the Reformation:
My colour is orange,
A bright golden hue
With love and devotion
I hope to prove true
To God and our Country
And all that is good
To hold the same principles
For which our forefathers stood’⁵²

Each subsequent office-bearer then delivers a similarly-formulaic explanation of the meaning of the fruit symbolic of her position, interspersed by verses of assorted harvest hymns. A perusal of the interpretative meanings offered by the sisters for the particular fruits reveals there to frequently be a tenuous phonic rather than conceptual connection between the sound of a word and the precepts it is intentioned to signify. The less than obvious links between the ‘plum’ and ‘plumb line’ - and the unexpected use of ‘cherries’ as illustrative of the need to ‘cherish’ the Siege of Derry - create esoterically intriguing resonances, adding to the mysticism of the rite. The symbolic lexicon of fruit is clearly intended to emblemize disparate concepts of national loyalty, Christian devotion, freedom, sisterhood, constancy and truth. The ritual subtext reifies an almost Platonic sense of divine order, harmony, symmetry and a respect for the aesthetic beauty of the natural world. In closing the ritual, the Worthy Mistress graciously accepts the fruit basket, before prayer, hymns and the National Anthem.⁵³

Cowcaddens LLOL 13 Floral Rite

A similar service, devised in 1928, was regularly performed by Primrose LLOL 13.⁵⁴ Purportedly ‘much more elaborate’ than currently worked floral rites,⁵⁵ it contains twenty-six floral characters and is thematically interlaced with the imagery of sheaf and tare, thus subtly referencing the Story of Ruth. The overarching allegorical ‘message of the flowers’ relayed by the Director of

⁵² Lily of Scotland LLOL 16 Greenock, Annual Harvest Thanksgiving Service (Glasgow: GOLs archive, undated), p.10

⁵³ *Ibid*, p.10

⁵⁴ See Table 3, Appendix F for a full delineation of floral characters and their metaphorical significance

⁵⁵ D. Bryce, ‘Note on the text’, Primrose LLOL 13 Cowcaddens, Flower Service (Glasgow: GOLs archive, 1928), p.1

Ceremonies is that ‘there is beauty all around these flowers, if but our watchful eye could trace it.’⁵⁶

The iconography of this rite is obviously and richly gendered: the ‘beautiful’ red rose represents the Queen of the Garden inspiring ‘fragrant kindness’ and directing attention to her ‘tender’, ‘kind’ and ‘gentle’ earth mother.⁵⁷ The purple band explicitly celebrates the ‘bonds of friendship, sisters loving sisters well,’ and radically subverts institutional discourses representing Orangewomen as unequal helpmeets by affirming the primacy of womanly sororitorial bonds. Within this conceptual schema, a feminized personification of ‘fair Britannia, proud mistress of the seas’⁵⁸ allegorically conflates the national with the ‘feminine,’ reconfiguring nationalism as a natural extension of sisterly attachment and affection. The inclusion of the three Graces – borrowed from masonic symbolism⁵⁹ – is a further metaphorical mobilisation of womanhood to embody refinement, elegance and virtue. The rite juxtaposes lofty, ethereal, romanticized symbolic representations of the sacred ‘feminine’ with homely and sisterly self-allusions to the ‘girls of the Red, White and Blue.’⁶⁰ The performative enactment of this gendered ritualism therefore bridges the gap between the transcendent and mundane, deifying Orangewomen’s own rehearsal of ‘feminine’ national and spiritual subjectivities.

Moreover, this rite radically attempts to write Orangewomen into the Order’s androcentric, mythologizing historical narratives. The vividly gendered imagery of the women encircling the walls of Derry with scattered flowers⁶¹ is clearly an attempt to reverse dominant triumphalist discourses which overlook women’s historical participation in the Siege of Derry – a traditional celebratory milestone. As a member of the Apprentice Boys of Derry⁶² observed, the city resembles ‘a young prostitute’ regarded by unionists as ‘the untaken bride’ until the late 1960s when she was ‘inherited’ by nationalists.⁶³ There are ‘no heroic women actors’ in the Siege historiographies, and the blockade is commonly represented as a ‘threatened rape.’⁶⁴ The Greenock floral rite disrupts and reverses these dominant narratives of women’s historical peripherality, affirming that ‘women played their noble part’ in resisting the Siege.⁶⁵ Such references anchor these rites in Orange traditions, and subversively reconstruct women as historically agentic and significant rather than inconsequential.

⁵⁶ Primrose LLOL 13 Cowcaddens, Flower Service (Glasgow: GOLs archive, 1928), p. 4

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p.4

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p.4

⁵⁹ R. Macoy, *Universal Masonic Library*, vol.2, (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1855), p.181

⁶⁰ Primrose LLOL 13 Cowcaddens, Flower Service, p.4

⁶¹ Tables 3; 4, Appendix F

⁶² A male-only Loyal Order, with an overlapping Orange membership, which commemorates annually the closure of the city gates in 1688 and the 1689 relief of Derry

⁶³ Dudley Edwards, *The faithful tribe*, pp.26-27

⁶⁴ M.K. Meyer, ‘Ulster’s red hand: gender, identity and the sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland’, in M. Ranchod-Nilsson and A. Tetreault (eds.), *Women, states and nationalism: at home in the nation?*, (London: Routledge, 2000), p.129

⁶⁵ Tables 3; 4, Appendix F

Performance of the rite is also, unconsciously, transgressive of the Reformed faith it professes to affirm. This is symbolically reinforced by inclusion of the song 'Return to Mother Earth' and the solo 'Will the Circle be unbroken?'⁶⁶ These choruses are evocative of pagan fertility rites and goddess spirituality. Whilst it is not argued that these symbolic reverberations were necessarily deliberate, they nevertheless imply a reverential respect for the 'feminine' principle, diacritically distinct from the phallic symbology of male Orange rites. These floral rites therefore challenge uncritical assumptions that Orange symbolism is 'a highly patriarchal form of patriotism' lacking 'any visible feminine imagery.'⁶⁷

The origins of floral rites

The gendering of flowers as 'fitting' symbols of 'femininity' relates to their innate visual and sensory appeal, their transitory and seasonal nature echoing also women's supposed fickleness. The lineage of this 'feminine' iconography of flowers is traceable to the late Victorian era, when cultural references proliferated⁶⁸ and floriological lexicons allotted specific flowers with especial symbolic significance, enabling their gifting to convey diverse sentiments. Robert Morris, who originated the Eastern Star, figuratively associated the biblical heroine Ruth with Flora, goddess of flowers and springtime⁶⁹ and symbolic floral bouquets feature in chapter installations and funerary obsequies.⁷⁰ The public performance of Orange 'floral' services therefore constitutes a veiled metaphorical allusion to Ruth (Flora), the central protagonist of their private degree working. In masonic iconographic taxonomies, flowers - the products of 'the union of opposite principles' engendered by the masculine sun's impregnation of the feminine earth - are emblematic of beauty, regeneration and rebirth.⁷¹

RIDING THE GOAT: MALE RITUALISM

In common with other fraternal organisations, Orangeism constructs the 'lodge' as an exclusively androcentric space for the celebration of convivial brotherly bonds and male hegemony ritually reified through the honouring of 'phallic imagery.'⁷² Various masonic Orders have jealously guarded men's gender-distinct ritualism by instituting rites 'specifically designed for women' yet 'in no sense on a par with' male degree working.⁷³ In the context of freemasonry Clawson convincingly argues, male degree working to be integral to the fraternal promotion of 'male solidarity' and the structural 'exercise of masculine power.'⁷⁴ This argument certainly holds true

⁶⁶ Primrose LLOL 13 Cowcaddens, Flower Service, p.1

⁶⁷ Meyer, 'Ulster's red hand', p.136

⁶⁸ See Tennyson's 'The Day-dream' (1842) and Grandville's *The flowers personified* (1847)

⁶⁹ R. Morris, *History of the Order of the Eastern Star*, (Boston: Torch Press, 1917), p.531

⁷⁰ General Grand Chapter of the Eastern Star, *Ritual of the Order of the Eastern Star*, pp.72 and 87

⁷¹ A. Pike, *Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry: first three degrees*, vol.2, (Eastgate: Forgotten Books, 1871), p.851

⁷² A. Parfrey and C. Heimbichner, *Ritual America* (Washington: Ferral House, 2011), p.92

⁷³ *Ibid*, p.92

⁷⁴ Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood*, p.178

for Orangeism, as the previous chapter elucidated. Attention now turns to exploration of the gendered iconography of the male rites.

Scottish male Orangeism is inextricably interlinked with three discrete hierarchical ritualistic systems– the Orange, the Royal Arch Purple (RAP) and the Black. The higher ‘black degrees’ operate under the jurisdiction of the separate Royal Black Institution (RBI), although initiates are required to have first undergone Orange and RAP degrees.⁷⁵ The RBI enjoys the reputation of a ‘sedate order’ appealing to those with an interest in ‘esoteric’ and ‘allegorical’⁷⁶ ritualism by virtue of the fact that it is not primarily a ‘parading’ institution and its membership profile is comprised of older, churchgoing men. Even a staunch critic conceded the Blacks to be ‘a dignified, religious and honourable institution.’⁷⁷

Because of the shroud of secrecy regarding men’s ritualism, sources are predictably sparse and, in some cases, of dubious validity. This assessment of the male rites is therefore reliant largely from the work of Ulsterman W.P. Malcolmson - an evangelical former member whose repugnance at the allegedly ‘anti-scriptural’ ritualism inspired his public denunciation of the rites. In the process, he fully exposed their content. The men’s first degree is decidedly prosaic – in common with its female counterpart – and consists largely in pledging allegiance to the Order’s ideological precepts. The second (RAP) degree involves the re-enactment of a complex psycho-drama: its content is not exhaustively examined here, but discussion focuses instead upon elucidating the elementary differences in the sexual iconography, content and format of male and female rites. It is this degree which constitutes the basis of this chapter’s gendered comparison because of its second degree ‘equivalence’ to the female ritual of Ruth, and also because not all Orangemen elect to enter the RBI.

The quasi-masonic RAP rite begins by hoodwinking and divesting the candidate of all belongings, and requiring him to expose his left breast. The neophyte then receives three sharp pricks to his chest, before a loud bang is sounded, sometimes by cymbals or the firing of a blank gun. Malcolmson concludes this disconcerting, disorienting experience is intended to ‘unsettle’ the Orangeman and ‘reduce him to a vulnerable condition.’⁷⁸ After various preliminaries, the initiate is required to thrice circumambulate the lodge barefoot upon a floor ‘covered in branches and brambles’ whilst he is ‘violently whipped’ by the assembled brethren. On each lap of the lodge, he is required to endure a ‘symbolic fall’ and is raised by the brethren following his third fall, who relates the ‘five points of fellowship,’⁷⁹ reinforcing a sense of fraternal mutual inter-dependence and trust. A further arduous trial awaits in the form of ‘riding the goat’ involving the candidate receiving an unexpected ‘violent push backwards’ into a ‘large canvas blanket held by the brethren,

⁷⁵ D. Bryce, *The Triumph of the Imperial Grand Black Chapter*, (Glasgow: GOLs, 2007), p.4

⁷⁶ McFarland, *Protestants first*, pp.2 and 89

⁷⁷ Malcolmson, *Behind closed doors*, p.14

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, pp.49-51

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 58-61

where is ‘brutally kicked and tossed’⁸⁰ Malcolmson’s condemnation of the rite as an emasculating, ‘demeaning farce’ humiliatingly enslaving the candidate in ‘evil spiritual bondage’ subverts normative institutional discourses which represent the ritual as celebratory of manliness and courage.⁸¹

The disorienting sheer ferocity of the degree – and the ‘semi-naked’ vulnerable condition of the candidate⁸² – might be understood as a highly gendered form of traumatic bonding ritual, yoking the brethren emotionally, spiritually and homo-socially. Indeed the physicality, prerequisite exposure of the breast, and the symbolic (sometimes hazardous) use of weaponry intrinsic to this rite drastically diminish the probability of installing androgynous lodges or even the sanctioning of the RAP in female lodges. The RAP ordeal is perhaps best understood as a fraternal testing based on ‘fictitious kinship’ involving ‘rites of passage and initiation ceremonies’ in which ‘rule-governed aggression is used to test the individual’s ‘coolness.’⁸³ Indeed, Dudley Edwards has succinctly interpreted this ‘moving’ transitional rite as marking male ‘admission to a historic brotherhood bonded by centuries of blood, fire and persecution’ couched in ‘the language of the deliverance and pilgrimage of the children of Israel.’⁸⁴ In the Scottish context, Abrams argues Orange ritualism and lodge life remain key to shaping and reinforcing ‘masculine identities.’⁸⁵

RAP phallic symbols - coffin, gun, sword directed toward the heart, candlestick and ladder - all constitute manmade tools and weaponry, contrasting starkly with the floral, fruit and harvest imagery pervading the ladies’ ritual. Whereas the pastoral iconography of the female rite idealises and embraces the natural world as the majestic embodiment of divine bounty, grace and reward, the RAP encodes the natural world as adversarial and in need of subjugation, compelling the candidate to painfully trample upon brambles and withstand flagellation by branches.⁸⁶ This ritual conflation of ‘masculinity’ with culture, intellect, hierarchy and action and, perhaps obliquely, of the unpredictable, wild and sometimes cruel natural world with ‘femininity’ metaphorically implies the need, and right, for the male to exercise gendered authority. Whilst the RAP challenges the candidate to ‘manfully’ rehearse symbolic perils⁸⁷ testing his courage, fortitude and self-reliance – and reinforces the significance of male competitive bonds sustained through the symbolic threat of violence - the female rite celebrates enduring emotional bonds of female loyalty and allegorically teaches reward for personal sacrifice through the metaphor of sowing and reaping.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 72

⁸¹ *Ibid*, pp.53 and78

⁸² *Ibid*, p.36

⁸³ K. Starck, ‘Fraternalism’ in M. Flood, J. Keegan Gardiner and B. Pease (eds.) *International encyclopaedia of men and masculinities*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), p.216

⁸⁴ Dudley Edwards, *The faithful tribe*, p. 78

⁸⁵ L. Abrams, ‘Gendering the Agenda’ in L. Abrams, E. Gordon, D. Simonton and E. Yeo (eds.), *Gender in Scottish history since 1700*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), p.9

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p.60

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 87

'SILLY MUNDANE THINGS LIKE HATS AND SLACKS': DRESS, PARADES AND SEXUAL DIFFERENCE

MacPherson et al have observed the centrality of the 'military-style machismo' of the Orange march to the construction of the Order's 'male-centred image.'⁸⁸ Parading Orangewomen therefore ritually perform a juxtaposing 'femininity' to reify and publically empower the 'masculinity' of the brethren. Female members enact their sexual 'otherness' to the brethren through the appropriation of dress codes which consciously disavow fashionable discourses of self-individualisation, modernity and consumerism and instead articulate adherence to anachronistic female religious 'respectabilities.' The controversial 'trousers' rule' - prohibiting Orangewomen from the wearing of slacks during parades - has remained in place over the course of a century and visually displays and symbolically encodes sexual difference. The contested issue of female parading attire represents a personal and symbolic site of struggle between Grand Lodge hegemony and Orangewomen's agentic power and right of autonomous self-expression. The insistence that Orangewomen parade in skirts, hats and gloves – tropes of traditional 'femininity' – renders them 'other' to secular, mainstream, androgynous articulations of the female self-articulations. This section chronologically assesses the construction of the 'trousers' debate in institutional discourse before exploring the subjective significance individual Orangewomen attach to the issue.

In late nineteenth century Whitehaven rules forbidding women from parading did not prevent 'the more demonstrative females' from lining the streets colourfully 'decked out in Orange regalia.'⁸⁹ The attractive display of women publicly at Orange demonstrations subverted normative Victorian 'separate spheres' ideologies, yet concealed their gendered marginality to institutional Orangeism.⁹⁰ As early as 1895 – prior to the initiation of female members – the Grand Secretary of Scotland proposed 'no lady be permitted to wear the regalia of the order' at parades to prevent deleterious 'reflections passed upon our Order by the general public.'⁹¹ Although this attempt to regulate the dress of the female relations of Orangemen was overwhelmingly rejected,⁹² it nevertheless evinces the eagerness of some Scottish Protestant women in the late nineteenth century to participate in the spectacle and pageantry of Orange jamboree, and a concern on the part of some brethren to formally represent the Order as a serious and respectable organisation through the gendering of regalia.

Even after Scottish women had been granted entry to the Order in 1909, their right to publically appropriate regalia was still staunchly contested. Grand Master David Ness's belief that [Orange]

⁸⁸ MacPherson and MacRaild, 'Sisters of the brotherhood', p.44

⁸⁹ MacRaild, *Faith, fraternity and fighting*, p.132

⁹⁰ D.M., MacRaild, 'The Bunkum of Ulsteria?: the Orange marching tradition in late Victorian Cumbria', in T.G. Fraser (ed.), *The Irish parading tradition: following the Drum*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), p.49

⁹¹ Grand Orange, Reports of Proceedings, 14 December 1894, 10

⁹² *Ibid*, June 1895, 14

women's 'purity' and 'holiness' might 'shape the character of public life'⁹³ was evidently not unanimously shared by brethren. In 1910 Bro. McLean wrote to the *Belfast Weekly News* to express his 'feeling that the Orange regalia should not be worn in public by women,' averring women's participation en masse 'spoils the look of a procession.'⁹⁴ The following month, Orangewoman Annie Wilson rebutted his claims, provocatively declaring 'even Roman Catholic societies' have 'taken women into their ranks' and not required them to 'hide their colours.'⁹⁵ Whilst it is unclear to which specific organisations Wilson was alluding, MacPherson has explored the ways in which the contemporaneous female members of Sinn Fein and the United Irishwomen used 'clothing to articulate political ideas, identity and modernity' and to 'perform' their Irishness through dress.⁹⁶ These societies thus provide an interesting counterbalance to the Orange Order's restrictive attempts to prevent the sisters from adopting styles of physical adornment expressive of their institutional allegiance and ideological affiliation.

It was not simply women's 'presumptuous' public appropriation of regalia, but also their 'raucous' behaviour at parades which incurred disapprobation. Bryan has interpreted the Orange demonstration as a site of classed struggle between the morally conservative and socially reserved middle-class hierarchy and the more drunken 'carnavalesque and ludic' – and by implication working-class – mass membership.⁹⁷ In 1935 a complaint was sent to the Ladies' Conference that 'certain sisters' in the Motherwell procession wore 'paper hats, waved paper streamers and jazzed along the street.'⁹⁸ GOLS condemned this 'unbecoming and undignified' conduct as 'out of place in an Orange procession' reflecting the leadership's preoccupation with appropriating a modest, solemn ensemble of parading Orangewomen publicly rehearsing traditional 'femininities' to enhance the Order's credibility as a respectable, family institution. The incident echoes the ways in which young working-class Catholic women in 1930s Salford 'alarmed the Catholic church' by incorporating elements of fashionable dress into the design of veiled costumes personifying the Virgin Mary thereby blending 'consumer culture' with the 'more explicitly spiritual' during Whit Sunday parades.⁹⁹

For agentic Catholic and Protestant women actively negotiating their own public identities, the parade represented a potential site of visual and performative transgression, enabling them to subvert the normative gendered priorities of their respective patriarchal faith-based organisations.

In 1938 the Grand Secretary of Scotland denounced the 'unbecoming' practice of sisters 'wearing slacks' at demonstrations.¹⁰⁰ This appears to be the first direct reference to the desired gender-

⁹³ MacPherson, 'The emergence of women's Orange lodges in Scotland', p.6

⁹⁴ Bro. McLean, 'Female Orange Lodges', *Belfast Weekly News*, June 1910

⁹⁵ A. Wilson, 'Female Orange Lodges', *Belfast Weekly News*, 7 July 1910

⁹⁶ MacPherson, *Women and the Irish nation*, pp.152-153, 149 and 85

⁹⁷ D. Bryan, *Orange parades: the politics of ritual, tradition and control*, (Stirling: Pluto, 2000), pp.17, 21 and 24

⁹⁸ LOAS, Conference, 12 October 1935, 14

⁹⁹ C. Wildman, 'Religious selfhoods and the city in interwar Manchester', *Urban history*, 38, no.1 (2011), pp.120-122

¹⁰⁰ LOAS, Conference, 8 October, 15

specificity of female clothing in Reports of Proceedings. Indeed the 1930s depression had stimulated ‘profound anxiety’ about ‘gender identity’ and set ‘in flux’ the ‘prevailing ideas of masculinity and femininity.’¹⁰¹ Given also the spike in female membership during this decade, it is possible to conceptualise Grand Lodge’s concern as an attempt to reify the traditional gender distinctions preventing growing numbers of females from usurping male institutional authority. However, by the 1950s trousers ‘began to be acceptable for urban life.’¹⁰² Prevailing perceptions that this taboo against ‘male’ dress was less rigorously applied to working-class than middle-class women is problematized by the Order’s defensive reaction to these fashionable shifts: Grand Lodge prohibited the ‘wearing of slacks’ in 1955, and insisted that hats be worn to ‘all Church parades’,¹⁰³ reflecting and endorsing the conservative domestic ideologies of sexual difference dominant in early post-war Britain.¹⁰⁴ The introduction of these rules corroborates Callum Brown’s contention that public religious worship was ‘a vital venue for young working-class girls to express their femininity’ prior to the 1960s.¹⁰⁵

The Order’s insistence upon, and celebration of, traditional feminine dress however continued unabated for decades. Personifying its subject as an epitome of ‘feminine’ chastity and competence, a 1969 article in *The Vigilant* lingered upon the ‘proudest and prettiest of all the drum majors’ – a ‘lassie in the Larkhall Ladies, clad all in pure white – pleated skirt and blouse – stepping high as any White Charger.’¹⁰⁶ This representation lionises the attractive young band leader by appropriating discourses linking ‘femininity’ with innocence and sexual purity. The image is redolent of the 1920s White Ribboners, the young girls clothed in white - emblematic of feminised ‘virtue’ and ‘piety’ – who headed up the British Women’s Temperance Association parades in the hope that their ‘drunken fathers’ might ‘see them and take shame.’¹⁰⁷ In a similar vein, girls participating in Orange parades are often arrayed in ‘long elaborate white frocks just like those worn by their Catholic counterparts for their first communion.’¹⁰⁸ Indeed Ghanaian, American and Canadian Orangewomen don ‘long, white frocks’ on parade.¹⁰⁹ Prevailing institutional discourse – drawing strongly upon evangelical constructions of feminine ‘purity’ - engage therefore in the process of gendered objectification by representing women through a male gaze, which emphasises the primacy of physical presentation, attractiveness and deportment as irrefutable markers of virginal innocence, orthodoxy and ‘respectability.’

The importance of Orangewomen’s orderly and decorous appearance on parade was consistently reified in institutional journals which commended the practice of ‘uniformly’ attired lodges for

¹⁰¹ D. Crane, *Fashion and its social agendas: class, gender and identity in clothing*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p.123

¹⁰² *Ibid*, p.118

¹⁰³ Grand Lodge, *Laws and Constitutions*, 1955, 21

¹⁰⁴ S. Spencer, *Gender, work and education in Britain in the 1950s*, (London: Palgrave, MacMillan, 2005), p.186

¹⁰⁵ Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, p.129

¹⁰⁶ ‘Newly formed Arden Ladies’, *The Vigilant*, (July 1969), p.3

¹⁰⁷ Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, p.131

¹⁰⁸ Dudley Edwards, *The faithful tribe*, p.142. See also Appendix B

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, pp.136 and 139-140

bringing 'colour, seamliness and dignity to the ranks.'¹¹⁰ In 1979, *The Torch* extolled Orangewomen's 'smart summer frocks and hats,' lamenting that men's lodges might 'profit from some attention in this regard.'¹¹¹ The 1984 Orangewomen participating in the Ladies' annual parade were superlatively, if superficially, commended upon their 'show of pride and elegance that reflected their vital contribution to Scottish Orangeism.'¹¹² Orangewomen's impeccable presentation – as well as the sexual specificity of their dress - thus reinforced visually their gendered 'otherness' to the brethren.

In 1993 a minor concession was granted, presumably to placate disgruntled female members, enabling women to wear 'tailored culottes no longer than mid-calf.'¹¹³ However, this was insufficient to quell discontent and the 'trousers rule' is annually resurrected, yet change has thus far proved elusive. The prohibition on trousers is not, as Orangewomen's diverse personal testimonies affirm, universally regarded as inevitably disempowering. The 'trousers ruling' represents a discursive site where Orangewomen's personal subjectivities are interdicted by Grand Lodge authority, gendering their self-fashioning and curtailing their liberty to articulate personal affiliations and cultural identifications through clothing. Dworkin insists women's compliance with the feminine ideal necessarily 'deprives her of any individuality that is self-serving or self-created' or 'not useful to the male in his scheme of things.'¹¹⁴ Orangewomen's varied approaches to the contentious issue mirror fertile public debates regarding the extent to which the donning of the hijab is oppressive and/or emancipatory for Muslim women.¹¹⁵

For Orangewoman Jackie Knox the issue is one of autonomy: 'I don't think that anybody has the right to tell another person what they can and cannot wear.'¹¹⁶ She speculated the directive was actively deterring younger women from joining, and recalled how the embargo on trousers had prevented sisters from attending the funeral of a deceased sister during an exceptionally cold winter. As a member of a flute band, Jackie frequently opts to march with the band rather than the lodge – albeit wearing her Orange collarette - but on one occasion was admonished for 'wearing trousers.' Resolute, she replied 'Well, put me up on a charge!'¹¹⁷ Her account is one of the few examples of Orangewomen's defiant flouting of institutional rules, and resistance more commonly assumes the form of subtly evasive transgression.

For Kirsty Gardiner, however, dress is an important determinant in shaping public perceptions both of individual Orangewomen and the Order they represent: 'it's all about your image,' she affirmed,

¹¹⁰ 'Armada surrenders to Orange charm', *The Vigilant*, 15, no.7-8, (July-August 1969), p.3

¹¹¹ 'Dress and Department', *The Torch*, (May 1979), p.6

¹¹² 'Ladies' sizzle in Ardrossan Sunshine', *The Torch*, (June 1984), p.2

¹¹³ Grand Lodge, Laws and Constitutions, p.46

¹¹⁴ Dworkin, *Right-wing women*, p.19

¹¹⁵ R.A. Khan, 'Are Muslims the New Catholics? Europe's headscarf laws in comparative historical perspective', *Duke Journal of Comparative and International Law*, 21 (2011), p.584

¹¹⁶ Knox, Jackie, oral history interview, 8 February 2013

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*

'you've got to have self-respect, especially if other people are looking at you.'¹¹⁸ Framing her argument in terms of the 'respectability' which adherence to 'feminine' dress supposedly confers, Kirsty maintained that 'to put on with trousers with a hat wouldn't look right.' Kirsty's construction of a gendered public image, through immaculate appropriation of traditional 'feminine' dress, is experienced as simultaneously protective and self-empowering, disarming and allaying the concerns of a hostile public. Her rationale echoes that of female participants in suffrage processions a century earlier, who were careful to present themselves as 'sufficiently 'womanly'' in order to neutralise 'anxieties' excited by their unwelcome 'invasion into public life.'¹¹⁹

The love of 'dressing up' for 'the walk' is engendered in juveniles through their early participation, resplendently arrayed in royal costume, in King William and Queen Mary parades. These processions – often involving a competitive element - acquaint juveniles with the mythologizing narratives of Orange history and also socialise them into the gendered politics of self-adornment, teaching the investiture of especial pride in the projection of an immaculate public image. These spectacles recall the 1920s Whit Sunday Lancashire parades in which Protestant girls were adorned as the Rose Queen.¹²⁰ Female juveniles – incongruously some of the most steadfast defenders of the anachronistic 'trousers' rule - framed the debate in terms of differentiation versus uniformity. Favouring a gender distinct dress code, eighteen year-old Amy Bell argued against 'wearing trousers' on the basis that 'you just kind of blend in with the men.'¹²¹ However, she lamented lodgewomen's lack of self-individuation, reflecting that 'it feels a bit like a uniform' because 'everybody is dressed the exact same.' Amy also articulated the clear demarcation between the fashionable and the institutionally-appropriate, explaining, 'a skirt above your knees is a no-go on parade.' Arguing in favour of the marked differentiation of parading attire from everyday wear, fourteen year-old Lauren Elliot explained 'you can't just wear your collarette and dress like you are going out on the town' yet also recognised the desirability of parading 'in style.'¹²² This teenage desire to use dress to for aesthetic self- individuation - paradoxically expressed through the adoption of faddish consumer trends - collides therefore with their visceral recognition of the parade as a performative public rehearsal of gendered institutional conformity.

CONCLUSION

The 'trousers ruling' might appear a trifling diversion from the structural inequalities which institutionally subordinate Orangewomen. Indeed Magnus Bain has mobilised the issue to argue against the merger of the Grand Lodge and the Ladies' Association, on the basis that business

¹¹⁸ Gardiner, Kirsty, oral history interview, 21 March 2011

¹¹⁹ L. Tickner, *The spectacle of women: imagery of the suffrage campaign, 1907-1914*, (London: Chatto, 1987), pp.67-68

¹²⁰ Wildman, 'Religious selfhoods and the city in interwar Manchester', p.116

¹²¹ Bell, Amy, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

¹²² Elliot, Lauren, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

would be dominated by the discussion of ‘silly mundane things like hats and slacks.’¹²³ His flippant remark is illustrative of the trivialisation of Orangewomen, and matters directly pertaining to them, within institutional discourse. Bain’s remarks confirm the veracity of Dworkin’s observation that ‘It is the fashion among men to despise the smallness of women’s lives.’¹²⁴ The debate is nevertheless of symbolic significance representing the hegemonic struggle between institutional patriarchy and women’s personal autonomy and agency. Adherence to traditional codes of gender-specific dress does not, as Orangewomen have indicated, necessarily render them complicit in their own fetishization, nor does it constitute surrender to the objectifying male gaze: because parading Orangewomen exercise considerable influence over public perceptions – as gendered signifiers of institutional ‘respectability’ - parading in traditional garb might be conceptualised as a collectively empowering strategy, ameliorating egregious public perceptions of Orangeism, and thereby demonstrating their value and usefulness to the brethren.

The dynamic renegotiation of ‘meaning’ generated anew with each ritual performance enables Orangewomen’s second degree to be subversively worked as a radical celebration of female reciprocity and sisterhood, rather than a legitimisation of patriarchal subordination. That the pastoral iconography of both the ritual of Ruth and the floral services is appropriated from masonic traditions - which implicitly reverence the archetypal divine ‘feminine’ - is highly subversive of Orange fraternal ideology and structure. Whilst the previous chapter argued Orangewomen’s subaltern status to be rooted in, and legitimised by, ritually inscribed essentialist notions of sexual difference, this chapter, illustrates the liberatory potential of female ritual to transgressively sanctify rather than subordinate ‘femininity.’ The subsequent chapter considers Orangewomen’s wide range of political and philanthropic work spanning the course of a century.

¹²³ Bain, Magnus, oral history interview, 15 February 2013

¹²⁴ Dworkin, *Right-wing women*, pp.15-16

CHAPTER 5

‘THE HEART OF RITUAL CHARITY’: ORANGEWOMEN, BENEVOLENCE AND ACTIVISM

‘And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity’ (I Corinthians 13:13)

PGM, Rev. Helen Walker identified the above as ‘one of the most important scriptural verses to orange sisters,’ her exegesis seamlessly substituting the understated ‘charity’ of the King James translation for the more directly emotive synonym ‘love.’¹ In 1928 Cowcaddens’ lodge adapted and incorporated this scripture into its ritualism with the verse: ‘Faith, Hope and Love I see joining hand in hand with thee, but the greatest of the three, the heart of ritual charity.’² Benevolence - emblemized in Orange symbology by the heart - was not only a recurring thematic trope in female lodges but pivotal also both to Orangewomen’s formulation of personal subjectivities and construction of collective, institutional gendered identity. This chapter chronologically surveys the overlapping charitable and political commitments of female members over the course of a century, focussing upon the complex intersection between women’s individual motivations and institutional attempts to mobilise their charitable engagement to publicly legitimise, dignify and render socially acceptable their much excoriated institution. The gendering of charity in androcentric organisational discourse essentialises Orangewomen’s caring, virtuous and maternal ‘otherness’ to the brethren.

In the early twentieth-century, Orangewomen subversively demonstrated their collective ‘worth’ to the brethren through their diverse and prolific philanthropic engagements, enabling them the rare opportunity to blur the boundaries between public and domestic spheres and, in so doing, to develop new skills, garner confidence and gain initiatory experience as the bestowers - rather than the recipients - of charitable largesse. For many sisters the work proved self-expressive, enjoyable and empowering - a female-affirming form of outreach obscuring distinctions between political activism and charitable fundraising. As such their very involvement, as working-class women, problematizes Smitley’s characterisation of the philanthropic work of the ‘feminine public sphere’ as exclusively the domain of middle-class liberal or socialist women with ‘a commitment to civic life and public service.’³ The fruitfulness of Orangewomen’s altruistic benevolence, however, has proved a double-edged sword, diverting their considerable energies and abilities from institutional governance. Woman’s association with ‘personal caregiving’ identifies her as ‘a valuable’ if

¹ H. Walker, ‘The spiritual qualities of our association’, *Centenary Brochure*, (Glasgow: GOLs, 2009), p.7

² Primrose LLOL 13 Cowcaddens District, ‘Flower Service’, pp. 4-5

³ Smitley, *The feminine public sphere*, p.3

‘unequal’ citizen.⁴ Charitable involvement has therefore afforded Orangewomen starkly varying degrees of agency and autonomy at differing junctures throughout their institutional history.

SCOTTISH ORANGEISM AND THE PRIMROSE LEAGUE

Consideration turns firstly to a brief assessment of the ideological influences upon Orangewomen’s charitable and political endeavours. Institutional historian Rev. Bro. Gordon McCracken declares there to be:

Little doubt that the involvement of the ladies in the Conservative ‘Primrose League’ gave them an appetite for contributing more to Orangeism than making occasional teas⁵

McCracken points to the 1910 naming of ‘Primrose’ LLOL 13 as suggestive of overlapping membership and significant ‘reciprocal inspiration.’⁶ However, whilst evidence supporting this assertion is unidentifiable –McCracken regrettably proved unable to ‘recall specific details’⁷ - MacRaild has suggested some English Orangewomen at the turn of the century were League members.⁸ Although there was never any formal inter-organisational affiliation, the League’s Grand Council were antagonistic to joint meetings,⁹ fearing perhaps ‘close involvement’ with the Orange might alienate the Scottish Tories and cause them to regard the PL as marginal and ‘irrelevant.’¹⁰

Midgley has defined the PL as one of many ‘pro-imperialist’ late Victorian associations promoting a form of ‘commonwealth feminism.’¹¹ Formed in 1883, the mixed-sex League promulgated a ‘populist version of domestic imperialism’ and furnished ‘thousands of conservative women with an opportunity to engage in public activism.’¹² Whilst the League welcomed Catholics as members¹³ it nevertheless shared striking ideological commonalities with the Orangeism, mirroring its ‘semi-secret society’ structure, and emphasising ‘ceremonies and ritual.’¹⁴ PL Women were admitted with supposedly ‘the same status as men’ and yet the Ladies’ Grand Council, formed in 1885, was granted ‘no powers to interfere between habitations and the Grand Council of the League’ and remained of purely ‘decorative importance.’¹⁵ The League’s gendered hierarchical constitution might well have been the blueprint for the 1919 formation of Ladies’ Orange Association of Scotland (LOAS), and was indeed remarkably similar.¹⁶

⁴ F.M. Cancian and S.J. Oliner, *Caring and gender*, (Oxford: Altamira, 2000), pp.144-145

⁵ McCracken, *Bygone days of yore*, p.38

⁶ *Ibid*, p.38

⁷ Gordon McCracken, email to the author, 8 December 2012

⁸ MacRaild, *Faith, fraternity and fighting*, p.137

⁹ J. Robb Henderson, *The Primrose League, 1883-1906*, (New York: Columbia University, 1942), pp.196-197

¹⁰ M. Pugh, *The Tories and the people, 1880-1933* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), p.131

¹¹ Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, p.2

¹² MacPherson, *Women and the Irish nation*, p.21

¹³ Pugh, *The Tories and the people*, p.85

¹⁴ Robb Henderson, *The Primrose League*, p.38; Pugh, *The Tories and the people*, pp.84-85, 13 and 15-16

¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp.109 and 112

¹⁶ Tables 1.1 and 1.2, Appendix C

Notwithstanding its foundational sexual inequality, the League facilitated women's increased participation in political life - arranging lectures and entertainments to widen public engagement with tariff reform and forming the Help an Ulster Women Committee¹⁷ (mirroring the Orange Order's Ulster Refugee campaign to assist families facing the imminent threat of Home Rule). League women represented their public work as an extension of their domesticity, arguing their role as housewives 'gave them an important voice in debates about food tariffs.'¹⁸ Orangewomen similarly argued participation in the 'public life of the Orange community' augmented rather than detracted from 'a woman's domestic role.'¹⁹

However, as MacPherson elucidates, the socio-economic diversity of the League marks its divergence from overwhelmingly working-class Orangeism.²⁰ Whilst a significant proportion of the League's membership was proletarian, and the free mixing of social classes was to some extent encouraged²¹ the League reified class distinctions in its habitations (branches) and aristocratic women frequently filled Grand Council positions.²² In contrast with the PL, the apparent lack of class patronage in female Orangeism afforded working-class women the meritocratic opportunity for upward mobility within their private lodge and Ladies' Association at least, although male Grand Lodge remains hierarchically impenetrable.

CHARITY AS A MEANS OF LEGITIMISING ORANGEWOMEN'S MEMBERSHIP

Early Orangewomen's fundraising prowess afforded considerable institutional power and status,²³ enabling them to indisputably prove themselves an indispensable institutional asset. As *The Vigilant* acknowledged, 'the ladies turned out to be a blessing' because their 'enthusiasm and hard work' could always generate much-needed income.²⁴ In 1913 Grand Secretary Rice, attempting to persuade reluctant brethren to install female lodges in their district, alluded enticingly to the 'good work' of Orangewomen 'in collecting money.'²⁵ Women's contested entry to the Order was therefore vindicated and validated by their immense and outstanding charitable contributions.

Orangewomen's benevolence was also referenced to legitimise their individual, as well as collective, rights of membership. In 1922, former Catholic, Mrs Allen was 'granted unanimous permission' to undergo initiation - her Protestant credentials affirmed by her church-based

¹⁷ MacPherson, *Women and the Irish nation*, p.21

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p.22

¹⁹ MacPherson, 'The emergence of women's Orange lodges in Scotland,' p.5

²⁰ *Ibid*, p.3

²¹ M. Hendley, 'Women and the nation: the right and projections of feminized political images in Great Britain, 1900-1918' in J.V. Gottlieb and T.P. Lineham (eds.), *The culture of fascism: visions of the far right in Britain*, (London: Tauris, 2004), p.14; Pugh, *Tories and the People*, pp.12-13

²² K. Cowan, *Women in British politics, c.1689-1979*, (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), p.93

²³ MacPherson, 'The emergence of women's orange lodges in Scotland', p.67

²⁴ '1909-1959', *The Vigilant*, 6, (June 1959), p.4

²⁵ Grand Lodge, Reports of Proceedings, 1913 -1914, 61

philanthropy.²⁶ A year later, two former Catholic women were admitted to the lodge, their ‘good work’ evidencing the sincerity of their ‘conversion to Protestantism.’²⁷ Charitable contribution, then, was regarded as a reliable indicator of a woman’s commitment to the Reformed faith and a measure of her moral rectitude. Indeed Prochaska has observed, the evangelical faithful ‘often regarded charity ‘as the only sure evidence of a true conversion.’²⁸

EARLY ACTIVISM: OPPOSITION TO NE TEMERE AND HOME RULE

Prior to the outbreak of war, Scottish Orangewomen’s activism coalesced around opposition to the 1912 Irish Home Rule Bill. Since the membership of most other organisations with similar campaigning intent – such as the Primrose League and WUTRA - was predominantly middle-class, Orangewomen’s overwhelmingly working-class contribution was unique.²⁹ Ulster anti-Home Rule campaigns were led by socially elite women, a number of whom were sent to the British mainland to ‘convince the electorate’ to ‘vote for the union.’³⁰ It is indeed likely that these women directly liaised with and addressed audiences comprised of – or at least containing - Scottish Orangewomen, which might possibly explain the signing by some Scottish members of a Female Declaration opposing Home Rule.³¹ Diane Urquhart has highlighted the role of the Ulster Women’s Unionist Council (UWUC) in collecting female signatures.³² The UWUC was formed in 1911, the year of revival for women’s Orangeism in Ireland, and it is indeed likely that membership of both organisations overlapped.³³

The issue of Home Rule became inextricably interwoven in Irish Protestant public discourse with outrage at the Catholic Church’s contentious Ne Temere Decree, which insisted that the children of mixed-sex marriages be raised as Catholic. The sensationalised case of Presbyterian Belfast woman Agnes McCann, whose children were allegedly seized by her Catholic husband following her refusal to raise them in his faith, was the focus of public furore over this controversial papal edict. The same ‘domestic rhetoric’ which mobilised opposition to Ne Temere was deployed to galvanise female opposition to Home Rule, by representing both as a threat to ‘the future sanctity of the Protestant home.’³⁴

The renaissance of Ulster women’s Orangeism was indeed coterminous with, and catalysed by, political opposition to both Ne Temere and Home Rule. Although a warrant for a Dublin women’s

²⁶ *Ibid*, 1922, 16

²⁷ *Ibid*, 1923, 10

²⁸ F. Prochaska, *Christianity and social service in modern Britain: the disinherited spirit*, (Oxford: O.U.P., 2008), p.3

²⁹ MacPherson, ‘The emergence of women’s orange lodges in Scotland’, p.65

³⁰ MacPherson, ‘Exploited with fury on a thousand platforms: women, unionism and the Ne Temere Decree in Ireland, 1908-1913’ in J. Allen and R.C. Allen (eds.) *Faith of our fathers: popular culture and belief in post-Reformation England, Ireland and Wales* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), p.173

³¹ MacPherson, ‘The emergence of women’s orange lodges in Scotland’, p.61

³² Urquhart, ‘The female of the species is more deadlier than the male?’, p.52

³³ Indeed Olive Whitten, current Grand Mistress of Ireland, was Secretary of the UWUC for some years before resigning the post in 2012 (Olive Whitten, email to the author, 22 March 2013)

³⁴ MacPherson, ‘Exploited with fury on a thousand platforms,’ p.167

lodge exists dated 8 May 1801, no corroborating evidence exists verifying whether this early prototype was an isolated example, or part of a broader network. Ladies' lodges fell dormant following the defeat of the 1886 Home Rule Bill, yet in 1911, the Irish Grand Lodge granted permission to revive the Association.³⁵ Irish female Orangeism was resurrected, largely to rally gendered opposition to Ne Temere and women joined their local lodge to fight the encroachment of the patriarchal Roman Church upon family life, against which an Irish state would offer fearfully inadequate protection. These emotive overlapping issues thus neatly encapsulated, and became the foci of, Protestant women's national, ethno-religious and gender-specific concerns.

Facing the threat of looming civil war in Ulster, in 1911 the GOLS planned to billet out refugees from Ulster, using Orange Halls to feed and allocate lodgings to fleeing women and children. After the passing of the bill in the Commons in 1913, the Carson Defence Fund was established which proved the main source of income for the UVF.³⁶ McPherson reports, one Worthy Mistress 'excited' the Scottish sisters of Glasgow's First lodge by relating 'her observations of the UVF drilling in Ireland,' and indeed this lodge amassed the largest sums for the Fund through sales of work, baking cakes and organising bazaars. Orangewomen therefore deployed their 'feminine' domesticated skills in furtherance of unionism. Their participation in campaigns with political ramifications beyond Scottish borders blurred Orange jurisdictional parameters, as well as the gendered boundaries between the 'feminine' domesticated sphere and the 'masculine' political sphere. Whilst there is little evidence –foregoing a resolution sent by Sister Geddes of LLOL 20 to Edinburgh MPs³⁷ - that Ne Temere was regularly raised in Scottish women's lodges, alarmist Grand Lodge officials, on occasion, emotively reinvigorated the scandalous issue even decades after the furore had erupted in order to manipulatively direct the corpus of Orangewomen's vote: in 1932, Bro. Digby Brown stirred delegates at the Ladies Conference with his gendered assertion that 'it was for the womanhood of this country to rouse themselves and not vote for anyone who would not bind himself to get rid of this Ne Temere decree.'³⁸ Indeed in September 2012, LOAS trustees Jean Logan and Margaret Blakely participated in the Ulster Covenant Centenary Parade in Belfast, saliently commemorating and reaffirming Scottish Orangewomen's continued historical involvement in, and commitment to, Ulster unionist politics.³⁹

CHARITY DURING THE GREAT WAR

MacPherson has convincingly argued that Orangewomen's wartime efforts 'reaffirmed their credentials within the public world of Orange activism.'⁴⁰ In direct contrast with the contemporaneous situation in Dublin - where leaders cancelled the Boy Scouts and Boys' Club

³⁵ *A celebration, 1690-1990, the Orange Institution*, (Belfast: GOLI, 1990), p.64

³⁶ MacPherson, 'The emergence of women's orange lodges in Scotland', p.61

³⁷ *Ibid*, p.61

³⁸ LOAS, Conference, 9 April 1932, 20

³⁹ See photo 2.1, Appendix B

⁴⁰ MacPherson, 'The emergence of women's orange lodges in Scotland', p.64

‘rather than surrender them to women’s hands’ for the war’s duration - Scottish Orangewomen were entrusted with running the juvenile lodges and ensuring the youth movement survived the war.⁴¹ From the outbreak of the war, Orangewomen ‘set to with their knitting needles to produce garments’ for servicemen using their gendered domesticated skills to express a ‘maternal’ concern for the welfare of those on the frontline.⁴² Kirkintilloch Orangewoman Chrissie Taggart fondly recalled the women’s lodges to have been ‘more active’ during wartime and recalls ‘all the old yins knitted balaclavas and socks and scarves for soldiers and POWs.’⁴³

Increased national demands exaggerated the dynamic tension between the already-overburdened Orangewoman’s organisational responsibilities to her own needy sisters and brethren, and her desire to contribute to causes supporting the national war effort. A 1917 correspondence from the British Red Cross - prompted by the organisation’s faithful contributions during the early years of the war - requested further Orange assistance. However, Grand Lodge decided to discontinue Red Cross donations for the foreseeable future in preference of ‘looking after their own immediate members.’⁴⁴ Wartime privations thus sharpened institutional loyalties and compelled Orangewomen to reconfigure their charitable priorities.

In her celebratory ‘brief history’ of the female section, Grand Mistress Rhona Gibson contends that the strength of Orangewomen’s wartime ‘contributions’ urged Grand Lodge to re-consider their status prompting the 1919 establishment of the Ladies’ Conference.⁴⁵ Gibson valorises the efforts of her female forebears, and downplays the significance of sometimes conflicting sexual agendas, in order to represent a straightforward linear narrative, charting Orangewomen’s direct chronological progression from the margins of the Order, towards greater gendered inclusivity and equality. Her hagiographic account has direct implications for the sisters’ contemporary attempts to improve their standing: the subtext is clearly that Orangewomen’s personal sacrifice and charitable effort, ‘proved’ them to be deserving of change, and earned concessions by affirming their intrinsic value to a magnanimous, paternalistic Grand Lodge. Gibson’s ‘brief history’ is predicated therefore upon an a priori understanding of women’s need to demonstrate their ‘worth’ in order to reverse their subaltern status.

Scottish Orangewomen’s struggles to gain credibility as autonomous active agents within the institution paralleled the broader struggles of British women for the vote, and a more prominent involvement in public life: the wartime loyalty of both was demonstrated by their willingness to flexibly assume supportive roles, temporarily fill ‘male’ jobs and/or organisational positions to minimise disruption, allow normative functioning and to reinforce and maintain existing patriarchal structures. The war’s ‘repercussions’ have been frequently cited in women’s historiography - with

⁴¹ Walsh, O., ‘Protestant female Philanthropy in Dublin,’ *History Ireland*, 5, no.2 (1997), p.29

⁴² ‘Wishaw ladies mark 80 years’, *The Torch*, (February 1990), p.7

⁴³ Taggart, Chrissie, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

⁴⁴ Grand Lodge, Report of Proceedings, 1917, 16

⁴⁵ Gibson, ‘The Ladies’ Orange Association of Scotland’, *Celebratory Brochure*, p.4

varying degrees of emphasis - as a factor 'influential in ensuring that in 1918 many women were enfranchised for the first time.'⁴⁶ Pugh conversely maintains the case for the vote to have been effectively won prior by 1900, minimising the impact of women's wartime contribution in securing enfranchisement.⁴⁷ Gibson's paradigmatic conceptualisation of institutional reforms in the Ladies' section as the result of an attitudinal shift inspired by their wartime contributions is thus reasonable if not universally endorsed. However, the evidence also implies that the 1919 establishment of the Ladies' Conference was a measured, pragmatic attempt to introduce a formal apparatus of governance, enabling Grand Lodge to exert measured influence and orchestrate the collective vote of a newly-enfranchised female rank and file, rather than simply a 'reward' conferred by Grand Lodge for wartime loyalty and benevolence.

ORANGE SUFFRAGETTES ?

There is no documentary evidence to indicate the involvement of individual Orangewomen within suffrage circles, or to suggest any formal inter-organisational collaboration or connectivity. Past Grand Master, Rev. David Ness – keen advocate of female Orangeism - appears the only member known to have belonged to the West of Scotland Women's Suffrage Union, or indeed any other organisation campaigning for the vote.⁴⁸ A speculative consideration of early Orangewomen's largely indeterminate, and probably remote, relationship to the suffrage question is pertinent here because it contextualises lodge women within the national political landscape and reveals the dynamic interplay between their gendered and Orange subjectivities. Indeed the absence of membership rolls, or meticulous listings of attendees at meetings, renders any overlap of personnel difficult to detect. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that the female vote was ever discussed, or even mentioned, at lodge meetings. The paucity and unevenness of any documentary evidence is compounded by its partiality and incompleteness, and the laconic, formulaic recording of proceedings. It is possible also that the presence of male District Officers at women's meetings might have inhibited a free, lingering discussion of women's suffrage.

In attempting to write Orangewomen into the suffrage tradition, MacRaild surmises there was 'a glint of suffragette steeliness' about northern English 'pre-war' Orangewomen, speculating that the Edwardian New Woman gracing the pages of *Punch* 'had her counterpart in the ladies of the Orange Order.'⁴⁹ He detects 'no reasons to suppose that a woman of Orange sympathies should be any different from her suffrage-seeking counterpart' despite the lack of 'dialogue within Orangeism about the desirability or efficacy of a vote for Orangemen's wives' and her Tory sympathies.⁵⁰ Indeed recent analyses of Conservative women's history reveals their pivotal involvement in

⁴⁶ A. Smith, *Suffrage Discourse in Britain during the First World War*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p.93

⁴⁷ M. Pugh, *The march of women: a revisionist analysis of the campaign for women's suffrage, 1866-1914*, (Oxford: O.U.P., 2002), pp.1-2

⁴⁸ MacPherson, 'The emergence of women's orange lodges in Scotland', p.6

⁴⁹ MacRaild, *Faith, fraternity and fighting*, p.137

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, pp.138-9

campaigns for the vote, problematizing assumptions of the ideological opposition between right-wing politics and suffragism.⁵¹ Such historiography seeks to reverse dominant conceptualisations of Conservative women as marginal to suffragism ‘subservient and content to remain in the background’ unlike their ‘feminist independent Liberal’ sisters.⁵²

Similarly, prevailing assumptions that the suffrage movement was the domain of upper and middle-class women axiomatically imply Orangewomen’s involvement to have been uninspiringly auxiliary or unlikely. However, ground-breaking revisionist studies, such as Liddington’s *One hand tied behind us*, have problematized classed constructions of the homogeneity of female suffragism by illustrating the centrality of working-class women, politicised through trade unions and women’s cooperative guilds, to provincial campaigning.⁵³ The working-class specificity of early lodgewomen cannot, then, be self-evidently presumed to have impacted the likelihood– or determined the marginality - of Orangewomen’s contributions to suffrage politics.

Isolated examples indeed exist of Orangewomen privileging consciousness of their gendered and socio-economic subjectivities over ethno-religious identification, suggesting their sectarian affiliations to be negotiable and context-specific rather than absolute. Indeed the agitation of some female members during the 1915 Glasgow Rent strikes implicate them in occasional, yet very subversive, forms of class-based social protest: an eye-witness testimony revealed how an ‘old lady’ who was a ‘member of the Orange lodge, the opposite kind that should have been doing this’ enjoined the women around her to pilfer potatoes to feed their starving families, asserting ‘they’ve got money because you haven’t, because you’re not in the same class as them.’⁵⁴ The transgressive militancy of women more commonly associated with the rehearsal of constitutional and conventional ‘respectabilities,’ indicates - as Hughes rightly suggests - ‘that the collective identity of being working-class housewives and mothers transcended the divisions of religion.’⁵⁵ First-generational Orangewomen’s strongly agentic sense of self-determination enabled them to sporadically defy organisational strictures to assert their own class-specific gendered interests.

Despite their demonstrable capacity for insurgency, irrefutable evidence of Orangewomen’s suffragism is virtually non-existent. Women’s historians have begun the fascinating work of researching the diverse contingent of anti-suffragist women written out of the historical canon and dismissed as ‘bizarre, narrow-minded’ or peripheral to political life.⁵⁶ It seems likely that a number of Scottish Orangewomen would have belonged within this disparate corpus – either as activists

⁵¹ Auchterlonie, *Conservative Suffragists*, pp.2-4

⁵² L. Leneman, *A guid cause: the women’s suffrage movement in Scotland*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1991), p.34

⁵³ J. Liddington, and J. Norris, *One hand tied behind us: the rise of the women’s suffrage movement*, (London: Rivers Oram Press, 2000), pp.1-2

⁵⁴ Hughes, *Gender and political identities in Scotland*, p.182

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p.182

⁵⁶ Bush, *Women against the vote*, p. 4

against the vote or simply by virtue of their visceral affiliation - which contained women of all party persuasions and none.⁵⁷

Indeed the overriding priority of the first decade of pioneering Scottish Orangewomen was, arguably, to consolidate their newly-established organisational standing. Female members therefore attempted to represent themselves as valuable cultural capital to the Order by demonstrating and performing public 'respectabilities' which reified, rather than challenged, conventional moral values and thus enhanced the image of Orangeism: the strategic involvement of women would mollify the misgivings of a disparaging public by enabling brethren to eschew dominant gendered imaginings of the Order as associated with 'young men's sectarian street politics and violence'⁵⁸ Women's status within Orangeism was thus contingent on their strict conformity to conventional standards of propriety, seemingly incompatible with the subversions of suffrage politics. Moreover, suffragist militancy would conceivably have been anathema to the socially conservative instincts of many Orangewomen, who had sworn an initiatory oath to uphold the law and respect civic authority.⁵⁹ Whilst Nym Mayall has deftly illustrated that militant suffragists conceptualised their "radical narratives of resistance" as a key component of "engaged citizenship", public affiliation - even with constitutional suffragism - was potentially alarming to brethren inimical to female Orangeism, and might potentially exacerbate fears that this newly-initiated body of women harboured designs to usurp the reigns of organisational power.⁶⁰ Because of the high degree of 'public controversy' surrounding campaigns, Urquhart has observed, 'no more than a minority of women were prepared to breach social taboos and declare themselves suffragists.'⁶¹ It is likely, therefore, that even the most enlightened and politically progressive of Orangewomen chose not to jeopardize their tenuous yet hard-won institutional status by dabbling in suffrage politics.

Scottish Orangewomen's coterminous preoccupation with Irish anti-Home Rule campaigns, privileging diasporic national concerns over an inclusive politics of gendered identity, further precluded their mass involvement. For Irish unionist women, suffragism was regarded as a 'potentially dangerous political distraction' from opposition to Home Rule.⁶² It is indeed likely that campaigns for the vote in Ireland - where unionism and suffragism publicly clashed - shaped, to some extent, Scottish lodgewomen's attitudes to the question. Ulsterwomen's struggle for enfranchisement came to be intricately interwoven in suffragist discourse with national insurrection - indeed Margaret McCoubrey represented campaigns for the vote as 'continuing an Irish tradition of violent protest' - repositioning the movement as antithetical to the interests of the British state

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p.2

⁵⁸ C. Brown, and J.O. Stephenson, "'Sprouting wings?' women and religion in Scotland, c.1890-1950", in E. Breitenbach and E. Gordon (eds.), *Out of bounds: women in Scottish society, 1800-1945*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 1992), p.63

⁵⁹ LOAS, Ritual of Introduction, undated, p.9

⁶⁰ L.E. Nym Mayall, *The militant suffrage movement: citizenship and resistance in Britain, 1860-1930*, (Oxford: O.U.P., 2003), p.11

⁶¹ D. Urquhart, 'An articulate and definite cry for political freedom: the Ulster suffrage movement', *Women's history review*, 11, no.2 (2002), p.275

⁶² *Ibid*, p.279

which therefore alienating ‘loyal’ Orangewomen.⁶³ Numerous contemporary political commentators ‘made the point that suffragists were fighting the government in the same way that Parnell and the Land League had,’ conflating suffragist and nationalist struggles.⁶⁴ Irish suffragism therefore defined itself not just as oppositional to the gendered status quo, but actively identified that status quo as unionist, conceptualising the disenfranchised woman as the subjugated Irish victim of British patriarchal rule. Such discourses are problematized, to some extent, by the existence of prominent unionist suffragists such as Millicent Garrett Fawcett - ‘an outspoken opponent of Irish Home Rule’ and constitutional campaigner for the vote.⁶⁵ That Scottish Orangewomen however –possessing strong diasporic Ulster Protestant identities⁶⁶ - seemingly abjured suffragist politics as antagonistic to their ethno-religious national affiliation, and contrary to their ideological interests, is unsurprising.

A ‘very decided opponent’ of women’s suffrage⁶⁷ Dublin-born Ulster Unionist Edward Carson, found his home picketed by delegations of WSPU suffragists in 1913⁶⁸ and also endured the heckling of the Irish Women’s Franchise League (IWFL). These highly-personalised confrontational tactics placed unionist suffrage sympathisers ‘in the awkward position of having to publicly rebuke the leaders of causes which were exceptionally important to them.’⁶⁹ In 1914 Christabel Pankhurst indignantly contrasted the punitive treatment of suffragette militancy with the ‘blind eye’ officialdom turned to the UVF rearmament,⁷⁰ and Unionist Council women were criticised within Irish public discourse for supporting loyalist gun-running whilst disavowing suffragette agitation, consolidating their estrangement from the movement.⁷¹ This growing ideological disjuncture between the suffrage and anti-Home Rule movements culminated in the 1914 UWUC decision ‘not to reopen the matter’ of the vote: from henceforth unionist suffragists ‘increasingly had to develop different political facades and prioritise their own political convictions.’⁷²

In 1918 Lord Carson wrote to thank the ALOI in 1918 for the ‘confidence’ they had expressed in him, and to caution them to remain ‘fully prepared, if necessary, to meet any attempt that may be made to force Home Rule upon Ireland.’⁷³ Urquhart has detected a ‘tone of condescension’ in Carson’s laudatory 1925 missive to the UWUC,⁷⁴ which is entirely absent from his communication to Orangewomen. Irish unionist women therefore decidedly prioritised their national over gendered subjectivities. Despite Orangewomen’s apparent absence from activism for female

⁶³ *Ibid*, p.283

⁶⁴ S. Paseta, *Irish nationalist women, 1900-1918*, (Cambridge: C.U.P., 2013), pp.72-73

⁶⁵ Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, p.2

⁶⁶ MacPherson, ‘Migration and the female Orange Order’, p.3

⁶⁷ Paseta, *Irish nationalist women, 1900-1918*, p.71

⁶⁸ E. Crawford, *The women’s suffrage movement: a reference guide, 1866-1928*, (London: UCL Press, 1999), pp.210 and 219

⁶⁹ Paseta, *Irish nationalist women*, pp.72-73

⁷⁰ Crawford, *The women’s suffrage movement*, p.270

⁷¹ Urquhart, ‘An articulate and definite cry for political freedom’, pp.279-280

⁷² Urquhart, ‘The female of the species’, p.53

⁷³ E. Carson, Letter to Miss Garrat, MS. (Belfast: GOLI archive, 21 May 1918)

⁷⁴ Urquhart, ‘The female of the species’, p.54

enfranchisement, contemporary GM Rhona Gibson evoked suffrage discourses to urge members not to 'squander' their 'hard won' votes, but to instead unseat electoral opponents of Orangeism.⁷⁵

EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITY ELECTIONS

Embedding 'the evolution of Catholic schools within the national system' whilst enabling clergy to retain 'a measure of control' over religious instruction and teaching appointments,⁷⁶ the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act was perceived as a Tory 'betrayal' and greeted with vitriol by Grand Lodge. Orange discourse denounced this legislation as 'Rome on the Rates'⁷⁷ and represented Catholic schools as the unjust recipients of exceptionally generous state funding.⁷⁸ Local Education Authority elections became hotly contested and the vote divided primarily along religious rather than class lines: in 1919 five of the eight Orange candidates were returned in Glasgow.⁷⁹ Orangewomen participated in interwar educational politics by canvassing for Protestant candidates, particularly after the extension of the female franchise in 1928.⁸⁰ Orangewoman Agnes Smellie was elected to the Glasgow Education Authority from 1922 to 1925, and was involved in regular school visits to ensure adequate provision of scriptural instruction.⁸¹ The Order thus provided such women with the impetus, platform and support to engage in prominent local activism within the gendered educational sphere.

INTERWAR LABOUR POLITICS

Since the 1870s, the Scottish Orange Order had maintained a strong, if sometimes strained and contested, relationship with the Conservative Unionist Party.⁸² Prior to World War 1, Grand Master Rev. David Ness was co-opted to the Executive Committee of the Western Divisional Council of the party. In protest against Tory complicity in the partitioning of Ireland, the Order officially withdrew their support for the Unionist party in 1922 and established their own Orange Protestant Party (OPP).⁸³ Despite the reluctance of some members to electorally abandon the Unionists, the Independent Labour Party (ILP) experienced in 1922 a 'sensational electoral breakthrough,' capturing many Glasgow former Tory working-class seats. With the advent of class politics, the OPP soon proved politically unviable. By 1925 newly-appointed Tory GM Col. McInnes Shaw found the rank and file recalcitrant⁸⁴ as rising unemployment, demobilisation and increasing social unrest galvanised support for militant industrial 'Red Clydeside' agitation.⁸⁵ The Order responded

⁷⁵ Gibson, 'Grand Mistress's Message', *County Grand Lodge of Glasgow Boyne Celebrations* (2011), p.44

⁷⁶ T. Fitzpatrick, 'Catholic education in Scotland' in T.G.K. Bryce and W.M. Hume (eds.), *Scottish education post-devolution*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 2003), p.273

⁷⁷ D. Bryce, 'Educational Apartheid', *The Vigilant*, 2, no.2, (December 1965), p.8

⁷⁸ Grand Lodge, Report of Proceedings, 1938, 5

⁷⁹ Walker, 'The Orange Order in Scotland between the wars', p.182

⁸⁰ McPherson, 'The emergence of women's Orange lodges in Scotland,' p.18

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p.19

⁸² Walker, 'The Orange Order in Scotland between the wars', p.181

⁸³ 'New Orange and Protestant Party', *The Herald*, 22 February 1922

⁸⁴ Walker, 'The Orange Order in Scotland between the wars,' pp.186-187, and 206

⁸⁵ M. Craig, *When the Clyde ran red*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2011), pp.1-2

with ‘frenzied anti-labour activity’ during the early 1920s.⁸⁶ Manipulating religious divisions to undermine class solidarity, in 1923 Grand Lodge resolved to expel members allying themselves with the politics of the left.⁸⁷

In attempt to mobilise gender to disrupt a class politics indiscriminately intersecting sectarian social cleavages, it was proposed at the 1926 Ladies’ Conference that ‘no woman will be initiated into the Orange Order, whose husband holds the political views of socialism, communism or is a member of the SLP.’⁸⁸ The motion was predicated upon contradictory gendered assumptions which tacitly acknowledged Orangewomen’s hypothetical ability to tame her husband’s activism, yet disempoweringly esteemed her culpable for – or a complicit extension of - his political ‘deviancy.’ Advanced by a Sister Simpson, this motion indicates the depth of abhorrence for left-wing politics felt by some of the female membership and has been cited by Graham Walker to verify his assertion that Orangewomen were ‘perhaps more enthusiastically conservative’ than the brethren.⁸⁹ The fact that during the interwar period Orangewomen vastly outnumbered men seems also to corroborate this, as does the relatively few expulsions of Orangewomen for participation in left-wing politics during the 1920s.⁹⁰ However, Conference’s unanimous rejection of the proposal indicates that many Orangewomen had actively formulated their own political identities, and wished to be recognised as autonomous beings, independently of their spouse.

The Order’s attempts to ‘counter trade-union and labour activities’ from the early 1930s ‘failed quite ignominiously’ and ‘its success in winning the working-class vote for the Unionists was also strictly limited’ as, demoralisingly, it haemorrhaged male members.⁹¹ In addition to the power of class politics, the appearance of sectarian demagogues also threatened the Order’s hegemony within the Protestant working-classes. The Scottish Protestant League (SPL) in Glasgow and Protestant Action (PA) in Edinburgh were fronted by firebrands Alexander Ratcliffe and John Cormack respectively. Cormack ‘lambasted’ the Orange as ‘ineffectual and compromising’ and the SPL enjoyed some electoral success in Glasgow Corporation elections of 1933.⁹² Although they both apparently endangered Orange credibility, Rosie observes that the 1930s “saw not simply the peak, but also the dying kick, of militant Protestant populism.”⁹³

As Grand Lodge tentacles were losing their grip over the politically wayward brethren in the interwar years, they attempted to correspondingly tighten their hold of a fast-multiplying female membership. In 1932 the Grand Secretary urged the Orangewomen to ‘do their bit to see that their municipal economists did not run riot’ and deployed a decidedly domestic phraseology,

⁸⁶ Walker, ‘The Orange Order in Scotland between the wars,’ p.191

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p.187

⁸⁸ LOAS, Conference, 9 October 1926

⁸⁹ Walker, ‘The Orange Order in Scotland between the wars,’ p.204

⁹⁰ Table 1.2, Appendix A

⁹¹ Walker, ‘The Orange Order in Scotland between the wars’, pp.194 and 90

⁹² *Ibid*, pp.196-197

⁹³ M. Rosie, ‘Protestant Action and the Edinburgh Irish’ in M.J. Mitchell (ed.) *New perspectives on the Irish in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2008), p.158

representing the home metaphorically as the gendered microcosm of the nation, to engage the sisters: 'women who had to run the house' on 'a very small margin,' he observed, would bear the brunt of returning a candidate in favour of higher taxation.⁹⁴ In 1935, female delegates were reminded of their 'duty' to vote for candidates 'who would stand fast for their Protestant rights.'⁹⁵ A year hence, they were admonished 'to see those who would desecrate the Sabbath' were unseated from Town Councils.⁹⁶ The Ladies' Conferences in the interwar period were thus an interventional platform for male Grand Lodge to manipulate the religious sentiment and organisational loyalty of the sisters for wider socio-political advantage.

Judging solely from the minutes of Ladies' Conferences, the interwar years were seemingly characterised by a largely acquiescent swollen female membership subordinate to Grand Lodge direction. However, Hughes has problematized this assumption, maintaining that the constituency of Govan was an ILP stronghold throughout the interwar years yet 'had the largest membership of the Orange Order, with female members outnumbering men.'⁹⁷ She also implies that Orangewomen were participants in the hunger marches of the 1920s and 30s where 'unemployed people who were members of the Orange Order walked alongside Catholics on a class issue even under the threat of being disaffiliated by the Order.'⁹⁸ Such examples indicate the possible surreptitious involvement of some female members in campaigning for class-specific causes and/or supporting left-wing candidates, unbeknown to Grand Lodge. Accounting for Orangewomen's seeming conservatism, Hughes acknowledged the culpability of the labour movement and trade unions which 'marginalised or excluded women' denying them the opportunity to engage in a class politics which might 'undermine the tribalism of the community.'⁹⁹ She recognises also, however, that working-class women's 'perceptions of the self' were often founded upon entrenched concepts of "respectability" and the influence of religious identity' which stymied their formulation of socio-economic consciousness and the development of classed loyalties.¹⁰⁰ Thus the reasons Grand Lodge might have encountered Orangewomen as apparently pliable relate to the complex intersection of their classed, religious and gendered specificities.

MATERNAL WELFARE

During the 1930s and 40s, the female membership articulated their own gendered identity through an expressed commitment to various feminised philanthropic concerns. At the 1929 Ladies' Conference the sisters proposed the creation of an Orange Orphanage in Scotland, inspired by similar initiatives in Canada and Ulster.¹⁰¹ Male officials 'counselled the sisters to give the

⁹⁴ LOAS, Conference, 8 October 1932, 6

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 12 October 1935, 13

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 11 April 1936, 5

⁹⁷ Hughes, *Gender and political identities in Scotland*, p.79

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p.79

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, pp.79 and 82

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, pp.60 and 81

¹⁰¹ LOAS, Conference, 9 April 1949

proposal earnest consideration' and resultantly 163 female lodges opted in favour, whilst 132 opposed.¹⁰² Grand Lodge, however, had the final say in 1930, deciding the venture would be 'inadvisable' in view of the 'depressed industrial situation.'¹⁰³ Orangewomen's charitable designs were therefore curtailed by the patriarchal executive and the unavoidable constraints of economic collapse.

Overcoming these impediments, lodgewomen actively negotiated their commitment to a range of children's causes, endowing cribs 'Ruth' and 'Naomi' - the biblical heroines featured in the ladies' ritualism - in Glasgow's former Royal Samaritan Hospital for Women symbolically suggesting the burgeoning of an inclusive woman-centred consciousness extending beyond the lodge room into wider society.¹⁰⁴ Indeed in 1940, the Director of the Royal Hospital for Sick Children in Glasgow praised Orangewomen's 'noble work' which had 'benefited all 'children, irrespective of class or creed' and reflected the depth of 'love and affection' in the sister's hearts.¹⁰⁵ That a commitment to similar causes was expressed by women of the OWF during this period - working with borstal girls, and fundraising for deprived children and baby hospitals¹⁰⁶ - suggests Orangewomen's maternal activism to have been greatly reflective of broader societal priorities.

Indeed this concern for woman and child welfare might be understood through the prism of interwar 'new' maternal feminism. Taylor-Allen contends, by the 1930s, 'progressive feminists' and 'members of conservative religious groups' coalesced around shared conceptions of motherhood as a 'universal female vocation, moral mission or duty of citizenship.'¹⁰⁷ Feminist politics in this era privileged campaigns for family allowance, infant welfare, housing reform and birth control, emphasising women's uniquely reproductive and caregiving roles and reifying maternal discourses of womanhood.¹⁰⁸ Although 'never openly feminist,'¹⁰⁹ Orangewomen's nationalistic commitment to reversing the war's 'devastating impact' on reproduction and family life might be reconciled with an essentially woman-centred concern for female wellbeing.¹¹⁰

This maternal politics found expression also in Orangewomen's supervisory invigilation of juvenile lodges. At the 1928 Ladies' Conference, the Grand Master described Orangewomen as 'those who could best bring in the faith the younger generation.'¹¹¹ Indeed the sisters have continually played the leading role in nurturing the juveniles since their 1909 inception.¹¹² The vital importance of this highly gendered work in 'shaping the future' through the intergenerational transmission of

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 13 April 1929, 9; 12 October 1929, 6

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, 11 October 1930, 9

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 14 April 1934, 11; 13 April 1935, 6; 12 October 1935, 9; 11 April 1936, 9

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 13 April 1940, 5

¹⁰⁶ Pilcher-Dayton, *The open door*, pp.89-90

¹⁰⁷ Taylor Allen, *Feminism and motherhood in Western Europe*, pp.137, 162, 2 and 4

¹⁰⁸ S. Stanley Holton, *Feminism and democracy: women's suffrage and reform politics in Britain*, (Cambridge: C.U.P.,1986), p.152

¹⁰⁹ MacPherson, 'The emergence of women's Orange lodges in Scotland', p.65

¹¹⁰ Stanley Holton, *Feminism and democracy*, p.115

¹¹¹ LOAS, Conference, 14 April 1928, 2

¹¹² 'The Juveniles and the Ladies', *The Orange Torch*, 41, (October 1977), p.11

values is often affirmed in institutional discourse.¹¹³ Hughes persuasively argues that Scottish women's interwar involvement in charitable religious associations constituted a feminised philanthropy pivotal to affirming their womanly identities, and extending their public influence.¹¹⁴ Indeed this gendered work afforded Orangewomen a unique opportunity to find socially-beneficial outlets for their talents and interests, whilst bolstering - and endowing with familial 'respectability' - the image of the Order they represented.

SECOND WORLD WAR

Reflecting the nature of their contribution during the earlier war, in 1939 Bro. Dorrian challenged Orangewomen to 'form work parties for knitting and sewing in conjunction with the Red Cross' and a War Comfort's Fund was established to administer contributions.¹¹⁵ A year later the sisters' 'generous response' enabled almost 400 Christmas parcels to be sent to members serving overseas.¹¹⁶ This endeavour paralleled the gendered work of the London-based masonic women of the OWF, knitting items for the Middlesex Regiment.¹¹⁷ Whereas previous wartime efforts constituted grassroots female-led local initiatives, appropriating the Ladies' Conference as an instrument of governance enabled Grand Lodge to centrally direct Orangewomen's charitable production during this conflict.

Unlike the latter years of the earlier war, when Orangewomen honed their charitable efforts toward the assistance of fellow members, between 1939 and 1945 they extended their benevolence to funding for a Red Cross Ambulance, vastly exceeding expectations in the sum raised.¹¹⁸ In 1943, sisters lodged extraordinarily large donations with the Grand Lodge War Relief Fund and the following year to the British Red Cross Prisoner of War Fund.¹¹⁹ The Air Raid Fund was a further beneficiary of lodgewomen's wartime generosity.¹²⁰ In addition to fundraising, female lodges extended charitable hospitality in the form of 'tea, a sing-song and a dance' to visiting servicemen as the camaraderie of war temporarily transcended national and cultural divides.¹²¹

The war eroded dichotomous boundaries between care-giver and recipient as Orangewomen became beneficiaries, as well as the bestowers, of institutional aid: in 1941, Glaswegian Sister Wallace was badly wounded during the Clydeside air raids,¹²² prompting the establishment of the 'Blitz Fund' to assist members 'injured or bereaved by enemy bombing.'¹²³ Orangewomen also benefitted from global institutional aid, as Canadian, American and Australian members sent large

¹¹³ MacLean, 'The sash my mother wore', *Centenary Brochure*, p.9

¹¹⁴ Hughes, *Gender and political identities in Scotland*, pp.173-4

¹¹⁵ D. Bryce, '85 Years of the Ladies' Orange Association', *The Torch* (May 1994), p.5

¹¹⁶ LOAS, Conference, 13 April 1940

¹¹⁷ Pilcher-Dayton, A., *The open door*, p.111

¹¹⁸ LOAS, Conference, 12 October 1940

¹¹⁹ Bryce, '85 Years of the Ladies' Orange Association', p.5

¹²⁰ 'Sixty glorious years - Diamond Jubilee Demonstration', *The Vigilant*, 15, no.5 (May 1969), p.1

¹²¹ LOAS, Conferences, 11 April 1942 and 31 May 1942

¹²² *Ibid.*, 11 October 1941, 13

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 11 April 1942

donations to provide relief to British Orange families. Grand Secretary Cloughley gratefully acknowledged this aid, but also insisted ‘Scotland’s sisters and brethren should nobly play their part in providing for those who are their own special care.’¹²⁴ Orangewomen astonishingly fulfilled his charitable mandate, continuing to raise considerable sums for favourite pre-war causes, such as the Glasgow Sick Children’s Hospital.¹²⁵ The Order’s status as a friendly society, mutually rather than paternalistically administering aid, enabled Orangewomen to ‘to retain their dignity and social standing’ even when dependent upon assistance.¹²⁶ Yet the dynamic interchangeability of charitable giver and beneficiary demonstrates that sisterly interdependence coexisted, uneasily perhaps, alongside Orangewomen’s prolific social fundraising.

Near the end of the war, the sisters turned their charitable attention towards supporting injured ex-servicemen.¹²⁷ Orangewomen’s benevolent devotion to the Erskine Hospital continues in the form of regular financial giftings,¹²⁸ and a close relationship has evolved between the Ladies’ Association and the Hospital.¹²⁹ This support for a decidedly ‘masculine’ charity emphasizes the gendered ‘otherness’ of the sisters in relation to valorised ideations of maleness, focused upon heroic tropes of self-sacrifice and physical courage. During the war, Orangewomen had been urged by Grand Lodge to work the jobs of absent brethren to prevent ‘rebels to Britain and the British Constitution’ from occupying them.¹³⁰ Therefore Orangewomen’s selection of causes underscoring essentialist conceptions of sexual difference in the immediate aftermath of the war signalled perhaps their willingness to return to the pre-war gendered status quo and re-acceptance of their auxiliary institutional standing.

WELFARISM AND THE SHIFTING POLITICS OF GIVING

In interwar Scotland women’s community networks, founded upon ‘working-class religious concepts of neighbourliness and charity,’ helped to alleviate a ‘shared culture of deprivation’ through the domesticated mutual provision of monetary, emotional and psychological support.¹³¹ Such informal reciprocity was largely unrecorded, and therefore remains historically underplayed.¹³² With the advent of the ‘welfare state,’ the social obligation to charitably provide for the locally impoverished was eroded by the provision of a ‘universal safety net’ liberating voluntary organisations to deliver ‘the kinds of services that the state could not easily do.’¹³³ According to *The Vigilant*, these reforms afforded Orangewomen the creative opportunity to

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, 31 May 1942

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, 11 April 1942; 11 October 1941

¹²⁶ D. Weinbren, ‘Supporting self-help: charity, mutuality and reciprocity in nineteenth-century Britain,’ in P. Bridgen and B. Harris (eds.), *Charity and mutual aid in Europe and North America since 1800*, (London: Routledge, 2007), p.74

¹²⁷ LOAS, Conferences, 14 October 1944; 14 April 1945; 13 April 1946

¹²⁸ *The Torch*, (October 1995), p.8, (April 2001), p.6

¹²⁹ Gardiner, Kirsty, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

¹³⁰ *The Torch*, (14 October 1939), p.5

¹³¹ Hughes, *Gender and political identities in Scotland*, p.156

¹³² Prochaska, *Christianity and social service in modern Britain*, p.42

¹³³ J.M. Bradley, ‘Review: Orangeism in Scotland’, *Scottish Affairs*, no.17, (Autumn 1996), p.147

‘initiate and pioneer those acts of kindly sympathy of which the State is not yet aware, and to which the social conscience is not sufficiently aroused.’¹³⁴

The focus of post-1945 Orange benevolence therefore shifted considerably away from provision of mandatory services for the ailing or destitute towards the support of carefully selected registered charities, and the establishment of Funds to specifically benefit female members. The Ladies’ Benevolent Fund was established in 1947 by PGM Isa McKinlay, its remit to assist and reward the sisters who had generously ‘given their time and talent to the Order.’¹³⁵ However, the charitable ‘instinct’ - perhaps tempered by high expectations of comprehensive state provision and pinched by continued post-war privations – appeared blunted and in 1950 the Grand Secretary lamented that numerous lodges had ‘not contributed anything to the fund.’¹³⁶

Nevertheless, as subsequent sections of this chapter demonstrate, the continued long term vibrancy and fluidity of Orangewomen’s charitable outreach challenges assumptions that ‘accelerated deterioration’ in ‘charity and voluntary culture generally’ occurred as the professionalization of welfare ‘trickled away’ the ‘timeless tradition of religious social service.’¹³⁷ Indeed Pat Thane argues that a ‘mixed economy of welfare’ has slowly emerged, in which voluntary action complements and continuously plugs gaps in state provision.¹³⁸ PGM Margaret Young corroborated Thane’s contention, explaining her beliefs ‘that everything can be afforded in a hospital’ were challenged by her unique opportunity as Grand Mistress to ‘notice the equipment that was needed’ compelling her to prioritise NHS fundraising during her term of office.¹³⁹ Orangewomen’s proud record of social benevolence therefore continued, albeit slightly shifting its emphasis, despite increased governmental intervention.

THE IBROX DISASTER

Tragedy occurred at a 1971 ‘Old Firm’ match at Ibrox Park, the home of Rangers FC, as supporters became trapped in an extremely overcrowded stadium, culminating in 66 deaths and 145 injuries.¹⁴⁰ Grand Mistress Helen Hosie personally visited the homes of every individual affected, offering ‘spiritual comfort’ as well as ‘a gift of money’ to both members and non-members alike.¹⁴¹ This intimate, heart-felt expression of support illustrates the ways in which Orangewomen’s charitable work frequently extended beyond the financial and impersonal to the sensitive and empathetic.¹⁴² Prochaska maintains ‘visiting the poor’ to be a ‘very old’ British charitable custom, valued because

¹³⁴ ‘Sixty glorious years – Diamond Jubilee Demonstration’, *The Vigilant*, 15, no.5 (May 1969), p.1

¹³⁵ LOAS, Conference, 11 October 1947

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 29 April 1950

¹³⁷ Prochaska, *Christianity and social service in modern Britain*, pp.57, 4

¹³⁸ Thane, P., ‘Histories of the welfare state’, in W. Lamont (ed.) *Historical controversies and historians*, (London: Routledge, 1998), pp.53-54

¹³⁹ Young, Margaret, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

¹⁴⁰ ‘The Ibrox disaster remembered’, *The Herald*, 13 December 2010

¹⁴¹ ‘My story – Sister Helen C. Hosie – Grand Mistress, 1970’, *The Torch* (February 2003), p.5

¹⁴² Orangewomen fulfilled a parallel role after the 1996 Dunblane Tragedy (Gibson, ‘The Ladies’ Orange Association of Scotland’, *Centenary Brochure*, p.5)

it demonstrated to ‘impoverished souls’ that the caller ‘cared’ about ‘their spiritual wellbeing.’¹⁴³ Mumm has argued religiously-inspired female philanthropists often sought ‘direct involvement’ with their beneficiaries as an expression of their ‘‘natural’ care-giving, pity and compassion.’¹⁴⁴ Orangewomen’s altruistic response to the disaster, then, illustrates their social outreach to have been informed by, and a continuation of, Victorian evangelical gendered philanthropic traditions.

THE SCOTTISH ORANGE HOME FUND

As the registered charity of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland, and the signature cause of Scottish Orangewomen, the Home Fund is represented within institutional literature as an inherently gendered, special charitable initiative. In 1973 PGM Helen Hosie visited Canada and was impressed by the homes and orphanages instituted by the Canadian Ladies’ Orange Benevolent Association (LOBA).¹⁴⁵ Returning to Glasgow, Hosie persuasively mooted her idea of a care home for Senior Orangewomen to Grand Lodge. After the refusal of the local authority to confer a grant, Orangewomen raised the necessary funds’ by ‘patiently pegging away at different schemes.’¹⁴⁶

PGM Magnus Bain recalled his conversations with Hosie and the sisters eager to implement the scheme. The gendered process of negotiation he relates is infused with a clear sense of the women’s highly emotive, compassionate ‘otherness’ to a pragmatic, male Grand Lodge:

...we said let’s sit down and cost it and look at it and we took almost a decade to make the ladies’ realise that ‘you don’t have the finance to do what you saw in Canada’¹⁴⁷

Bain maintains the sisters ‘had to be bought back down to earth’ because implementation of their proposal would necessitate expensive compliance with a gamut of unforeseen local government regulations. The sisters ‘didn’t take it too kindly and thought at first, perhaps that we were being obstructive but there was nothing further from the truth’ he explained.¹⁴⁸ Bain’s narrative of paternalism infantilizes Orangewomen, representing them as well-meaning and inspired, yet naïve and whimsical, and in need of grounding male guidance.

Undeterred, the sisters successfully pitched to Grand Lodge an alternative idea to establish a holiday home providing respite care for ‘deserving’ senior or poorly members.¹⁴⁹ The emotive terminology of this article reinvigorates the Victorian self-help discourses, reifying the distinctions

¹⁴³ Prochaska, *Christianity and social service*, pp.61-62

¹⁴⁴ S. Mumm, ‘Women and philanthropic cultures’ in S. Morgan (eds.), *Women, gender and religious cultures in Britain, 1800-1940*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), pp.54,61

¹⁴⁵ *The Torch*, (May 1984), p.1; *The Torch*, (June 2001), p.3

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 5-6

¹⁴⁷ Bain, Magnus, oral history interview, 15 February 2013

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*

¹⁴⁹ *The Torch*, (June 1983), p.15

between ‘worthy’ and ‘unworthy’ causes, upon which much Orange benevolence is subtly predicated.¹⁵⁰ The Fund was overseen by a mixed-sex committee and, after a decade of ‘hard-work and fundraising,’ in 1984 a holiday home was subsequently purchased in Sundrum Park, Ayr.¹⁵¹ Five years later the accommodation was upgraded to a more spacious ‘Swiss-style’ chalet in Port Seton.¹⁵² In 2005, Grand Lodge approved the Committee’s proposal to establish a new additional holiday home at the resort to facilitate recuperative breaks for seriously ailing members and in 2008 the ‘Centenary Lodge’ – named to commemorate one hundred years of women’s Orangeism in Scotland - was opened and officially re-launched in 2011.¹⁵³ The venture has thus grown considerably largely due to the initiative, determination and fundraising abilities of its (largely female) administration. Helen Hosie is credited in Orange literature as ‘the driving force’ behind the initial scheme.¹⁵⁴ Her son Andrew recalls how his mother ‘harried and cajoled everyone who would listen’ to garner support for her fundraising efforts.¹⁵⁵ Institutional discourse therefore emphasises the persevering dynamism of Orangewomen in conceiving and overseeing the endeavour.

However, despite representations of the Home Fund as a successful female-led initiative, women’s role in administering the scheme was nevertheless highly gendered. The male executive drew up the trust deed in 1980,¹⁵⁶ liaised with local authorities and assumed a key role in project planning; Orangewomen were expected to provide ‘the principal source of funding,’¹⁵⁷ and responsible for restocking and servicing the facility.¹⁵⁸ Their thoughtful attention to detail in the provision of food, hospitality and homely comfort for residents characterised the venture as decidedly ‘feminine’, enabling women to extend their domestic skills in service of fellow sisters. The highly-appreciative – overwhelmingly female - beneficiaries of the Fund, moreover, frequently penned letters of gratitude to *The Torch*.¹⁵⁹ Hosie held the position of Vice Chairman of the Home Fund until her death in 2004 - Grand Lodge having stipulated that the office of Chairman must be occupied by a male - yet was also involved with the everyday cleaning of the facility.¹⁶⁰ This joint charitable venture, then, reinforced the gendered subordination of women through the institutional sexual division of labour. However, because the Fund was a ‘bottom-up’ initiative devised for the mutual benefit of female members it was also, simultaneously, highly subversive both of the classed and gendered paternalism of much benevolence, and also of androcentric Orange discourses which normatively relegate and marginalise the needs of the sisters.

¹⁵⁰ R.G. Fuchs, *Gender and Poverty in nineteenth-century Europe*, (Cambridge: C.U.P., 2005), p.198

¹⁵¹ *The Torch*, (May 1984), cover

¹⁵² ‘Charity....begins at Home’, *Centenary Brochure*, (Glasgow: GOLDS, 2009), p.17

¹⁵³ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁴ *The Torch*, (June 2003), p.3

¹⁵⁵ *The Torch*, (March 2004), p.11

¹⁵⁶ ‘Charity....begins at Home’, *Centenary Brochure*, p.7

¹⁵⁷ MacLean, ‘The sash my mother wore’, *Centenary Brochure*, p.9

¹⁵⁸ *The Torch*, (February 1989), p.2

¹⁵⁹ *The Torch*, (November 2001), pp.10, 12

¹⁶⁰ ‘Charity....begins at Home’, *Centenary Brochure*, pp.17, 11

Former Orangeman Gordon McCracken has decried the growing ‘Ulsterisation’ of Scottish Orangeism from 1969-1972 in response to escalation of the ‘the Troubles.’¹⁶¹ Scottish lodgewomen were seemingly at the forefront of this politicisation and in the early 1970s established the Ulster Relief Fund to assist victims of bombing; they also opened their homes to Orange families from the province, offering a ‘break from the worst of times’ and paralleling the role their predecessors were preparing to play in 1911.¹⁶² Such acts of kindness lingered long in the memory and were deeply appreciated by Ulster Orangewomen: a Mrs Hazelton from Belfast retrospectively wrote to *The Torch* to thank the ‘the Orange Sisters’ who offered ‘hundreds of Ulster children’ the ‘friendliest hospitality so kindly given’ during ‘our darkest days.’¹⁶³ In 1970, Grand Mistress of Ireland, Sister McCrum, wrote to thank Scottish lodgewomen for their large charitable donations and to reassure that ‘their money was being put to good use.’¹⁶⁴

Some Glaswegian Orangewomen sought to ‘defend’ Protestantism and unionism within their immediate neighbourhoods, unconsciously mapping the decontextualized sectarian divisions of the Irish conflict directly onto their local communities, thus provoking ethno-religious hostility and reifying division. In 1972, Mary Shaw of LLOL 19, penned an impassioned letter to *The Vigilant* urging readers to ‘boycott the London Road Knitwear Centre’ after she had discovered ‘a R.C. Shopping Guide on the counter.’¹⁶⁵ Closing ranks, Shaw asserted that ‘in this time of strife’ members must ‘support our own before anyone else.’¹⁶⁶ Her embittered correspondence reinforced Catholic ‘otherness’ by inciting fellow Orangewomen to permit faith-based discrimination to shape both their daily interactions and consumer choices. Shaw’s intolerant and reactionary correspondence demonstrates the ways in which religious identity might become crudely and viscerally synonymous with political affiliation in everyday life. Her letter confirms the gendered agency Orangewomen exercised as domestic consumers: their exclusive patronage of Protestant businesses enabled them to enact a socially-divisive tribal politics.¹⁶⁷

In 1986, over 20,000 Scottish Sisters and brethren, expressing strong diasporic Ulster-Scots identifications, converged upon Glasgow Green to protest against the ‘treacherous’ Anglo-Irish Agreement.¹⁶⁸ Orangewomen’s activism found individual, as well as collective, expression during these decades through their appropriation of organisational print culture as an interjurisdictional

¹⁶¹ Kaufmann, ‘The Orange Order in Scotland since the 1860s,’ p.24

¹⁶² MacPherson, ‘The emergence of women’s Orange lodges in Scotland,’ p.61

¹⁶³ *The Torch*, (December 1995/January 1996), p.11

¹⁶⁴ *The Vigilant*, 16, no.5, (May 1970), p.5

¹⁶⁵ ‘Boycott’, *The Vigilant*, 18, no.4, (May 1972), p.5

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p.5

¹⁶⁷ Midgley has called attention to the “radical and feminist potential” of the 1792 slave sugar-boycott (Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, p.5). In much the same way – although for repugnant ideological purposes – early twentieth-century American Klan women appropriated the gendered “act of shopping into the fight for racial and religious supremacy” by boycotting anti-Klan store owners (Blee, *Women of the Klan*, p.147). These useful historical counterpoints, illustrate the ‘feminine’ domesticized power of local consumer choice to influence global politics

¹⁶⁸ *The Torch*, (December 1986/January 1987), p.1

forum facilitating collaborative activism and discursive exchanges related to shared Ulster-specific concerns. In 1997 Tyrone Orangewomen Sister Lees wrote to *The Torch* encouraging members to continue their ‘support for Neil Latimer’¹⁶⁹ by sending him Christmas cards as they had ‘done in past years.’¹⁷⁰ Two years later, Dunbartonshire Sister Margaret Mills expressed her vitriolic ‘anger and distrust’ at tabled Patten RUC reforms¹⁷¹ and counselled fellow members to lobby the Prime Minister to ‘rethink’ these ‘terrible’ proposals.¹⁷² Scottish and Irish Orangewomen’s activism coalesced around the overriding desire to preserve Protestant unionist hegemony in Ulster: many sisters of both jurisdictions asserted ethno-religious identity politics over sexual or class-based subjectivities, and the primacy of Irish over Scottish issues, during these long years of conflict. The ‘Irish Troubles,’ to borrow the hackneyed and euphemistic phrase, became therefore a focal rallying point for a gendered politics of protest reinvigorating Scottish Orangewomen’s activism from the 1970s-1990s.

GENDERED FUNDRAISING

Alongside their diasporic engagement with Ulster unionism, and corresponding commitment to supporting Northern Irish Protestants, Scottish sisters were also involved in fundraising for numerous non-sectarian, registered charities. Furthermore, since the 1980s, Orangewomen’s techniques for income generation have evolved considerably, reflecting gendered attitudinal shifts in national life. Correspondingly, the physically-objectifying ‘Glamorous Granny’ and ‘Miss Orange’ contests frequently held in Orange Social clubs during the 1970s have vanished from institutional life.¹⁷³ Paradoxically, participation in these potentially demeaning yet popular pageants might have proved institutionally-enabling for Orangewomen, consolidating inter-lodge relations, and affording the ‘winner’ a rare public platform as an ambassador for her lodge, and indeed for female Orangeism.¹⁷⁴ By 1981, however, turn out for these ‘competitions’ – a form of gendered spectatorship validating the voyeuristic pleasures and powers of the institutional male gaze - had irreversibly plummeted, despite the repeated attempts of *The Torch* to coax more ‘young charmers’ into participating.¹⁷⁵

Orangewomen a few decades hence started to subvert gendered conceptualisations of the charitable. Fundraising activities such as parachute jumps, fifty mile desert treks, marathons, and sponsored abseils challenged essentialist notions of sexual difference through their celebration of

¹⁶⁹ Latimer was a member of the Ulster Defence Regiment convicted for murder in Armagh in 1983, despite passionately maintaining his innocence, and eventually released following the 1998 Good Friday Agreement

¹⁷⁰ ‘Remember Neil Latimer’, *The Torch*, (December 1996/January 1997), p.12

¹⁷¹ The controversial report recommended changes to oath, uniform and badge - removing symbolic association with Britishness - and escalating Catholic recruitment (D. McKittrick, ‘Patten report: blueprint of a police force for all’, *The Independent*, 10 September 1999)

¹⁷² M. Mills, ‘Letter: LLOL 228, Bishopbriggs’, *The Torch* (September 1999)

¹⁷³ ‘51 Social Club Renfrew’, *The Torch*, 6, (June 1974), p.4. These pageants mirror the gender-specific Bachelor of the Year competitions hosted by the Catholic Church in Ireland during this decade

¹⁷⁴ ‘Miss Orange’, *The Torch*, no.33, (December 1976), p.8

¹⁷⁵ ‘Where are all the bonny lasses?’, *The Torch*, (January 1981), p.10; ‘Union Princess’ and ‘Miss Orange’ Contests, *The Torch*, (July 1983), p.10

female athleticism, sporting prowess and physical courage.¹⁷⁶ Lodgewomen's engagement in these intrepid fundraising feats, emphasising the importance of individual achievement, undermined the Order's domesticized constructions of fundraising as a means of rehearsing traditional, communitarian femininities (through the organisation of raffles and dances). Yet, paradoxically, these sponsored Orangewomen were spurred to benevolent action by 'feminine' empathy and compassionate concern and their fundraising is thus unavoidably gendered.

These individualised sponsored activities were sometimes depreciated by older Orangewomen accustomed to more traditional, communal means of fundraising. Nostalgic longstanding lodgewoman and octogenarian Chrissie Taggart - who for decades hosted bingo sessions and 'wee soirees' in her home to raise monies for women's lodges - wistfully compared the process of involving younger members to 'drawing blood out of a stone.'¹⁷⁷ Taggart's anecdotal remarks confirm Putnam's observed decline in civic life, social capital and associational participation from the late 1960s onwards.¹⁷⁸ Reflecting broader societal shifts, however, the benevolence of some lodgewomen is now more individuated, diverse and autonomous rather than - as Chrissie fears - non-existent.

Moreover, there is indeed evidence to suggest that a fair amount of Orangewomen's charitable work remains homely and intensely private, masked by personal humility and so concealed from a wider audience. For instance Orangewoman, and 'self-made millionaire,' Maggie McIver (1879-1958) was known for 'her private acts of kindness' inconspicuously assisting 'many decent poor working-class folk in great need' during the 1930s depression.¹⁷⁹ Indeed examples abound of lodgewomen's seemingly unremarkable, yet meaningful and innumerable, personal sacrifices (such as the selling of homemade sweets locally to raise money for Silver Jubilee celebrations, or the gracious foregoing of anniversary gifts in lieu of donations to a Children's Hospice).¹⁸⁰ These modestly sacrificial, stereotypically 'feminine,' means of fundraising continue unabated alongside higher profile publicity-generating sporting feats, which appear all the more 'exceptional' precisely because they are performed by a female and therefore simultaneously exploit and subvert gendered expectations.

MEDIA RECOGNITION

In 1996, the LOAS decided to pool the disparate efforts of individual lodges into a national 'special efforts' fund dedicated to a particular charity, annually selected by the Grand Mistress.¹⁸¹ The rationale underpinning this centralised coordination was presumably the public showcasing of

¹⁷⁶ 'Shona Climbs Mount Sinai!', *The Torch*, (October 1997), p.6; 'Golden jubilee marathon girl', *The Torch*, (July/August 2002), p.6;

'Jean Comes Down to Earth', *The Torch*, (February 2000), p.6

¹⁷⁷ Taggart, Chrissie, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

¹⁷⁸ Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, p.55

¹⁷⁹ J. Jeffrey, 'Maggie McIver,' (Glasgow: GOLS archive, 26 September 2011)

¹⁸⁰ 'Govan silver jubilee', *The Torch*, (March 1998), p.7; '70th birthday at Cowcaddens', *The Torch*, (April 2004), p.7

¹⁸¹ 'Charity...begins at home', *Centenary Brochure*, p.16

Orangewomen's impressive benevolent record, to reverse the trend of media indifference. Indeed, in a 2013 newspaper interview, Irish Grand Mistress Olive Whitten bemoaning that sisterly 'generosity' is often 'unnoticed'¹⁸² and in a 2009 article in *The Scotland* Scottish Orangewomen proved eager 'to stress just how much money they raise for charity.'¹⁸³

This difficulty of securing media interest in Orangewomen's benevolence is perhaps attributable to hegemonic societal expectations that women normatively 'engage in service-oriented activities'¹⁸⁴ rendering their 'altruistic' behaviour less newsworthy. Press indifference is exacerbated also by the ubiquity of culturally embedded representations of Orangeism as unequivocally 'sectarian' and its parades as contentious and disruptive displays of provocative male triumphalism. Indeed much media coverage has, debatably, been 'biased and systematically negative.'¹⁸⁵ Orangewomen's classed specificity further precludes the possibility of their charitable proclivities attracting a favourable media: Owen Jones has remarked upon the persistent vilification of the British white working-classes in contemporary public discourse in which 'nothing about working-class life is considered worthy or admirable.'¹⁸⁶ The sisters' charitable work is potentially subversive of these deleterious stereotypes, revealing there to still exist a strong communitarian, charitable consciousness differentiating the 'respectable' working-classes from the 'underclass' with whom they are crudely conflated. Orangewomen's interlocking gendered, classed and ethno-religious subjectivities thus impede the probability of raising awareness of their benevolence via mainstream media.

PGM Margaret Young's ambivalence toward the dearth of media coverage encapsulates the ideological contradictions underpinning in Orangewomen's approach to the charitable: 'I don't think we get the publicity' she maintained, hastening to add 'not that we want to show off that we're giving.'¹⁸⁷ PGM Helyne MacLean expressed a similarly seemingly incongruous sentiment:

We don't look for any credit for the work that we do. But we don't get any recognition for the work that is done¹⁸⁸

These remarks corroborate recent findings that 'individuals tend to attach a greater value to their philanthropic work than is commonly assumed in the context of news media reportage.'¹⁸⁹ There is, however, a dynamic tension between the sisters' highly personalised multi-faceted motivations for altruistic giving and their desire to publicise their charitable activism to legitimise, and diminish

¹⁸² L. Murphy, 'The Loughgall lady at the helm of the women's Orange', *Belfast Newsletter*, 4 June 2013, p.17

¹⁸³ 'Women of Orange', *The Scotsman*, 28 September 2009

¹⁸⁴ Rudman and Phelan 'Sex Differences, Sexism and Sex', p.34

¹⁸⁵ Boyle, *Metropolitan anxieties*, p.51

¹⁸⁶ Owen Jones, *Chavs: the demonization of the working class*, (London: New Left Press, 2011), pp.7, 9, and 136

¹⁸⁷ Young, Margaret, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

¹⁸⁸ MacLean, Helyne, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

¹⁸⁹ B. Breeze and G.C. Morgan, 'Philanthropy in a recession: an analysis of UK media representations and implications for charitable giving' (paper presented at NCVO/VSSN Researching the voluntary sector conference, Warwick, 8-9 September 2009), p.17

public antagonism toward, Orangeism. Lodgewomen's determination to ameliorate the profile of an organisation often ambivalent to - or dismissive of - their affiliation and efforts is puzzling.¹⁹⁰

CHARITABLE ACTIVISM

Charitable acclaim, when forthcoming, has however proved a double-edged sword. In 2009 Rhona Gibson acknowledged lodgewomen's benevolence as 'something we are very successful at' but 'only one facet of the Scottish Orange woman.'¹⁹¹ Helyne MacLean similarly downplayed Orangewomen's 'highly commendable' charity work, urging sisters 'to take on a different role to the traditional one of fund raiser and tea maker.'¹⁹² Within these discourses there is, then, a clear demarcation between the charitable and the political. A century earlier, 'charitable work could lead women into political activism'¹⁹³ and indeed early Orangewomen deliberately obscured the boundaries between both to enable them to occupy a more varied and expansive spaces within the public sphere.¹⁹⁴ By 2009, lodgewomen's acceptance of, and emotional identification with, gendered institutional constructions of themselves as principally benevolent beings is proving disempoweringly anachronistic, pigeonholing them into functions peripheral to organisational governance. Nevertheless examples exist, as the next section illustrates, of contemporary lodgewomen's Orange-inspired political activism.

ORANGEWOMEN AND SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE

Despite playing a decidedly background role within the official movement opposing Scottish independence – ostensibly to prevent the 'smearing of the 'No' campaign as the work of Orange bigots' - Orangewomen are nevertheless amongst those ardently opposing imminent constitutional change.¹⁹⁵ Perceiving Scottish independence to be not simply a menace to Ulster, but also 'a big threat to our Order', Orangewoman Jackie Knox campaigns tirelessly for Better Together. Jackie speculated that, in an independent Scotland, Alex Salmond would 'definitely make it difficult for us to parade.'¹⁹⁶ As well as lobbying local councillors, and leafleting 'to get people fired up a wee bit to get off their backsides to vote,' in 2012 she arranged for the SNP councillor to speak at an Orange 'Independence Debate' featuring speakers from both camps, hoping the forum might convince members to 'put their foot down and vote 'no.' Regarding the issue as superseding party politics, Knox declared the pro-unionist MSP that 'puts up the biggest fight' will 'get my vote.'¹⁹⁷ Her impassioned political activism reveals the extent to which members are involved in fighting -

¹⁹⁰ Though not without historical precedent: Ladies' Associations of Victorian Missionary Societies toiled on behalf of organisations debaring them from their national committees, because within these roles permitted considerable "scope for agency" through acquisition of charitable expertise (Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, p.95)

¹⁹¹ Gibson, 'The Ladies' Orange Association of Scotland', *Celebratory Brochure*, p.5

¹⁹² MacLean, 'The sash my mother wore,' *Celebratory Brochure*, p.9

¹⁹³ Mumm, 'Women and philanthropic cultures', p.61

¹⁹⁴ Smitley, *The feminine public sphere*, p.2

¹⁹⁵ Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

¹⁹⁶ Knox, Jackie, oral history interview, 8 February 2013

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*

without necessarily disclosing their organisational affiliation - to preserve the Union. Along with four other sisters and eight brethren, Knox sits on the Order's Strategy group.¹⁹⁸ It is therefore possible that a by-product of working alongside the brethren to further mutual organisational interests might be the gradual erosion of attitudinal barriers to conferring Orangewomen equality of organisational status.

Despite the Order's entrenched opposition to the dissolution of the United Kingdom – based upon a firm conviction that Scottish independence would likely result in the infringement of Orange parades – it is nevertheless likely that many Protestants will vote in the referendum to sever the historic ties with England.¹⁹⁹ Dramatic social changes precipitated by the Thatcherism of the 1970s have culminated in a questioning of the 'benefits' the Union confers upon Scotland and awakened Catholic and Protestant alike to the breadth of the chasm between English and Scottish politics.²⁰⁰ Since the SNP's gradual rise to the political centre-stage over the last fifty years²⁰¹ - and the inauguration of the devolved government in 1999 - Orange discourse has assumed Catholicism and Scottish nationalism to share parallel and overlapping agendas. Indeed, *The Torch* has represented Scottish independence as a stepping stone towards the dismantling of the UK and thus especially beneficial to the cause of Irish Republicanism.²⁰² Inferring Scottish nationalism to be a greater threat than Catholicism,²⁰³ the Order is therefore prepared to shelve 'all past grievances' and 'actively support all pro-Unionist political parties.'²⁰⁴ Indeed prior to the 2012 local elections, pro-unionist Labour and Tory councillors contributed articles to *The Torch* denouncing the SNP's nationalist agenda.²⁰⁵

However, hegemonic Orange imaginings of the innate receptivity of Catholics to Scottish independence are largely illusory. In 2011, Paul McBride QC speculated independence might possibly 'increase anti-Catholic sentiment in Scotland' and argued the values of 'secularism' – rather than Orange Protestantism – were 'now providing much of the justification' for 'anti-Catholic feeling.'²⁰⁶ Indeed Reilly maintains a proportion of Catholics 'feel that England is more tolerant towards them than an independent Scotland might be.'²⁰⁷ Rejecting 'hackneyed religious truisms', Rosie argues, moreover, the conflation of Protestantism and Unionism to be grossly over-simplistic: because Catholicism has proved more resistant to secularisation, 'Presbyterians are, on average, older, and older people of all religious persuasions are more likely to be opposed to

¹⁹⁸ Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2013

¹⁹⁹ Electoral results show little difference in Protestant and Catholic support for the SNP, and until relatively recently it was held that an independent Scotland would be "overwhelmingly Protestant" (D. Broughton and H. Ten Napel, *Religion and mass electoral behaviour in Europe* (London: Routledge, 2000), p.53)

²⁰⁰ Boyle, *Metropolitan anxieties*, pp.24 and 37

²⁰¹ Formed in 1934, the party's first major electoral breakthrough was not until February 1974; in the October election of the same year the party raised its share of the vote to 30%

²⁰² 'Alex Salmond breathes new life into Sinn Fein', *The Torch*, (April 2012), p.3

²⁰³ Boyle, *Metropolitan anxieties*, p.50

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p.50

²⁰⁵ 'The Battle for Glasgow', *The Torch*, (April 2012), pp.4-5

²⁰⁶ M. Dunlop, 'Will independence fuel Sectarianism?', *Scottish Catholic Observer*, 2 September 2011

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*

independence.²⁰⁸ Moreover a 2014 Financial Times survey of voting intentions by household income found Scotland's poorest more likely to favour independence.²⁰⁹ Age and income are therefore more directly correlatable indicators of attitudes towards the issue than religious identification. Thus Orange attempts to represent the issue as a binary debate between Catholic nationalists and Protestant unionists is seemingly unsubstantiated.

Despite such misconceived assumptions, lodgewomen's involvement nevertheless raises their individual and collective, institutional and public, profiles. Orangewomen active in opposing independence, moreover, have arguably gained confidence and experience through their participation in previous topical public debates. For example, in her capacity as Juvenile Superintendent, staunch anti-independence campaigner, Mary Duckett, challenged anti-sectarian charity Nil By Mouth which, allegedly, attempted to 'spike a council grant' funding the children's 2003 excursion to France.²¹⁰ Duckett persuasively argued the visit would expand 'cultural horizons' by enabling juveniles to be billeted with Catholic families. She therefore mobilised the issue to publicly affirm and reiterate the Order's credentials as an inclusive, religiously tolerant organisation by subverting representations of Orangeism as sectarian. Purporting to speak in defence of the youth in her care, Mary resourcefully appropriated the 'maternal' authority and caregiving agency and this role afforded to contribute to public discourse and increase the visibility of Orangewomen: she effectively bridged the gap between the charitable and political, using the mandate of the former to transition to the latter and, perhaps, as a springboard for her current anti-independence activism.

PERSONAL MOTIVATIONS

Orangewomen's benevolence might be conceptualised within an expansive framework of inter-associational feminine giving, germinating from the sisters' involvement with the local church, registered charities and friendship networks. It was therefore arguably less the fulfilment of a specifically Orange obligation and more the result of a desire to engage in work that was personally meaningful and fulfilling. Isobel Campbell - a former employee of Quarriers charity - admits to 'fundraising throughout my life' for church and lodge.²¹¹ Indeed most female trustees occupy 'caring' professional roles within public service organisations - including Community Education Worker, Care Manager, and Senior Research Administrator- demonstrating the ideological compatibility and charitable cross-fertilization between Orangewomen's occupational and voluntary pursuits. These parallel and overlapping responsibilities suggest faith to be the inspirational wellspring from which numerous Orangewomen's charitable endeavours flow. The fundraising of some sisters, however, emanated directly from a desire to endow causes which had

²⁰⁸ M. Rosie, 'Tall tales: understanding religion and Scottish independence', *Scottish Affairs*, 23, no.3 (2014)

²⁰⁹ S. Neville and M. Dickie, 'Scotland's poorer more likely to favour independence', *Financial Times*, 21 January 2014

²¹⁰ 'Overcoming the bigots: the French connection that beat the odds', *The Torch*, (April 2003), p.3

²¹¹ Campbell, Isobel, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

personally impacted their lives: after successfully overcoming breast cancer, Sister Christine Milne campaigned for Cancer Research organisations as ‘her Christian way of giving thanks.’²¹²

Award-winning Orangewoman Christine McCrone’s prolific range of lifetime charitable pursuits enabled her to creatively employ a variety of fundraising strategies, including the collaborative organisation of tombolas, ‘Sash bashes,’ race nights, sponsored walks and dances (Christine was awarded an ‘Orange Oscar’ in 2011 in recognition of her outstanding charitable contributions). Christine spoke of her ‘great satisfaction’ at presenting cheques to her chosen cause and ‘seeing others happy.’²¹³ Fellow charitable activist and Orangewoman Helen admirably revealed ‘Christine goes to bed at night thinking how to help people.’²¹⁴ McCrone’s impressive record of benevolence work might be regarded as highly entrepreneurial enabling the creative unfoldment of her considerable organisational, communicative and promotional skills. Her activities have seemingly facilitated the deepening of associations with lodgewomen and translated these institutional relationships into close personal friendship. The various personal testimonies of Orangewomen thus account for their benevolence in terms of the personal, particular and profound ways their individual subjectivities interfaced with ‘feminine’ tropes of idealism, friendship, gratitude, faith to inspire their unique expressions of charitable outreach.

Orangewomen’s charity might also assume the form of sisterly love extending fluidly beyond jurisdictional boundaries: English Grand Mistress Lillian Hall related how close friend PGM Helyne MacLean and her husband had offered personal and emotional support to her Grand Secretary, Gillian, following a tragic accident in which her son – a student at Edinburgh University – had suffered long term hospitalisation. According to Lillian, Helyne ‘looked after Gillian’ during her stay, preparing her food, offering emotional comfort and spiritual succour.²¹⁵ Integral to Orangewomen’s definition of the ‘charitable,’ then, was the mutual provision of practical assistance and sisterly support during distressing times and an appreciation of Orange familial bonds that transcended national borders.

CATHOLIC CHARITY

Institutional charitable discourses have occasionally assumed the form of mean-spirited invective belittling and ‘otherising’ the altruistic work of those external to the institution to assert the moral superiority of Orange endeavours. A 1998 article in *The Torch* extols the prolific philanthropic accomplishments of Orangeman Dr. Barnardo, favourably contrasting them with those of ‘humanitarian pygmies’ such as Mother Teresa.²¹⁶ In 2002, *The Torch* reinvigorated this inflammatory and iconoclastic rhetoric, decrying the ‘filthy hospices’ of this ‘dead Albanian nun’

²¹² ‘Paisley Sister raises £2000 for Cancer Research’, *The Torch*, (February 1999), p.11

²¹³ McCrone, Christine, oral history interview with Deborah Butcher, 17 October 2011

²¹⁴ Whiteford, Helen, oral history interview, 17 October 2011

²¹⁵ Hall, Lillian, oral history interview, 21 April 2013

²¹⁶ ‘Dr Barnardo – an Orangeman of vision and compassion’, *The Torch*, (December 1997/January 1998), p.10

concerned not with the alleviation of suffering but the conversion of her patients.²¹⁷ These gendered discourses subvert culturally dominant associations between the ‘feminine’ and the charitable to highlight the moral ‘failings’ not of Teresa herself but of the religious system she discursively personifies: Catholic ‘charity’ is thus ‘feminised’ as indifferent to the suffering of its recipients, and represented as conditional, self-serving and cruel in contrast with ‘masculine’ Protestant charity.

This hyperbolic demonization of Catholic charity in hegemonic institutional discourse is significantly undermined by the nuanced complexity and personal sensitivity to the topic evident in Orangewomen’s rich experiential narratives of the everyday. Jean Logan fondly recollects working as a machinist alongside Catholic women: aware she ‘was saving up’ for her ‘first collarette’ they thoughtfully paid her to ‘make their lines for them.’²¹⁸ Similarly, Chrissie Taggart recalls a sincere cooperative spirit between the Orange sisters and Catholic laywomen collecting for their local church:

My mother used to knit socks and mittens and take them to the chapel and say, ‘put it in your funds’ and they would say ‘no, put it in your own lodge funds’²¹⁹

These narratives of inter-faith collaboration subvert the sectarian rhetoric permeating institutional publications, illustrating that charitable identities of Catholic and Protestant women coalesce around the commonality of their compassionate gendered roles as fundraiser and caregiver, within their respective faith-based organisations: their shared womanly concern for the welfare of others facilitated mutual recognition and respect which, on occasion, transcended polarising sectarian politics. Much of women’s historiography likewise emphasises the similarities between Catholic and Protestant female benevolence.²²⁰

CONCLUSION

In the early decades of the twentieth-century, fluid and interchangeable definitions of ‘charitable activism’, combined with Orangewomen’s impressive record of philanthropic achievement, enabled Scottish sisters to operate as active agents within the public sphere. However, a century later some Orangewomen sense the counterproductive ways in which their typecasting as charitable fundraisers has legitimated their peripheralisation from internal decision-making.

Despite this marginality, sisters have creatively subverted and reinvented hegemonic tropes of ‘feminised’ fundraiser, articulating a collective commitment to woman-centred social causes and to

²¹⁷ “‘Mother Teresa races towards ‘Sainthood’”, *The Torch*, (November 2002), p.2

²¹⁸ Logan, Jean, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

²¹⁹ Taggart, Chrissie, oral history interview, 22 March 2011

²²⁰ M. Luddy, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth-century Ireland*, (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1995), pp.57-58

reciprocally assisting fellow lodgewomen. Whilst Orangewomen might have frequently eschewed feminist ideations of women's rights, they nonetheless exhibited a strong gendered consciousness through their support for 'feminine' causes. Their participation in charitable networks revolving around their church life, community and personal friendships enabled them, at times, to transcend the tribal ethno-religious identity politics of this androcentric institution and to construct a counter-hegemonic politics asserting the primacy of classed and gendered subjectivities over ethno-religious affiliations. On other occasions, however, they were heavily implicated in invidious ideologies as Scottish Orangewomen's persistent involvement in the politics of Northern Ireland demonstrates. Charitable activism therefore afforded lodgewomen the creative space to rehearse dynamic, shifting and situational subjectivities, shaping their organisation and community in unexpectedly radical ways.

CHAPTER 6

‘GIRL POWER’?: MEDIATED REPRESENTATIONS OF SCOTTISH ORANGEWOMEN

Within British news media, men are ‘more frequently heard, quoted and reported than women’ and ‘women are rarely represented on equal terms with men.’¹ The journalistic use of universal rather than gender-specific language, moreover, posits the ‘masculine’ as normative, obscuring and alienating women from public discourse.² Indeed much of the gendered reportage of Scottish sectarianism presumes the marginality of women by fixation upon ‘problematic images of masculinity’³ and conflating bigotry with young, working-class male drunkenness, public disorder and violence. Women are overwhelmingly absent from these discourses – except as victims of male abuse - and therefore assumed to be either indifferent, tacitly complicit or possessing limited agency to intervene in male-identified confrontational behaviours.⁴

As Dudley Edwards has perceptively observed, parades passing peaceably remain untelevised and only demonstrations erupting into violence attract media interest, contributing to deleteriously skewed perceptions of Orangeism.⁵ Scottish print and broadcast media represent the Order chiefly through the prism of the parades – the flashpoint of symbolic intersection between organisational and public cultures – as a hyper-masculine, triumphalist and quasi-militaristic organisation synonymous with male aggression and religious intolerance.⁶ Subverting totalising media narratives of institutionalised sectarianism, Grand Master Henry Dunbar, remarked upon his perception of a climate of ‘intolerance’, ‘hatred and abuse’ towards Orangeism in a 2012 press interview thus repositioning the Order as vilified victim, rather than perpetrator, of sectarian hate.⁷ Whilst Grand Lodge is disillusioned and wary of media, Grand Lodge nevertheless engages in orchestrated public relations campaigns to promote wider organisational interests.

Institutional literature conceptualised women as tangential to the main business of the Order, mediating representations through traditional familial and charitable domesticating tropes. Hughes defines ‘respectability’ as ‘a classification that measured working-class status merged with religious divisions to shape political identities’⁸ and indeed female members are constructed in Orange publications as the ‘respectable,’ highly-feminised ‘other’ to the Orangeman: their autonomous subjectivity is shrouded by a paternalistic discourse which moulds representations of Orangewomen to pre-existing ideations of archetypal womanhood. The male editorial of

¹ S. Coleman and K. Ross, *The media and the public: “Them” and “Us” in media discourse*, (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp.50-51

² C. Mettge, *The portrayal of women in selected British newspapers*, (Norderstedt: Druck and Bindung, 2013), p.24

³ Goodall and Malloch, ‘Women, football and communities’, pp.164-165

⁴ *Ibid*, pp.172, 163

⁵ Dudley Edwards, *The faithful tribe*, p.44

⁶ For example, see J. Hamill, ‘Police: zero tolerance for parade louts’, *The Herald*, 1 July 2011; ‘Thug gets go ahead to lead Orange walk’, *Sunday Mail*, 20 June 1999; D. Garavelli, ‘Orange circus is out of order’, *The Scotsman*, 22 August 2009

⁷ C. Brown, ‘Orange Order demands an apology for ‘sectarian’ slur’, *The Scotsman*, 13 November 2012

⁸ Hughes, *Gender and political identities in Scotland*, p.60

organisational journals frequently arrogates to speak to and for a monolithically male readership, thus silencing the female membership and assuming their interests to be commensurate with those of the brethren. Butler has questioned the 'seamless category of woman' and contends the impossibility of separating 'gender' from 'the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained'⁹: within organisational publications, the term 'Orangewoman' might arguably be understood as a discursive construct, configured to disentangle and dissociate Orangeism from public perceptions of provocative male sectarianism. Such gendered representations of the female member as a homogenous, archetypal domesticated, churchgoing and 'respectable' mass thus conceal diverse individual subjectivities: they sub-textually imply the significance and value of the 'Orangewoman' is relational and lies in her ability to discursively and experientially magnify and reinforce the brethren's centrality and credibility. Institutional discourses, moreover, posthumously evaluate members according to gender-specific criteria: lodgewomen are lauded for their dedication, kindness, humility, appearance, church adherence and the generic 'virtues' of Christian womanhood; Orangemen contrastingly are esteemed for their achievements, public and institutional status and personal talents. Nowhere is this distinction more evident than in the perusal of personal obituaries, and indeed the analysis of these gendered public and institutional tributes constitutes much of this chapter: within the latter the institutional allegiance of outstanding and acclaimed Orangewomen is continually downplayed and overlooked to render them assimilable to national memory.

Another main focus of this chapter is the recent attempts by sisters to mobilise both institutional and national media to publicise their subordinate organisational status. Orangewomen's appropriation of the 2009 Centenary Brochure as a discursive polemical platform to galvanise support for, and allay misgivings concerning, gendered institutional reform additionally receives attention. The 2007 BBC documentary *21st century Orangeman* assumed the function and status of sisters and brethren to be indistinct, and represented Orangewomen in leadership roles thus foreshadowing institutional sexual equality. BBC Northern Ireland's documentary *Sisters of the Lodge* - controversially representing Irish Orangewomen as appreciatively esteemed and empowered within the Scottish rather than Irish jurisdiction - is assessed to reveal the central importance of intersections of gender, nationality and ethnicity in shaping discursive representations of lodgewomen.

BELFAST WEEKLY NEWS AND THE POLITICISATION OF EARLY ORANGEWOMEN

MacPherson has conceived of the *Belfast Weekly News* as an 'imagined space,' facilitating Orangewomen's development of a 'diasporic identity' connected to 'multiple 'homelands.''¹⁰ This

⁹ J. Butler, *Gender trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity*, (New York: Routledge, 1990), p.6

¹⁰ MacPherson, 'Migration and the female Orange Order', pp.619, 622 and 628

newspaper - 'the weekly edition of the *Belfast News-Letter*¹¹ - presupposed the readership's familiarity with Orange structure and modus operandi, detailing the everydayness and minutiae of lodge life. During the 1920s, *Weekly News* represented Scottish Orangewomen as highly politically-aware, yet construed their commitments as malleably directed by, and contingent upon, the campaigning priorities of Grand lodgemen. In 1921 for example, the paper reported Bro. Colquhoun's rousing address, enflaming anti-papist and libertarian passions, was greeted with rapturous applause by sisters of FLOL 13.¹² Two years later, a cablegram from the Grand Master of Ireland was published, praising Orangewomen's 'self-sacrifice' in joining the brethren to condemn the king's papal visit.¹³ The paper therefore functioned as an inter-jurisdictional platform for exhibiting, influencing and reinforcing the intransigence of Scottish Orangewomen's political opposition to Catholicism.

In the same year, the *Weekly News* related that MP Lord John Baird had addressed the Saltcoats lodge of his newly-initiated wife to assure sisters they both were 'doing their utmost to further the cause of loyalty and truth.'¹⁴ Lady Baird's decision to join the lodge in 1923 was likely driven by a desire to revive the Tory-Orange alliance - rendered all the more urgent by the forthcoming general election - which recent political developments had substantially, although not irreparably, weakened. 1922 had seen ILP electoral gains in Glasgow and the formation of the OPP.¹⁵ Baird's mobilisation of Orange fraternal networks to rally electoral support for her husband mirrors aristocratic Ulster women's coterminous extension and politicisation of their roles as societal hostess to exert indirect political sway.¹⁶ Representations of Baird's manipulative leveraging of her husband's appropriation of private lodge space as a staging post for political electioneering, construes Orangewomen as agentic intermediaries ably reconciling institutional and partisan affiliations. Paradoxically, however, the receptive pliability of Baird's Orange sisters, and their openness to male suasion, is also implied.

The *Weekly News*, however, also publicised diverse examples of newly-enfranchised Orangewomen's self-initiated political articulations: Maryhill Worthy Mistress, Sister Cowan, reportedly treated the women of a neighbouring lodge to a topical 'address on the state of Ireland' in 1921.¹⁷ In 1924, women of Manchester Queen Victoria LLOL 10 sent a resolution to the newspaper pleading the 'rights of the war bereft sisters of Ulster' to 'the fullest protection of His Majesty's Government' against those seeking 'the desired disruption of the British Empire.'¹⁸ Orangewomen therefore utilised their political agency to publicise the plight - and petition on behalf - of their sisters in Ireland and express concern for the welfare of precariously poised Ulster

¹¹ *Ibid*, p.620

¹² 'Glasgow - Primrose FLOL no.10', *Belfast Weekly News*, 1 September 1921

¹³ 'Greetings from Ireland', *Belfast Weekly News*, 16 August 1923

¹⁴ 'Ulster Scots True Blues FLOL 99', *Belfast Weekly News*, 1 February 1923

¹⁵ Walker, 'The Orange Order in Scotland between the wars,' pp.186-187

¹⁶ Urquhart, *The Ladies of Londonderry*, pp.3, 27

¹⁷ 'Ness's Daughters of Temple FLOL no.21', *Belfast Weekly News*, 1 September 1921

¹⁸ 'Manchester - Queen Victoria FLOL 10', *Belfast Weekly News*, 11 September 1924

Orangewomen following the contested Irish civil war settlement, and the Boundary Commission's tentative re-negotiation of the Border (1924-5). Situationally, then, Orangewomen exhibited a female-identified consciousness and united along gendered lines which cut across jurisdictional, ethnic and national specificities. As Hughes has noted, working-class Scottish women 'often responded to their gendered oppression in a feminist manner' without conceptualising or articulating their actions as expressly 'feminist.'¹⁹ The flowering of this woman-centred politics was facilitated and reinforced through the transnational organ of the *Belfast Weekly News*. Orangewomen's strategic use of this publication to draw attention to causes close to their hearts demonstrates the dexterity with which they mobilised print culture to negotiate themselves more prominently into the political sphere. MacPherson has similarly argued Irish women's coterminous use of journals as a 'public space' to debate ethnicity and identity to be 'a form of gendered public activism.'²⁰ The *Belfast Weekly News*, then, both reflected and shaped Orangewomen's political preoccupations, and provided a platform for the propagation of their gendered politics.

SISTERS AS WIVES AND MOTHERS

The *Belfast Weekly News* represents Orangewomen as fulfilling decidedly maternal roles within the wider Orange 'family,' naturally extending and enhancing, rather than distracting from, their primary domesticity. In 1910, trail-blazer of early women's Orangeism, Annie Wilson wrote to rebut criticism of parading Orangewomen, arguing the essential interchangeability and compatibility of a woman's familial and organisational functions: 'publicly adopting Orange principles,' she asserted, made a woman 'better fitted to discharge' her 'many household duties.'²¹ In 1932, the *Belfast Weekly News* argued Orangewomen 'have not proved themselves less worthy mothers, sisters and daughters because they have elected to don the time-honoured regalia' and that 'Orange charities' afforded them 'a fine outlet for their womanly sympathies.'²² Such assertions cloud the distinctions between the familial and the institutional, and are implicitly suggestive that sexual difference is biologically inscribed, rather than socially formulated. This dominant narrative not only naturalises women's familial functionality, but also implies organisational participation potentially elevates female domesticity from the banal and humdrum to a moral and spiritual public calling.

Orangewomen are also configured in the *Weekly News* as complicit in contentedly rehearsing the conventional orthodoxies of the heterosexual patriarchal nuclear family: Orangewomen are identified primarily in terms of their relational kinship to both brethren and juveniles: for example, a brief 1932 article entitled 'An Orange family in Scotland,' describes Bannockburn members Mr

¹⁹ Hughes, *Gender and political identities in Scotland*, pp.6 and 204

²⁰ MacPherson, *Women and the Irish nation*, p.29

²¹ A. Wilson, 'Female Orange Lodges', *Belfast Weekly News*, 7 July 1910

²² 'An Ulsterman's letter to his friends at home and abroad', *Belfast Weekly News*, 22 December 1932

and Mrs McCallum and their eleven children as immersed in lodge life.²³ The article represents this as a remarkable feat, whilst its headline paradoxically construes the McCallums as a typical Scottish Protestant family. A similarly entitled article of the same year, accompanied by an idyllic photograph of the family smartly arrayed in full regalia, described the Blairs of Prestonpans, and their eight children, as ‘active members.’²⁴ Such articles reconcile Orangewomen’s kinship and institutional commitments by suggesting Orangeism to be a desirable enlargement of her maternal duties, facilitating the intergenerational transmission of her Protestant faith and heritage. Indeed the 1930s public life was characterised by a concern to ameliorate child welfare and improve maternal mortality²⁵ to counter post-war depopulation: this mediated celebration of large families, then, reflected also national reproductive priorities.

HAGIOGRAPHIC OBITUARIES

That male-domination of journalism shapes both content and style of reportage, relegating coverage of ‘women’s issues’ and perpetuating gendered inequalities, has been widely acknowledged.²⁶ The persistent paucity of female authorship in either *The Vigilant* or its successor, *The Torch*, resultantly means representations of Orangewomen have consistently been mediated through a masculine editorial voice. John Adam edited *The Vigilant* for fifteen years during the 1950s and 60s²⁷ and Ian Wilson has, for some decades, written and edited *The Torch* single-handedly.²⁸ Obituarised imaginings of Orangewoman featured in these journals thus prioritise, and are thus highly revealing of, male institutional ideological prerogatives and preoccupations.

Study of national newspaper obituary as a genre has until recently been much neglected,²⁹ as indeed has research into the wider field of ‘death history.’³⁰ Fowler has conceived of national obituary as a classed form of collective memory through which ‘some lives are more mourned than others;’³¹ it is also a highly gendered medium since ‘the few women’ memorialised by broadsheet obituaries in recent years were ‘more often single, divorced or widowed’ than their male counterparts.³² Obituary is shaped by, yet also shapes, the diasporic and ethnic identifications of the deceased, affording ‘a unique perspective on the march of a migrant people,’ their social networks and ‘experience in host society.’³³ The obituaries of Scottish Orangewomen largely conform to Fowler’s definition of the ‘traditional positive obituary,’ which attempts an ‘unambiguous

²³ ‘An Orange family in Scotland’, *Belfast Weekly News*, 22 September 1932

²⁴ ‘An Orange family’, *Belfast Weekly News*, 23 June 1932

²⁵ K. Hunt and J. Hannam, ‘Towards an archaeology of interwar women’s politics: the local and the everyday’ in J. Gottlieb and R. Toyne (eds.), *The aftermath of suffrage: women, gender and politics in Britain, 1918-1945*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp.132 and 136

²⁶ B. McNair, *News and journalism in the UK* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), p.76

²⁷ *The Vigilant*, 15, no.4, (April 1969), p.1

²⁸ Wilson, Ian, oral history interview, 18 February 2012

²⁹ M. O’Cathain, ‘Dying Irish: eulogising the Irish in Scotland in *Glasgow Observer* obituaries,’ *Innes Review*, 61 (May 2010), p.78

³⁰ E. McFarland, ‘Researching death, mourning and commemoration in modern Scotland’, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 24, no.1 (2004), p.35

³¹ B. Fowler, *The obituary as collective memory*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), p.4

³² B. Fowler, ‘Collective memory and forgetting: components for a study of obituaries,’ *Theory, Culture and Society*, 22, no.6, (December 2005), p. 63

³³ O’Cathain, ‘Dying Irish’, p.77

celebration of its protagonist.³⁴ Into this framework of the unequivocally hagiographic the examples subsequently discussed undoubtedly belong: however, deconstruction of these celebratory cameos is revealing of the gender-specific criteria against which Orangewomen were evaluated and the hegemonic one-dimensional ‘feminine’ archetypes promoted by the patriarchal Order as worthy of emulation. As will become apparent, lodgewomen were belatedly conformed to pre-existing definitions of ‘feminine’ Orangeism synonymous with piety, charity, faithful attendance and acquiescent organisational loyalty.

The various obituaries of one of the most popular and celebrated Grand Mistresses, Helen Hazlett (1940-41), illustrate that even the most prized Orangewomen were esteemed for their display of traditionally ‘feminine’ traits. In an obituary penned forty years following her death, Hazlett is lauded for ‘a lifetime’s service’ to the Order, her cultivation of juvenile lodges, and personal ‘presence, fine encouragement and example.’³⁵ The focus upon her symbolic moral authority, nurturance and dedication – without reference to any legacy of lasting reform enacted during her term of office - respectfully yet nondescriptly represents her as a nominal figurehead marginal to male apparatus of governance. Hazlett is appreciated in another undated obituary for her ‘feminine’ conscientious devotion to mundane tasks, such as ‘collecting weekly contributions towards an Orange Hall’,³⁶ and her impressive attendance. She is admired, then, for humility, servility and conformity rather than specific accomplishment. These reverential gendered personifications preclude appreciable insight into her idiosyncratic and dynamic subjectivity.

Formulaic obituaries of PGM Margaret Johnston were similarly gender-specific. A 1968 tribute penned by a fellow Orangemen dwelt upon her ‘youthful and smart’ appearance³⁷ measuring her against a superficially objectifying aesthetic. Posthumous tributes to brethren detail their physicality only when emblematic of a man’s occupation or suggestive of endearing personal foibles: the 2009 obituary of Bro. William Letters, described him as ‘dapper and diminutive in stature’ and ‘never without his hat’ to elucidate his profession as a ‘talented entertainer’ with a taste for ‘classical music and opera’ and a ‘gift for mimicry and recitation.’³⁸ Letters is represented as a refined and cultured individual, skilfully negotiating the performativity of his appearance for artistic and dramatic self-expression. The construction of the male body as a ‘high profile site’ for the enactment of Orange ‘religious masculinities’ profoundly ‘invested in rituals and clothing’ has indeed been acknowledged.³⁹ Gendered institutional obituaries therefore reference the physical appearance of individual brethren to symbolically encode personality or profession; corresponding allusions to the Orangewomen’s image are, contrastingly, intentioned as straightforwardly complementary.

³⁴ Fowler, ‘Collective memory and forgetting’, p.64

³⁵ ‘Obituary – Sis. Helen Hazlett’, *The Torch*, (July/August 1981), p.9

³⁶ ‘The Ladies’, *The Future is Orange and Bright*, (Glasgow: GOLS, undated), p.35

³⁷ ‘A Tribute’, *The Vigilant*, 14, no.4, (September 1968), p.5

³⁸ ‘Sir Knight William Letters’, *Royal Black Preceptory: celebrating 100 years*, (Glasgow: GOLS, 2009), p.12

³⁹ L. Delap, and S. Morgan, ‘Introduction: men, masculinities and religious change in post-Christian Britain,’ in L. Delap and S. Morgan (eds.) *Men, masculinities and change in twentieth-century Britain*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.21

Margaret Johnston was immortalised in a 1990 tribute as ‘a formidable character in her Kirk, where she challenged many a young minister on matters relating to the Scriptures.’⁴⁰ This juxtaposition of the mature feminine wisdom with youthful masculine authority reinforces imaginings of Johnston not only as a woman stridently assertive in defence of her beliefs, but also as the personification of feminised Christian piety. Johnston is eulogised in superlative and grandiose terms as ‘the epitome of Orangeism through her dedication to the Institution, the Kirk and her Protestant heritage’ and celebrated for her display of resilience - persistently struggling ‘up the Kirk path to be in her pew on Sundays’ - in spite of ill health.⁴¹ For Orangewomen, then, faithful attendance and dual engagement with lodge and church are esteemed as the pinnacle of personal accomplishment.

The brethren, however, are evaluated in terms of their social and/or institutional standing: a 2009 tribute, for example, to Rev. Bro. Thomas Harvey described him as ‘acclaimed at every level in the Orange Order’ because he proved an ‘inspirational speaker and preacher.’⁴² A contrasting leitmotif in Orangewomen’s obituaries is the treasuring of their faithful adherence to workaday tasks as indicative of the intensity of their institutional loyalty: a sentimental 1987 tribute to Ellen Walker, for instance, enthusiastically extolled her as a ‘friendly, humorous’ sister who ‘never sought higher offices but was content to work tirelessly in the minor posts.’⁴³ The subtext of such paternalistic portraits is the naturalisation and commemoration of women’s emotionally supportive, rather than initiatory, institutional functionality. These hagiographic and formulaic obituaries therefore perhaps reveal more about the gendered ideologies of the institution than the deceased women to whom they pay homage: Institutional obituaries thus are evidently shaped by ideological priorities, assimilating the deceased into a gendered canon of organisational history, obscuring the nuances and specificities of individual lives.

ORANGEWOMEN AND NATIONAL TRIBUTE

Few Orangewomen have been honoured by national media tributes. Self-made millionaire Maggie McIver (1879-1958) is institutionally considered ‘the only Orange woman whose death hit the front page of Glasgow’s *Evening Times*.’⁴⁴ McIver was affectionately remembered by associates in 2011 as ‘Orange Maggie’ – the founder of the famous Barras market – ‘a legend’ whose ‘astute business mind’, ‘hard work’ and ‘determination’ extended her reputation worldwide.⁴⁵ According to a 1998 tribute, McIver’s entrepreneurial zeal was tempered by her ‘Protestant upbringing’ causing her to eschew ‘making a profit on the Sabbath.’⁴⁶ Despite the obvious influence of religiosity upon her

⁴⁰ ‘Obituary – Sis Margaret Johnston PGM’, *The Torch*, (June 1990), p.6

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p.6

⁴² ‘Sir Knight Rev. Thomas J. Harvey: Provincial Grand Chaplain (1942-1948)’, *Royal Black Preceptory no.752: celebrating 100 Years*, (Glasgow: GOLS, 2009), p.8

⁴³ ‘Sis Ellen Walker’, *The Torch*, (April 1987), p.8

⁴⁴ ‘Maggie McIver’, file, TS. (Glasgow: GOLS archive, undated)

⁴⁵ J. Jeffrey, ‘Maggie McIver,’ (Glasgow: GOLS archive, 26 September 2011)

⁴⁶ C. Foreman, *Glasgow curiosities* (Glasgow: John Donald, 1998), pp.84,79

commercial practice, various newspaper obituaries - along with more recent tributes - overlook Maggie's Orangeism, commemoratively cherishing her in 2003 as a non-sectarian exemplar of 'the true spirit of Glasgow.'⁴⁷ Similarly a 1955 BBC radio interview with McIver - in which the indomitable 75 year-old Orangewoman mischievously declared herself to be 'as good as 25' - focused squarely upon her business achievements.⁴⁸ A 2001 *Sunday Herald* feature ignored Maggie's Protestant subjectivity, rejoicing instead in the dramatic rags to riches narrative of a 'street girl' of 'fairly proletarian stock' who transformed herself into a 'multi-millionaire.'⁴⁹ The salient intersection of McIver's socio-economic and gendered subjectivities within the ideological framework of this article precludes consideration of her ethno-religious identity.

Tributes to Olympic swimmer Nancy Riach (1927-1947) also effectively whitewash her organisational affiliation. Riach was 'hailed in her day the British Empire's finest swimmer'⁵⁰ according to her brother's 2003 tribute. In the year of her premature death Orangewomen endowed a cot in the Glasgow Sick Children's Hospital in recognition of her 'good work' on behalf of the juvenile movement.⁵¹ Riach and McIver are belatedly reimagined and reclaimed as inspirational public heroines, divorced from ethno-religious subjectivities, in the interests of immortalising and canonising the 'public memory' of these Orangewomen, they are disentangled and severed from their controversial Orange identities. The one-dimensionality and straightforwardly celebratory representations of famous personages - facilitated by the erasure of Orange selfhoods - impedes meaningful debate on the complex collision and intersection of personal and organisational subjectivities with public identity.⁵²

MYTHOLOGIZING NARRATIVES

Within institutional publications, Orangewomen have occasionally been reverentially elevated to legendary status. In 1965, *The Vigilant* published a tribute to the late 'Orange Peggy, Queen of Tresna.' Born on the 11th July 1784 in Lough Erne, Peggy was supposedly 'wrapped in the Orange flag' and 'carried to the church to be baptised on the Twelfth.'⁵³ The 2009 article contends she died in 1891, and was 'buried on the Twelfth of July.'⁵⁴ The parallel dates of her funeral and christening (falling on the 'glorious' 12th July, the zenith of the Orange calendar), endows her life with a sense of providential serendipity and lends a cyclical reflexivity. Peggy's Orangeism is valorised as fanatically intransigent and rooted in the 'feminine' politics of visual display: 'every stitch of her clothing' was Orange, and she faithfully waved 'the Orange flag' to 'every boat

⁴⁷ 'The end of the Barras as we know it', *The Scotsman*, 17 November 2003

⁴⁸ 'The Barras Queen', BBC Scotland, Radio Interview (1955), published 13 April 2011

⁴⁹ J. McLean, 'The barrowers', *Sunday Herald*, 1 April 2001

⁵⁰ 'Charles Riach', *The Herald*, 5 June 2003

⁵¹ LOAS, Conference, 11 October 1947

⁵² Recent national press articles seemingly overlooked the Orangeism of contemporary Paralympic athlete Sylvia Moffat ('Sports heroes strike gold', *Evening Times*, 30 March 2012). Contrastingly, institutional literature arrogates her success to her "loving Orange home" and emphasises the lodge as "a source of strength in character building" (*The Future is Orange and Bright*, (Glasgow: GOLs, undated), pp.32-33; 'A celebration of Excellence', *The Torch*, (December 2004/January 2005), p.5)

⁵³ 'Orange Peggy of the lakes sailed life alone,' *ALOI 100th Anniversary*, (Belfast: GOLI 2012), p.5

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p.5

passing the Island of Tresna.⁵⁵ This focus on her conspicuous partisanship masks her individuality and constructs Peggy as the archetypal gendered embodiment of Orange devotional loyalty.⁵⁶ A 2012 tribute to Peggy in the ALOI 100th Anniversary publication – penned for a female readership – contrastingly stresses her agentic power as a widow who overcame ‘a hard, tragic life’ and ‘refused to become a grieving recluse’ by becoming ‘an expert oarswoman’ rowing weekly from Tresna to attend Trory Parish Church. This recent account essentially demythologues Peggy (naming her Margaret Elliott) and unfolds the legendary mystique veiling her life.⁵⁷ These divergent hagiographic accounts nevertheless identify a radically far-reaching and little-known tradition of female Orangeism pre-dating the institution,⁵⁸ and thus subvert androcentric constructions of Orange history as quintessentially masculine: Peggy’s fabled narrative represents therefore a potentially empowering, and organisationally transgressive, feminisation of Orange myth and a mythologizing of Orange femininity.

In 1974, a *Torch* article entitled ‘Covenanting Women – Inspiration of Orangewomen’ compared the lives of two seventeenth-century martyrs drowned for their refusal to swear an oath recognising King James VII as head of the church: ‘18 year old farmer’s daughter’ Margaret Wilson and ‘70 year old widow’ Margaret MacLachlan.⁵⁹ Highly romanticised by pastoral imagery, these women are respectively referred to as the ‘summer and winter in the glorious cause, Margaret of the flaxen hair, and Margaret of the grey.’⁶⁰ This juxtapositioning of maid and crone figuratively crystalizes them at the moments of their death as archetypal embodiments of age-specific iconic femininities, rather than complex and dynamic individuals. Indeed Covenanters are typically represented historiographically as ‘either saintly martyrs or as fanatical extremists.’⁶¹ These ill-fated women are thus sentimentally constructed as ethereal personifications of feminine idealism, virtue and piety: Wilson is referred to as ‘a virgin martyr’ whilst MacLachlan is revered for her ‘Christ-like’ manner of life.⁶² The agentic courageous resistance of these women to violent persecution is downplayed and the ‘feminised’ tropes of victimised beauty, humility and innocence are alternatively emphasised.

If Covenanting women were postulated as lofty role models, their polarity was the sensationalised and calumnious imaginings of Catholic women. Represented as embodiments of aberrant femininity oppositional to ‘normative’ family life, during the 1950s and 60s, inflammatory constructions of these ‘heretical’ women as frustrated and cruelly nefarious (or conversely as victimised, infantilized and exploited by a sexually and morally duplicitous church) were

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p.5

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p.5

⁵⁷ ‘Orange Peggy of the lakes sailed life alone,’ *ALOI 100th Anniversary*, (Belfast: GOL, 2012), pp. 40-41

⁵⁸ Although Peggy’s birth pre-dates the 1795 inception of the Irish Order, Orange traditions extend far beyond the formal establishment of the institution. See David Hume, *Beyond the banners: the story of the Orange Order*, (Belfast: Booklink, 2009), p.5

⁵⁹ J. Purves, ‘Heritage: a series of studies on the Scottish Covenanters’, *The Torch*, 8, (September 1974), p.3

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p.4

⁶¹ D.M. Murray, ‘Martyrs or madmen? The Covenanters, Sir Walter Scott and Dr Thomas McCree’, *The Innes Review*, 43, (August 1992), p.166

⁶² Purves, ‘Heritage’, *The Torch*, 8, (September 1974), p.4

commonplace in *The Vigilant*. During the early 1960s, nuns were often constructed as exploited and indoctrinated, imprisoned in convents metaphorically riddled with ‘dry rot and woodworm’ and compelled to serve a corrupt church rather than freely selecting their calling.⁶³ Alternatively – reinvigorating Ne Temere outrage – they were harshly denounced as odious, embittered ‘female parasites,’⁶⁴ jealously admonishing Protestant women in mixed marriages for ‘living in sin’ and denouncing their children as ‘illegitimate.’⁶⁵ These demonising depictions reductively condense female Catholic identities into the archetypal victim morphed into victimiser. The subtext of such highly gendered sectarian discourses, then, was arguably a latent resentful distrust of potentially transgressive, celibate female sexualities divorced from their reproductive function and unanchored in the domesticized patriarchal family unit. The nun is thus represented as the repressed ‘other’ to the domesticated Orangewoman, contentedly rooted in heterosexual family and enjoying homosocial sisterly conviviality with sisters faithfully devoted to the Order.⁶⁶ This religious juxtaposition therefore underscores as normative the primacy of Orangewomen’s domestic function, and naturalizes sexually inequitable Orange discourses.

ORANGEWOMEN IN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Orangewomen also appear as semi-fictional characters in women’s autobiography. Journalist Meg Henderson’s *Finding Peggy*, charting her 1950s upbringing in ‘one of the poorest and toughest areas of Glasgow’⁶⁷ has been described as a ‘moving’ celebration of the ‘strong bonds’ of female kinship and communal ‘solidarity’⁶⁸ attempting ‘to redress inequalities suffered by women.’⁶⁹ Henderson juxtaposes her mother (Nan) and aunt (Peggy) – both ‘bright, vivacious vital women’ – with her maternal grandmother, ‘bitter Orange woman’ Maw Clark.⁷⁰ Maw appears an unsympathetic caricature of feminised sectarianism, and her ‘illogical hatred of Catholics’ is assumed to be axiomatic evidence of, and synonymous with, her Orange affiliation. Henderson recalls a painful girlhood memory of Maw smearing a ‘dirty nappy’ across her face to remove a priestly imparted ‘ritual dab of ashes’ from her forehead, much to the ‘delight’ of onlooker Auld Broon – ominously described as ‘another strong supporter of the Orange lodge.’⁷¹ This incident represents Maw’s Orangeism as an invidious gendered form of bigoted violence, menacingly and shockingly executed in the ‘sedate’ sphere of the home.

Henderson fondly recollects gleefully sticking pins in Maw’s ‘Orange pin cushion,’ resplendently embroidered with the image of William of Orange astride his white charger, much to her grandmother’s chagrin: ‘it wasn’t’ she ruminates ‘because we were bigoted, we didn’t understand

⁶³ See ‘Nuns at Blantyre Live in Terrible Conditions says Priest’, *The Vigilant*, ix, no.4, (April 1963), p.3

⁶⁴ ‘300 nuns forced to work at steel furnaces’, *The Vigilant*, 5, no.4, (October 1963), p.4

⁶⁵ ‘Nun attacks young wife’, *The Vigilant*, vi, no.5, (May 1960), p.8

⁶⁶ See, for instance, ‘Obituary’, *The Vigilant*, II, no.2, (February 1965), p.11

⁶⁷ M. Henderson, *Finding Peggy: a true and shocking account of life in a Glasgow slum*, (London: Random, 1994), p.9

⁶⁸ C. Craig, *The tears that made the Clyde: well-being in Glasgow*, (Glendaruel: Argyll, 2010, pp. 267-268, 97 and 154)

⁶⁹ V. Boynton and J. Malin, *Encyclopaedia of women’s autobiography: K-Z*, II (Westport: Greenwood, 2005), p.124

⁷⁰ Henderson, *Finding Peggy*, p.19

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p. 98

any of it.⁷² Henderson's anecdote reinforces textual associations of Orangeism with a pernicky and twee feminine domesticity. This gendering of bigotry is undercut and problematized by Henderson's warm depiction of her great-grandfather as 'a gentleman' devoid of bitterness and 'a passionate Orangeman.'⁷³ Maw is therefore evoked as the gendered counterpoint to a 'respectable' male tradition of Orangeism. Indeed it is the intersection of femininity with Orangeism, rather than Orangeism per se, which is sub-textually implied to be destructive: Henderson's autobiography therefore subverts dominant Orange ideological tropes of female 'respectability' and aggressive male 'sectarianism.' *Finding Peggy* personifies Maw as the embodiment of a spiteful, flagrant and feminised prejudice encoded by the conflation of Orange and domestic imagery. Maw Clark is therefore semi-figuratively vilified as sectarian symbolic 'other' to Peggy and Nan, who unconditionally enveloped their families in a 'blanket of love and caring.'⁷⁴

The vituperative image of Maw Clark was conjured and reinvigorated in Henderson's subsequent press articles. Implying the identity of her belated grandmother to have been proudly interwoven with her organisational membership, Meg wryly observed in a feature in *The Scotsman* that 'the plate of her coffin carved her lodge number beside her name.'⁷⁵ Indeed Maw's vividly-sketched cameo - personifying an imagined truculent and intransigent female Orangeism - was also occasionally referenced in historical studies to elucidate 'the sense of belonging as well as status' ethno-religious allegiance might supply 'to otherwise drab and increasingly alienated forms of existence.'⁷⁶ Heavily mediated, lampooned vignettes of Maw Clark- didactically invoking her as the gendered embodiment of a mean-spirited, narrow-minded and self-aggrandising form of Orange sectarianism - were therefore intertextually circulated in media, academic and literary discourses.

MOBILISATION OF THE NATIONAL MEDIA

'Girl power'

During the first decade of this century, progressive office-bearers sought to undermine Orangewomen's subordination and subvert the patriarchy of Grand Lodge by rallying the Scottish press to nationally publicise institutional inequality. In 2001 an article fulfilling this brief appeared in *The Herald*, sensationally entitled 'Girl power hits Orange Order: fears of division as women challenge centuries-old male dominance in Scotland's lodges.' The oxymoronic titular allusion to 'Girl power' and the 'Orange Order' juxtaposes youthful femininity and consumerist postmodernity with staid male traditions and power structures to implicitly suggest the Order to be outmodedly tangential to the mainstream: feminism is thus implied to be ideologically irreconcilable with, and inimical to, Orangeism. 'Girl power' has been defined as 'a complex,

⁷² *Ibid*, p.60

⁷³ *Ibid*, p.69

⁷⁴ Henderson, *Finding Peggy*, p.11

⁷⁵ M. Henderson, 'Born into a black and white world of Orange and Green,' *The Scotsman*, 10 October 1997

⁷⁶ W. Knox, *Work, culture and society in Scotland, 1800-present*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p.268

contradictory discourse -' problematizing assumptions that 'femininity is always sexist and oppressive'- the 'individualising and commodifying effects' of which are purportedly inimical to the development of a collective feminist politics.⁷⁷ The fluidity of the multi-referential term 'girl' – seemingly trivialising women as 'immature' and 'powerless' yet reconceptualised in contemporary discourse as the 'valorisation of girls as powerful'⁷⁸ - harnesses the postfeminist appropriation of 'buzzwords and slogans' to 'express visions of energetic empowerment.'⁷⁹ The article's ambiguous title aptly reflects the dynamic tension between Orangewomen's institutional endorsement and subversion, which thematically unifies the feature.

The article relates the outspoken demands of then Deputy Grand Mistress Helyne MacLean that Orangewomen to be accorded 'full voting rights' within the Order.⁸⁰ Tactfully representing Orangeism as incrementally progressive, rather than hidebound and moribund, MacLean emphasizes the presence of female members 'on a huge number of projects' and 'most of the committees,' implying the case for reform to be accepted by all but an almost extinct minority of 'dinosaurs.' This sense of the Order as progressive and forward-thinking (yet impeded by an entrenched and traditionally-fixated minority) is reinforced by the supportive interjections of her husband – Deputy Grand Master – that 'the time is right for change.'

Indeed the input of the male hierarchy to the article not only illustrates official approval of Helyne's disclosure, but creates the overwhelming impression that change is institutionally-beneficial, irrepressible and imminent. Represented as a 'moderniser,' Grand Master Ian Wilson called attention to the wasted 'pool of ability in talent' dormant in the '25-30% female membership.'⁸¹ His assertion, moreover, that the conferral of long-overdue rights of self-representation upon Orangewomen will be 'resisted by traditional members both male and female' also de-genders the debate, illustrating the Order to be ideologically rather than sexually divided: this strategy minimises the article's potentially deleterious impact on the brethren's already tarnished, tainted and lacklustre public image whilst simultaneously and diplomatically raising awareness of the Order's gendered inequalities.

'Women of Orange'

Helyne MacLean resumed her campaigning to reverse Orangewomen's institutional subordination and public invisibility in 2009, welcoming a journalist from *The Scotsman* to a female lodge meeting. The article's rationale was purportedly to assess the reasons why the female membership

⁷⁷ S. Genz and B.A. Brabon, *Postfeminism: cultural texts and theories*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp.76-77, 80 and 82

⁷⁸ Lazar, 'Entitled to consume', pp.390-391

⁷⁹ Tasker and Negra, 'Introduction', p.3

⁸⁰ 'Girl power hits Orange Order: fears of division as women challenge centuries-old male dominance in Scotland's lodges', *The Herald*, 19 March 2001

⁸¹ Ian Wilson, 'Message from the Most Worthy Grand Master of Scotland', *Centenary Brochure*, (Glasgow: GOLs, 2009), p.8

'has never been stronger' in the post-secular social climate.⁸² The resultant article – 'Women of Orange' - contrasts the previously 'pushed to the sidelines' past generations of Orangewomen 'simply there to make the tea' with the prefigured 'educated, professional' lodgewomen of the future (those featured include a clinical researcher, company manager, university secretary and community education worker) meaningfully contributing to 'the way the movement is run.'⁸³ These women therefore subvert pervasive stereotypes of the Order as the exclusive domain of working-class males by reconceptualising Orangeism as an essentially middle-class and respectable activity.

Although Orangewomen are described as 'increasingly vocal,' their own remarks reveal their Orangeism to be concealed and situationally enacted - essentially a discreet, unintegrated component of their public identities, downplayed within the professional arena. An anonymous Orangewoman, employed by an examination body, admitted she would face 'a lot of hassle' if colleagues knew of her membership, and related her sense of heightened anomic alienation during the July 'marching season,' when she 'can't say anything.'⁸⁴ Her self-silencing illustrates Orangewomen's negotiated compartmentalization of public and organisational identities as members of an institution widely perceived to be sectarian. However this woman's voicelessness is, to some extent, reversed by her transgressive and agentic contribution to the article.

'Women of Orange' sharply contrasts the domesticated conviviality and informal everydayness of the sisters - represented as 'nibbling on home-made scones' whilst 'chatting away' in the lodgeroom - with the ritualised, public triumphalism of brethren intent on 'fanning the flames of sectarianism,' provocatively garbed in 'bowler hats, black suits, and orange sashes.' This feature genders organisational life, representing female Orangeism as 'not just about the parades but about family values, democratic freedom and Protestantism.' This gendered differentiation is reinforced by MacLean's observation that the women take the Order 'much more seriously than some of the men.' Orangewomen are also conceptualised as spadework fundraisers for non-sectarian charitable causes. Women's Orangeism is therefore constructed as Christian, homely and communal, and counterbalanced with pejorative images of its militant, belligerent and antagonistic male counterpart.

The feature represents Orangewomen as rehearsing traditional, outdated 'femininities' alienating them from prospective teenage initiates, presumed to be 'more interested in reading Heat magazine and emulating the likes of Katie Price.' The performance of domesticated 'respectability' appropriated by the women to counterbalance public conceptions of Orangeism as overwhelmingly provocative, socially-divisive and drink-fuelled is therefore detrimental to their ability to attract

⁸² 'Women of Orange', *The Scotsman*, 28 September 2009

⁸³ *Ibid*

⁸⁴ *Ibid*

younger potential female candidates versed in secular, celebrity and consumerist cultural constructions of mass-marketed ‘femininity.’

Orangewomen are constructed within the article as conflicted between their allegiance to an organisation prepared to ‘speak on behalf of the Protestant people’ and their desire for equitable institutional status. MacLean represents the sisters’ case persuasively yet tentatively, gently goading male ‘dinosaurs’ whilst highly appreciative of the ‘more supportive’ men. Her rhetoric is ameliorative rather than radical, and carefully constructed in pursuit of the moderate aim of female involvement in ‘decision-making’ and assimilation into existing power structures: partially transgressive, it ultimately re-affirms the organisational boundaries it appears to challenge.

CENTENARY BROCHURE

Print culture, it has been observed, simultaneously exposes ‘the gendered nature of ideologies and institutions’ and facilitates ‘women’s identification with other women.’⁸⁵ Conforming to this criterion, the Ladies’ Centenary Brochure of 2009 commended Orangewomen’s past accomplishments whilst providing a critical imaginative space for contributors to inspirationally reconfigure the female Orangeism of the future. Within its pages, sisters and brethren alike expressively aired their discontent with the gendered status quo and attempted to rhetorically convince antagonistic and ambivalent members of the benefits of institutional equality. The publication was therefore an open literary forum facilitating sisterly inter-lodge dialogue, critical re-evaluation and reconstruction of gendered institutional roles, and self-affirming celebration of erstwhile achievements.⁸⁶

Helyne MacLean’s contentious contribution ‘The sash my mother wore’ passionately advocated women’s parity of institutional standing. Somewhat irreverently, she scathingly argued, ‘Having served our one hundred year apprenticeship’ the Scottish sisters long to ‘work together in partnership’ with brethren to promote Orangeism as the ‘voice of Protestantism in Scotland.’⁸⁷ MacLean’s article commends Orangewomen’s perceptive, pragmatic and proactive outlook, contending ‘they have already realised what the real issues of importance are’ and are busy ‘promoting our Protestant culture within our communities, our Churches and our young people.’⁸⁸ She therefore implies the internal struggle for gendered equality to be of secondary importance to fostering strong Protestant identification and affiliation in wider society: her insistence that this is best achieved through delivery of collaborative local outreach and educational initiatives, however, implicitly affirms the centrality of women to Orange public life. Within this discourse, then,

⁸⁵ J.P. Danky and W.A. Wiegand, *Women in print: essays on the print culture of American women from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 2006), p.xx

⁸⁶ Similarly, MacPherson has demonstrated the centrality of early twentieth-century Irish print culture as “a public space” to debate “women’s role” in the construction of national identity via the “everydayness” of “domesticity” (MacPherson, *Women and the Irish nation*, p.29)

⁸⁷ MacLean, ‘The sash my mother wore’, *Centenary Brochure*, p.9

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p.9

politics of gender are apparently subordinated to those of ethno-religiosity, however the sexual specificity of Orangewomen's roles as intergenerational transmitters of institutional and cultural values, it is suggested, render them indispensable to the continued reinvigoration of Orangeism. MacLean's 'feminine' discursive strategy (underplaying the significance of internal sexual inequality whilst highlighting Orangewomen's vital public work) enables her to disarmingly reassure, rather than confront, those with misgivings about institutional reform.

Grand Mistress, Rhona Gibson, utilised the discursive space of the brochure to deconstruct and challenge ingrained organisational stereotypes of Orangewomen. Paying tribute to the 'very successful' charitable record of the sisters, Rhona declared this to be 'only one facet of the Scottish Orange woman,' and called for the sisters to 'develop and be more involved' with committee work.⁸⁹ Her subversive questioning of the singularity of lodgeworkers' traditional fundraising and care-giving functionality attempts to unshackle Orangewomen's potential and diversify future expression of their talents and convictions. Helyne MacLean's insistence that 'highly commendable' charitable work is 'only one facet of Orangeism in Scotland' is indeed strikingly similar.⁹⁰ The acclaim and prestige attached by a paternalistic Grand Lodge to Orangewomen's impressive and 'worthy' benevolence work, it is implied, has valorised their performance of duties peripheral to internal decision-making processes, and pigeon-holed them into traditional gendered roles of low status and limited influence.

Ian Wilson's contribution directly challenges the 'more misogynistic brethren' to 'be big enough (and indeed **man** enough)' to transcend 'personal prejudice' and recognise the 'crucial role' of women 'in the life and witness of our Institution.'⁹¹ In contrast to the placatory tone of female contributions, Wilson goads brethren to re-examine their prejudices by subversively redefining dominant conceptualisations of 'masculinity.' Ian also personalises his polemic with affectionate reminiscences of his grandmother – described as the 'biggest influence' in his early life - invoked as the epitome of a proud tradition of 'true blue' stoic, indomitable female Orangeism. Such anecdotal reflections fortify his arguments by illustrating the lingering exemplary influence of Orangewomen upon their immediate family - suggesting Orangeism to domestically empower women and, reciprocally, women's domesticity to enable Orangeism. The Centenary Brochure is thus mobilised as a dynamic, politicised vehicle for the dissemination of diverse counter-hegemonic discourses subversive of the institutionally-entrenched gendered ideologies.

The controversial airing of grievances within a supposedly celebratory publication subverts the commemorative medium and disrupts complacent anniversary narratives to galvanise support for future reform. As one of the few institutional texts dedicated not to showcasing Orangewomen, but rather to facilitating their self-expression, this rallying document might be read as a counter-

⁸⁹ Gibson, 'The Ladies Orange Association of Scotland – a brief history', *Centenary Brochure*, p.5

⁹⁰ MacLean, 'The sash my mother wore', *Centenary Brochure*, p.9

⁹¹ Wilson, 'Message from the Most Worthy Grand Master', *Centenary Brochure*, p.8

hegemonic site of resistance to institutionalised patriarchy. Contrastingly, the ALOI's 100th Anniversary publication represents an unequivocal attempt to commemorate the Association, and features articles honouring the Association's gender-distinct identity alongside those trumpeting the common Orange heritage shared by sisters and brethren alike.⁹²

21st CENTURY ORANGEMAN

In 2007, Scottish Grand Lodge, under the governance of 'moderniser' Ian Wilson, took the unprecedented step of welcoming BBC 'cameras inside the lodge.' The resultant documentary focuses upon Wilson's attempts to modernise the institution by updating the 'gloriously fruity' arcane language of its early principles and precepts, relaxing laws prohibiting attendance at Catholic funerals and challenging allegations of institutional sectarianism. *21st century Orangeman* mobilises dramatic irony in its opening sequence to satirical effect, creating an immediate disjuncture undermining the impeccable, 'respectable' self-presentation of members. The opening scene depicts the Grand Master and trustees at an Awards Dinner and appropriates non-diegetic operatic music to hyperbolic and subversive effect as the camera surveys the guests, décor and table menus attempts to gently mock, trivialise and question the pomp, ceremony and grandiosity of the occasion, implying it be parochial, self-important and overblown. A close up lingers upon an expensive bottle of Chateauneuf du Pape to highlight the salient discrepancy between the Order's anti-Catholic rhetoric and the consumption of a beverage historically promoted by the fourteenth century Avignon papacy. The documentary disconcertingly resituates the viewer as the voyeur of a gentle hypocrisy which is neither conscious nor deliberate, but founded upon ignorance and lack of self-awareness.

Indeed a recurring motif of male drinking is used to visually codify the institution's classed structure, and to problematize its efforts to project a more salubrious public image: in contrast to the middle-class, measured consumption of wine at the aforementioned function, the 'Buckfast Brigade' – as Helyne MacLean disparagingly termed them later in the documentary – are represented menacingly arrayed in football shirts, swigging beer, aggressively intoning sectarian chants, accompanying an otherwise 'dignified' Orange parade from the side of the road.⁹³ These unwelcome and officially-unaffiliated onlookers are thus representative of an underclass of disaffected and socially marginalised young male Protestants, and this is codified through their intemperate, spontaneous drinking which inappropriately spills over into public spaces. Owen Jones has noted the ubiquity of media conceptualisations of the working-classes as 'a sort of social problem' comprised of 'work shy', 'racist' or drunken individuals.⁹⁴ The production of *21st century Orangeman* thus reinvigorates these derogatory stereotypes to subvert the organisation's attempt to

⁹² Association of Loyal Orangewomen of Ireland c.1800- present,' ALOI, *100th Anniversary* (Belfast: GOL, 2012), pp. 9 and 17

⁹³ Appropriating similar phraseology, Kaufmann refers to these 'young urban supporters' in Belfast as 'the blue bag brigade.' See E.P. Kaufmann, *The Orange Order: a contemporary Northern Irish history*, (Oxford: O.U.P., 2007), p.299

⁹⁴ Jones, O., *Chavs*, pp.73-74 and 86

project a ‘respectable’ public persona. Patterns of alcohol-consumption are therefore evoked to culturally delineate classed differentiation and to signify the binary insider/outsider institutional dynamic and visually encode the ideological divide between ‘respectable’ moderate religiously-sincere members and bigoted, sectarian elements consigned to the fringes of the movement. The drinking of overwhelmingly middle-aged, ‘respectable’ working-class and middle-class lodgemen is represented as convivial, moderate and confined to private functions and fraternal spaces.

Grand Mistress Helyne MacLean is shown to resolutely condemn male anti-social drinking culture which she represented as endemic in any ‘big city,’ rather than directly related to Orangeism, expressing her fervent wish that men ‘fired up with drink...didn’t come near Orange parades.’⁹⁵ The use of a thoughtful female voice to interpretatively frame this behaviour and distance it from the institution situates Orangewomen – who are otherwise largely marginal to the thematic concerns of the documentary – as guardians of the Order’s moral authority and respectable ‘other’ to male inebriation and rabid sectarianism. This juxtaposition of ‘feminine’ sobriety and virtue with male indiscretion and aggression is reinforced later in the documentary when a low camera angle frames Helen Walker delivering a passionate sermon, proudly proclaiming the Lordship of Jesus, from the pulpit of the Glasgow Evangelical Church. Helyne MacLean – who along with the late Rev. Walker represents the only Orangewomen featured – is also represented exerting public authority as an institutional spokesperson on a public Question and Answer panel. Female members are therefore afforded a voice within the programme but gender-specific issues are never directly raised.

21st century Orangeman – the very title assumes Orangeism to be gender indistinct - configures Scottish Orangewomen as equal members occupying roles entirely commensurate with those of the brethren.⁹⁶ Indeed the remarks of both sisters interviewed obfuscate their gendered subordination: Rev. Helen Walker described members in generic terms as ‘very ordinary *people*’ who value Protestant principles and Helyne MacLean represented the Order as ‘the only organisation that is actually speaking out on behalf of the Protestant *people*.’ Both therefore assert the primacy of religious over gendered subjectivities, yet as females occupying authoritative positions their presence in the documentary subversively prefigures a reversal of women’s subordinate organisational standing.

SISTERS OF THE LODGE

BBC Northern Ireland’s 2011 documentary, *Sisters of the Lodge*,⁹⁷ explored the gendered subjectivities and individual agency of members of the Association of the Loyal Orangewomen of

⁹⁵ T. Niel (Director), *21st Century Orangeman*, BBC Scotland, shown 13 June 2007, 21:00

⁹⁶ Similarly Irish Orangewomen’s “highly publicised” televised presence as “community agitators” during the 1999 Drumcree standoff belied “the reality of” their “backgrounds” of “service” to “domestic patriarchy” (Radford, ‘Protestant women’, p.151)

⁹⁷ A. Millar (Director), *Sisters of the Lodge*, BBC Northern Ireland, shown 11 July 2011, 22.40

Ireland (ALOI). The self-revelatory narrative style formulates the heuristic quest of presenter, Allison Millar, for greater understanding of the experience, motivations and opinions of contemporary Orangewomen as she sets out to discover why this seemingly anachronistic organisation is not yet extinct. Her personal search for meaning structures the development of her narrative journey, which begins with the unfolding of her childhood memories of watching ‘the ladies’ with their ‘fancy hats and handbags marching behind the men’ and reflexively concludes with her assertive realisation that ‘I wasn’t a sister, and never could be.’ Millar repeatedly attempts to establish and reinforce pre-assumed binary divisions between the past and present, rural and urban, old and young, tradition and modernity, in order to represent the Orangewomen of Dromore LOL 66 as an obsolescent, insular and socially marginal collective of women tangential to, and divergent from, mainstream contemporary secular society.

Yet this simplistic explanatory paradigm is increasingly problematized by one member in particular – 23 year old Alicia Dickson. Described as the ‘rising star’ of the Order, Dickson is apparently anomalous to Millar who struggles to comprehend the attraction of this old-fashioned organisation to ‘such a modern young woman.’ Within the documentary’s gendered framework, Alicia’s Orange identity is thus represented as necessarily fragmentary - irreconcilable with, and ‘other’ to ‘normative’ secular, urban, modern constructions of female identity. Alicia articulates her agentic motives for joining in terms of a strong emotional affinity ‘for what it stood for’ rather than simply the re-enactment of family tradition. She is represented as naturally authoritative, highly charismatic and personable and is shown successfully occupying numerous leadership roles within her local community: her obvious capabilities are reinforced by her father’s assertion that ‘from a very young age’ she had been taught in her home ‘for to take office and to hold office, and to hold it in the proper way.’⁹⁸

Scenes featuring Alicia are interspersed with clips of older Orangewomen – whom Millar describes as ‘steeped in the past’ – which are highly suggestive of their staid traditionalism and gendered deference to the brethren. Grand Mistress Olive Whitten, sharply contrasted with Alicia, is represented as holding an office of purely nominal power and is portrayed passively and demurely seated amongst Orangemen at a pastoral 12th July demonstration - where the sisters of her lodge have not been invited by brethren to parade - as Orangemen deliver solemn public prayer and religious address. Millar’s voice-over is uncharacteristically gloomy - ‘nothing,’ she despondently observes, ‘seems to have changed since I was last at a parade.’⁹⁹

Alicia is contrastingly represented delivering an upbeat and informal speech to an audience of Orangemen in the highly urbanised setting of Glasgow Green. Invited by the Scottish Grand Lodge, she articulates her vision of Orangeism as synonymous with family life, and furnishes her

⁹⁸ *Ibid*

⁹⁹ *Ibid*

engaging speech with personal details of her own upbringing within an Orange home. Her domesticated conceptualisation of the Order is heartily applauded by Scottish Grand Master Ian Wilson, who commends her presentation as engaging and thought-provoking. Wilson is shown sheltering her from the rain with his umbrella, a ‘chivalrous’ and respectful gesture which affirms his endorsement of her oration, and visually reinforces a sense her sexual difference and complementarity. The Scottish Lodge is thus prefigured in the documentary – without acknowledgement of the subaltern institutional status of Scottish Orangewomen – as especially enabling of an emergent form of high profile female Orangeism which is politically astute, articulate and actively involved in rejuvenating tired public imaginings of the Order, and the mutedness of Irish Orangeism is implied to be inextricably linked to their gendered and regional specificities as rural Ulster women. The documentary’s representation of Alicia as authoritative within a Scottish context undermines, destabilizes the complacent hegemony of the Irish brethren, and subversively prefigures the possibility of Irish Orangewomen dynamically negotiating their own agentic organisational roles rather than accepting the auxiliary functions assigned them.¹⁰⁰

CONCLUSION

Hagiographic institutional obituaries represent Orangewomen as one-dimensional paragons of domesticated, charitable churchgoing femininity; lionising national obituaries of high-achieving Orangewomen effectively whitewashed their organisational affiliation to facilitate their unproblematic assimilation into a national commemorative canon. Organisational journals promote the devout Covenanters and legendary figures - such as the politically stalwart ‘Orange Peggy’ - as fitting exemplary precursors worthy of lodgewomen’s emulation and conversely vilify Catholic womanhood. Whilst national media normatively represents Orange membership as monolithically masculine, Henderson’s widely-circulated, caricature of bitter Orangewoman Maw Clark is a rare semi-fictional embodiment of a domesticated and ‘feminised’ sectarian bigotry.

BBC documentaries *21st Century Orangeman* and *Sisters of the Lodge* downplay the sexual inequalities within Scottish Orangeism – the former to foreshadow a more authoritative role for the sisters; the latter to highlight the public mutedness of Irish Orangewomen. National newspaper features - such as ‘Girl power’ and ‘Women of Orange’ - are subversive agentic attempts to raise public awareness of the Order’s implacable resistance to the reform of women’s auxiliary status, deftly negotiated to avoid exacerbating tense relations with more traditional brethren and further sully its maligned public image. These heavily mediated articles, however, counterproductively conceptualise Orangewomen as tangential to secular, consumer-driven, constructions of mainstream ‘femininity’ and thus might deter prospective members.

¹⁰⁰Conversely, Dudley Edwards highlights differing intersection of ethno-religiosity, nationality, regionality, gender and class in order to respectabilise Irish Orangeism: she contends that staid, religious, pastoral Fermanagh Orangemen are sometimes shocked by the “earthy line in urban humour” of their working-class urban Scottish Orange sisters (Dudley Edwards, *The faithful tribe*, p. 146)

The 2009 Centenary Brochure can be conceptualised as a counter-hegemonic institutional forum enabling Orangewomen to celebrate retrospective accomplishments and collective identity whilst anticipating future gender equalising reform. Orangewomen's recent agentic media engagement, and the sporadic emergence of a gender-specific organisational print culture, will hopefully pave the way for their adoption of more fulfilling, authoritative institutional roles.

CONCLUSION

The purpose here is not to rehearse and combine the conclusions of discrete chapters but rather to summarily revisit key findings and highlight the strengths and limitations of this thesis. Firstly the key arguments relating to the demographic specificities and subjectivities of members and membership trends will be addressed, followed by an assessment of Orangewomen's extensive political commitments and charitable outreach. Issues of institutionalised and ritually-inscribed gendered inequality will then receive attention, before a consideration of representations of Orangewomen in organisational, national press and broadcast media.

MOTIVATIONS FOR JOINING AND LEAVING

Many Orangewomen cited kinship tradition as a key impetus for membership; others regarded their Orangeism as the natural extension of their Protestant faith. Reasons for joining were diverse and included a sense of belonging to a traditional evangelical organisation, inherited family tradition, a love of lodge camaraderie and fellowship, affinity with the organisational ideology, to preserve and pass on intact to the next generation a sense of Protestant diasporic heritage, and the pleasure of Orange charitable outreach.

The countervailing narratives of former members, however, speak of the stifling gendered norms and expectations which pigeon-holed them into compliant and auxiliary roles, precluding possibilities for creative self-expression and restricting access to more agentic positions of responsibility within Orangeism. Others had decided the Order was simply no longer relevant in an age in which church-going had dwindled. Detractors – raised in 'Orange' families – also expressed dominant perceptions of Orangeism as inflammatory, antagonistic and coalesced around a sense of animosity to the Catholic 'other', thus firmly rejecting the Order.

The atrophy of female Orangeism since the mid-1950s has been accounted for by way of reference to the master narratives of secularisation and the wane of social capital. Kaufmann has connected this decline of women's membership with the coterminous licensing of Orange social clubs and the 'Ulsterisation' of the Scottish Order, politicising the organisation from the 1960s onwards, significantly shifting its *raison d'être* away from the 'feminine' pious and the charitable. However – as chapter five demonstrates – Orangewomen were not necessarily estranged by the Order's involvement in militant politics and were themselves active in the radical politics of Ulster unionism through organising fundraising campaigns, instigating boycotts and also stimulating debate via penmanship in institutional journals. Moreover, as chapter two indicates, Orangewomen have often embraced the more militant expressions of political identity embraced by flute band – yet shunned by contemporary Orange - subcultures as their organisational identities morph from

the performance of traditional religious femininities toward more politicised and modern rehearsals of selfhood. Nevertheless, whilst younger Orangewomen are undoubtedly transgressive of 'respectable', pious femininities, their behaviour is often 'read against the expected behaviour norm of the 'other'' and thus these 'gender-crossings index (and perpetuate) the underlying dualism of the gender structure'¹ and – due to their very exceptionality - paradoxically underscore and reinforce the normative status quo. To assume, moreover, that the move away from evangelical Protestantism and increasing militarisation of the Order's politics necessarily precipitated the falling away of Orangewomen is to universalise sexual difference. Quantitative attempts to correlate Orange decline with social trends obscure and downplay the considerable heterogeneity of Orangewomen and the intrinsic diversity of their motivations for joining, remaining and leaving.

Individual testimonies of former Orangewomen seem to suggest that women left the Order at the precise juncture at which their personal subjectivities clashed irrevocably and irreconcilably with official ideologies: this indeed proved the case with Esther Gilmour who found the regimented collectivity of the juvenile lodge at odds with her adolescent need to forge a distinct, personal identity independent of her family tradition of Orangeism; her sister, Ann, similarly found her gendered subjectivity as a subaltern female member of the institution in conflict with her agentic power as an outspoken and vociferous woman unwilling to submit to outmoded patriarchal strictures. The testimonies of the Order's detractors –women with a family tradition of Orangeism who nevertheless declined to join – illustrate the pervasive power of interlocking perceptions of the Order as unequivocally 'bigoted' and 'sectarian' with negative personal memories of parades, might prove repellent. Further study is required into the disparate and fascinating accounts of former members, because despite extensive and sustained advertising, relatively few of these women volunteered perhaps owing to unalloyed suspicions as to the nature and appropriation of the research.

ETHNICITY AND THE IRISH PROTESTANT DIASPORA

Numerous Orangewomen stated tenuous, if no longer traceably identifiable, diasporic connections to Ireland and/or Ulster either through marital or blood relations. To a great extent Orangewomen rehearse through the lodge familial traditions of intergenerational Orangeism: strong links to an imagined Irish/Ulster homeland for many remain, sustained through interjurisdictional visits and friendships as well as family networks. However findings also suggest that Scottish Orangewomen's diasporic identifications are – perhaps temporarily – weakening as they collectively mobilise to oppose Scottish independence. Whilst MacPherson found Orangewomen's subjectivity interwoven with their connection to multiple ethnicities, the oral testimonies of Orangewomen interviewed seemed to suggest contrarily that these bonds were

¹ Lazar, 'Feminist critical discourse analysis', p.148

unravelling, and growing evermore tenuous and threadbare, as numerous sisters possessed only a vague sense of rootedness in an Irish Protestant heritage and prioritised alternatively their maintenance of Britishness, articulated through personal devotion to monarchy, participation in Act of Union parades and royalist celebrations, and politically channelled into campaigning for Better Together. What emerges, then, is the performativity and contingent nature of Orange ethnic and national identities, which are interchangeably dynamic, situationally appropriated and shaped by political imperatives rather than static and fixed.

Moreover, this thesis unearthed previously unconsidered, newly-articulated motivations for joining, encapsulated in Jackie Knox's admission that she sought initiation immediately after 9/11, as a response to her perception of the growing Islamic 'threat.' Similarly in 2003, English migrant to Scotland Kathy Charles expressed her attraction to the Order's uninhibited public expression of national pride. Both women's reflections are suggestive that the contemporary appeal of Orangeism to secular patriots and those disaffected and marginalised by multiculturalism, to be of growing significance. Further research, however, is required to ascertain the extent to which these women's sentiments are shared or refuted institution-wide. For some Orangewomen, then, the 'peril' of the Irish Catholic 'other' appears to have greatly receded, superseded by the imperative to confront the interlocking contemporary 'menaces' of Scottish independence, multiculturalism and globalisation:² it is this sense of estrangement and alienation in an era of rapid demographic, social and geopolitical change which inspires some women to seek solace in the constancies of Orangeism, as a staid bastion of traditional social conservatism. Binary discourses of sectarianism – or Catholic versus Protestant – grow ever more anachronistic and redundant, complicated by the intersecting dimension of ethnicity in an increasingly diverse Scotland: this is evidenced by the reflections of younger Orangewomen on nondenominational schooling and interfaith teaching and the sense in which the *raison d'être* of Orangeism is fast becoming obsolete in an age of secularisation.

SOCIAL CLASS

Despite the unrepresentative, contextually-specific nature of the micro-scale application and transfer dataset for Cowcaddens LLOL 13, findings regarding the socio-economic background of lodgewomen largely supported the findings of Jim MacPherson's study of pre-1940 Glasgow LLOL 1, suggesting the female rank and file to be mostly working-class. However LLOL 13 data also unearthed a small yet decided contingent of lower middle-class, white collar members. The socio-economic basis of this Cowcaddens Lodge is however difficult to reliably ascertain from this data set because of the great proportion of women defining themselves by the non-class specific term 'housewife' – a nebulous category relating more to subjective identifications with domestic

² Boyle, *Metropolitan anxieties*, p.50

ideologies than economic status, which (without corroborating knowledge of their husband's occupation) obscures these women's classed specificities.

OCCUPATIONS

Recent newspaper article 'Women of Orange', appearing in *The Scotsman* in 2009 suggests a high contingent of 'educated, professional' women to now belong to the lodge, yet it is possible the lodge welcoming the journalistic visit was unrepresentative or deliberately skewed in order to create this impression of Orange upward mobility. There might also be argued to be a marked classed distinction between the trustees of the Ladies' Association and the rank and file: yet the occupations of female office-bearers reflect a broad spectrum with members employed as care manager, community education worker, research administrator, care worker and machinist. Thus the trustees, like the women they represent, are a diverse amalgam. What is more noticeable perhaps is the gendered nature of these women's employment, which utilises traditionally auxiliary 'feminine' domestic, compassionate and organisational skills. Because class is a complex category referencing not only income bracket but also reflecting subtle attitudinal and cultural values, socio-economic classification is an inevitably complex process. Further research is therefore needed to identify robustly reliable, rather than piecemeal and anecdotal, conclusions as to the classed identities of Orangewomen.

RESPECTABILITY, IDENTITY AND TRADITIONAL 'FEMININITIES'

Nevertheless Grand Lodge hegemonic discourses often represent Orangewomen as a 'civilising' classed influence, exerting the values of temperate piety, respectability and charitable goodwill on Orange public life: their 'femininity,' it is implied, will essentially embourgeois Orangeism by distancing it from accusations of 'masculine' truculent sectarianism, drunkenness and militant disorder, thereby transforming the Order in the public psyche into a family institution. Orange gendered and classed discourses conflate 'femininity' with working-class (and aspirationally middle-class) conceptualisations of churchgoing 'respectability' and charitable generosity, physically and symbolically encoded in the traditional 'hat and gloves' dress code of parades. The extent to which Orangewomen have internalised and blended these ideologies with their own subjectivity is varied.

Indeed evidence suggests that some younger Orangewomen are beginning to regard the lodge as a substitute for, rather than adjunct to, the Kirk and are embracing militant, marching public identities, in addition to traditional Orange 'femininities', through their dual membership of lodge and 'blood and thunder' flute bands. These aged differentials are also evidenced in the gender subversive approaches of younger members toward the charitable, undermining communal and homely means of fundraising and emphasizing instead their direct participation in intrepid and

individualised feats of sporting prowess and daring. Thus considerable evidence is accruing that Orangewomen are not necessarily rejecting traditional, conservative and classed femininities but blending these, in postfeminist ways, with newer constructions of Orange subjectivity less hidebound by the need to demonstrate classed and gendered ‘respectability.’ Orangewomen’s socio-economic identity thus intersects diversely with age, gender and institutional ideology.

CAMPAIGNING AND CHARITABLE OUTREACH

Countless Orangewomen are active members of the quasi-masonic mixed-sex Order of the Eastern Star and also involved in their local church as elders, Sunday school teachers and fundraisers. Some also cited membership of the Conservative party, other masonic orders and monarchist organisations. Whilst there is no evidence that early Orangewomen were engaged directly in suffrage campaigns, they were active in Irish anti-Home Rule politics, opposing the Papal Ne Temere Decree and – speculative evidence suggests - involved with the Conservative Primrose League. Lodgewomen also canvassed for Protestant candidates – and one even stood – in early twentieth-century School Board elections. During both World Wars, they knitted for the troops and fundraised for distressed members and national charities. From the late 1960s onwards, the Scottish Orangewomen maintained a keen interest in Ulster politics and collaboratively discussed political issues with their Ulster sisters. Contemporary Orangewomen are involved in the Better Together campaign fighting Scottish independence and have also entered into dialogue on behalf of the Order with anti-sectarian group Nil by Mouth to defend the Order against charges of bigotry. Whilst Grand Lodge has on occasion attempted to manipulate the willingness of Orangewomen to work uncredited and loyally for the benefit of the wider institution, Orangewomen have exercised considerable agency in working for causes and campaigns close to their hearts, albeit within heavily circumscribed organisational parameters.

Early generations of Orangewomen gained leverage from their spadework charitable fundraising, propelling them into the public sphere by blurring boundaries between the political and benevolent and thus enabling them to adopt more meaningful, fulfilling and empowering civic roles; a century later Orangewomen experienced their impressive benevolence record as constraining rather than legitimising, as Grand Lodge’s laudation of their efforts diverted their inimitable energies and talents away from the reins of organisational power. Agentic Orangewomen were nevertheless able to subvert this attempt to pigeon-hole their attention and resources by creatively supporting woman-centred campaigns which would benefit their sex both within the Order (the Orange Home Fund) and without (child and maternity hospitals). Orangewomen’s diverse portfolio of involvement with various political and social commitments over the past century illustrates that they appropriated various identities fluidly, situationally privileging subjectivities of class, ethno-religiosity and gender in context-specific ways.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF ORANGEWOMEN TO THE SCOTTISH ORDER

Orangewomen are credited in institutional discourse with maintaining juvenile lodges during both world wars, ceaselessly fundraising for charitable causes, and loyally supporting various Grand Lodge initiatives. Crucially, their ameliorative presence at parades harmonises the institution with family values and enhances its pretensions to traditional ‘respectability’, distancing the organisation from association with male sectarianism and disorder. Orangewomen are also celebrated by the brethren for transmitting Orange and Protestant values, heritage and traditions inter-generationally both in their role as juvenile superintendent and informally within family networks. As the lynchpin of the Scottish Orange Home Fund, lodgewomen have been instrumental in inaugurating and maintaining the Order’s registered charity for over a quarter of a century, providing respite care to ailing members.

Collectively Scottish Orangewomen have nurtured and maintained inter-jurisdictional diasporic global relationships - especially with sisters in Ireland, England and Canada - to sustain a supportive global Orange familial network. Male Orangeism is - often unfairly - conflated with flagrant and provocative displays of sectarianism, ingrained bigotry, drunkenness, violence and public disorder within mainstream discourse: this gendering of the organisation constructs Orangewomen as the passive, temperate, religious ‘other’ to agentic, empowered, politicised and normative male member.

These gender-specific representations and generic discussions of female Orangeism effectively typecast, universalise and gender the specific contributions of Orangewomen. Orangewomen have operated and deftly exploited informal female networks, exerted sway over brethren within their immediate family, and identified subtle, indirect and inventive means to apply political pressure within the Order. Nevertheless lodgewomen’s ability to contribute to the shaping of the institution, its structure, priorities and its wider social interaction has been severely impeded by their marginalisation from Grand Lodge, and the reluctance of many of the brethren to countenance a more equal role for women.

SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE, SECTARIANISM AND PUBLIC DISCOURSE

Yet it is clear that individual Orangewomen have often influenced public and institutional life in diverse ways which are often historically obscured: Orangewomen such as Mary Duckett – mobilising her domestic position as invigilator of the juvenile lodge – was able to catapult herself into public debates over sectarianism and – by arrogating to speak on behalf of the Order - reverse Orangewomen’s public invisibility and mutedness. Similarly Helyne MacLean has engaged extensively with the media to promote not only the collective rights of Orangewomen but also to soften and improve the institution’s much-maligned reputation, and Orangewoman Jackie Knox has

played a key role in lobbying support - albeit in ways in which downplay her Orangeism - within the Better Together campaign to oppose Scottish independence.

The extent to which any Orangewomen might be described as ‘sectarian’ is impossible to fully ascertain and certainly the interviews revealed a tolerance toward individual Catholics despite a vehement dislike of the Roman Church as an institution. Whether this position is ideologically coherent and possible is open to question. Much of Orange ‘sectarianism’ in public discourse – expressed as violent machismo and parading triumphalism – is represented as highly gendered and therefore attitudinal intolerance and less overt displays of hostility are harder to detect. Considerable variation was evident in lodgewomen’s attitudes toward Catholicism: some women were from religiously ‘mixed’ families and members of their immediate family were Catholic; for other women the Catholic church was synonymous with, and culpable for, the covering up of sexual abuse scandals; for others still narratives of secularisation, multiculturalism, residual sectarianism – and opposition to independence - had been enmeshed in novel ways to shape a unique sense of ethno-religious, civic subjectivity. Whilst some Orangewomen downplayed and denied bigotry within their ranks, others openly admitted to some unsavoury members – contending them to be a minority – and others still pointed to interfaith personal friendships and their membership of other ‘religiously mixed’ social organisations, and some alluded to the impeccable charitable record of Orangeism to refute accusations of narrow-minded intolerance and to illustrate its sense of civic responsibility to all and commitment to the wellbeing of broader society. A common strategy in refuting allegations of ‘sectarianism’ was to subvert such accusations by arguing Orangewomen to be disadvantaged, marginalised and their interests underrepresented in mainstream media, civic life and the educational sphere, thus representing the Order as victim rather than perpetrator of sectarianism.

INSTITUTIONAL GENDERED INEQUALITY

Despite the difficulties Orangewomen faced in gaining entry to the Order, the establishment of female lodges in Scotland in 1909 prior to female enfranchisement was in some respects progressive: the Women’s Institute was founded in 1915 and the Townswomen’s Guild in 1929. However, the OES had been operating in Scotland as early as 1868 and the Primrose League since 1883 – and both of these structurally and ideologically similar organisations contained female members. Early Grand Lodgemen such as suffragist David Ness actively promoted female Orangeism, yet countless numbers of brethren remained adamantly opposed.

Likewise, whilst contemporary Grand Lodgemen such as PGM Ian Wilson, strongly advocate a sexually equal institutional structure, there is a clear resistance to change amongst innumerable rank and file Orangemen. Bruce et al have referred to ‘Protestant impotence’ and the distancing of the clergy from the Order, the rise of the Labour movement and intermarriage as factors

contributing toward the decline of Orangeism in recent decades.³ As the Orange Order per se became increasingly ‘other’ to the mainstream - remaining rooted in conservative ideologies and impervious to many wider social changes - women’s peripheral position and undervalued status seemingly became more entrenched and resistant to change. Powerless in wider society, Orangemen facing the loss of ethno-religious hegemony and the rise of ideological narratives of multicultural diversity, ecumenicism and secularism from which they were ideologically estranged and antagonistic, were unwilling to relinquish the primacy of their organisational position by sharing their authority with the female membership. Orangewomen were therefore marginalised by the marginal, and doubly disempowered.

The Order is divided attitudinally rather than sexually, as numerous Orangewomen remain apathetic and content with the status quo and some brethren passionately support modernising change. This ‘change,’ however, constitutes an attempt to carve out an equal space for women within existing male power structures rather than toppling and challenged the very integrity and legitimacy of patriarchal hierarchies and rebuilding them along gender-neutral lines. Orangewomen seeking access to District Lodge are thus ‘required to fit into existing androcentric structures’ and to measure themselves against a ‘yardstick that is already set by men’ rather than to redefine and de-gender these pre-existing frameworks.⁴ The struggle is thus for modest incorporation and the right of self-representation, rather than for the radical reorganisation of the Order.

Current proposals tabling Orangewomen’s entry to the District Lodge would not confer full institutional equality and are but a tentative step in an incremental journey towards gender parity. Essentialist, universalising discourses of sexual complementarity – which reify and spiritually legitimise women’s auxiliary role – are organisationally dominant, and effectively naturalise and normalise inequalities. Orangewomen essentially have three options in resisting and reversing their subaltern status: firstly they might separate and disentangle the Ladies’ Association from Grand Lodge; secondly they could merge structures and dissolve their discrete Association to amalgamate fully with the brethren in a unified non-gendered structure, or thirdly they continue to seek concessionary, spasmodic and fragmentary changes such as incorporation into the District meeting. The latter of these options appears to be the only seriously countenanced by Orangewomen and Grand Lodgemen sympathetic toward change. Reluctance to fully secede is perhaps understandable when the implications of the Order’s pilloried reputation, combined with declining male and female membership figures, are balanced. Unable to assuage the unfathomable misgivings of more hesitant and hidebound brethren – or to fully convince them of the desirability of full amalgamation - they are left with the option of applying gradual internal pressure for piecemeal change.

³ Bruce et al., *Sectarianism in Scotland*, pp.159 and 161-162

⁴ Lazar, ‘Feminist critical discourse analysis’, p.153

Historically the relationship between brethren and sisters has been characterised by a ‘paternalistic benevolence’: Orangewomen in the main declare themselves to have been treated respectfully, protectively and even fondly by individual brethren and male lodges, yet this sanguine attitude belies institutionalised gender inequalities: as Kirsty Gardiner’s testimony illustrates, the reluctance to disrupt personal friendships and jeopardise internal cooperation can emotionally inhibit and retard women from assertively pressing for change. When Orangewomen attempt to publicise the sexual disparities within the organisation, they are therefore extremely careful not to fracture tenuous relations with the brethren or to damage the overall reputation of the organisation.

Precise reasons for the apparent apathy, indifference and acceptance of their inferior standing, exhibited by some Orangewomen, prove evasive: lack of confidence, internalisation of patriarchal hegemonic discourses, and perhaps a feeling that the moderate nature of current proposals are insufficient to generate widespread excitement or interest amongst sisters, are possible culprits. Concepts supplied by social psychology, such as ‘backlash’ and ‘benevolent sexism’, are helpful in framing understandings of Orangewomen’s reactions to their subordination and Dworkin’s seminal study of right-wing women – which argued ‘women have been trained to respect and follow’ the ‘very persons, institutions and values that demean her, degrade her, glorify her powerlessness’⁵ – also proved invaluable insightful.

It is possible also, however, to comprehend the issue of women’s status as something of a *cul de sac* concerning a small, unrepresentative elite of members (two of whom hail from Edinburgh) occupying or formerly occupying senior positions – such as Ian Wilson, Helyne MacLean and Rhona Gibson – and thus reflexive of their classed concerns: all three aforementioned individuals were decidedly middle-class professionals, running their own organisations or businesses or involved in community education, and therefore the extent to which their interests mirror the wider priorities of rank and file lodgewomen is debatable. Whilst these concerns filtered down (to some women possessed of staunch views on the topic such as Jackie Knox, Kirsty Gardiner and Ann Hamilton) the pervasiveness of concern over this shared ‘priority’ amongst fellow Orangewomen – whose difference in educational background and socio-economic status might preclude, or present barriers to, their involvement within the higher echelons of the Order – is therefore ambiguous. For women unable or unlikely to avail themselves of the opportunities to play a more authoritative institutional role, the issue is likely to be of marginal significance.

It is clear also, however, that despite Orangewomen’s diminutive institutional standing they were often able to enact agentic power informally – for instance by influencing the vote of their husbands at meetings, and exerting sway through kinship networks. It is widely acknowledged that

⁵ Dworkin, *Right-wing women*, pp.30 and 17

women ‘create their own forms of expression outside the dominant male system’ to counter their mutedness: frequently ‘dismissed as trivial,’ these outlets of articulation nevertheless often prove potentially powerful.⁶ For example, through their extensive charitable work and involvement with some Grand Lodge committees, Orangewomen were able to carve out a public political niche and channel their skill, experience and ambition horizontally - if not vertically and hierarchically through Grand Lodge – through localised lodge, church and benevolence networks

The Orange Order has traditionally been an unwomanly site in organisational discourse, conceptualising Orangewomen as the adjunct and helpmeet of the brethren. These stereotypical representations of Orangewomen as one-dimensional embodiments of domestic religiosity, however, obscure their complexity, agency and multiplicity of subjectivities. Complementary and essentialist representations of Orangewomen have been circulated to legitimise the continued perpetuation of organisational gendered inequality. Twentieth-century Orange discourses reflect the remnants of nineteenth century Victorian evangelical ideologies of innate feminine piety, purity and respectability: these proscriptive constructions of the sexes as ‘equal but different’ and universalised gender complementarity are apparent in male-authored institutional publications, ritual texts, laws and constitutions and dress codes. These immutable imaginings of gender also underscore the right of brethren to attend female meetings and women’s exclusion from higher echelons of office. Paradoxically, such ideologies are also sometimes echoed in the counter-hegemonic internal discourses, which attempt to argue from a position of women’s especial qualities and contributions to Orangeism in order to resist the patriarchal autocracy of Grand Lodge.

RITUALLY INSCRIBED DIFFERENCE

Ritual differences are appropriated to legitimise and spiritually consolidate women’s sustained and systematic exclusion from the higher courts of the Order: the androcentric estimation of the male rite as ‘superior’ was crucially cited by some Grand Lodgemen as their central justification for women’s continued peripherality to hierarchical structures. Whilst the brethren’s ritual reifies male-bonding through the iconography of weaponry and the neophyte’s stoic endurance of harsh initiatory trials, the female ritual of Ruth affirms the collaborative values of sisterly love and assistance and thematically revolves around the harvest motif.

Symbolic lexicons are multi-referential and meanings are therefore inter-actively recreated anew with each ritual enactment: the female second degree working might thus be interpreted as emphasising the dependence of women upon benevolent patriarchal familial and social structures, or alternatively as the subversive celebration of bonds of feminine friendship and loyalty. The

⁶S.W. Littlejohn and K.A. Foss, *Theories of human communication* (Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth, 2011), p.149

genesis of this ritual can be directly traced to OES rites which, it has been claimed, were deliberately devised to reverence the pagan goddess Flora, associated with the biblical Ruth⁷: as such Orangewomen's rites are potentially, if unconsciously, radically transgressive of androcentrism and self-affirming for female participants.

Floral rituals, moreover, are empowering because they are collaboratively inspired and written by lodgewomen rather than imposed and regulated by Grand Lodge. Whilst these rites attempt to reverse Orangewomen's historical invisibility from the canon of Orangeism by subversively writing women into the Siege of Derry, the pastoral iconography central to these ceremonies reinforces the universally devaluing gendered associative correlations of woman with the natural world; man with the cultural. As Ortner has asserted, culture 'can under most circumstances transcend natural conditions and turn them to its purposes.'⁸ Both public floral services and private lodge degree working therefore might prove inspiring and empowering because they feature elements transgressive of gendered norms; yet conversely, they also uphold essentialist ideologies of sexual difference and complementarity.

Anachronistic anti-trousers rules operational at public parades visually demarcate and reflect the pronounced and ingrained sexual differences in status and function. Adopting dress codes endorsed by a patriarchal Grand Lodge, Orangewomen have nevertheless astutely appropriated the symbolic capital of apparel to respectabilise reform and revise pilloried public perceptions of the Order, whilst also demonstrating their complicity and acquiescence with their subordinate organisational function to the brethren. Whilst this gendered performance of decency, decorum and uprightness through the public rehearsal of traditional churched and domesticated femininities rendered Orangewomen invaluable to the Order - ameliorating its jaded image as a macho and flagrantly sectarian association - this outmoded attire also perhaps alienates prospective members more readily versed in secular post-feminist popular cultures. Important debates over the right of self-expression versus collective responsibility, shifting definitions of appropriate femininities, and sexual complementarity versus equality are thus all encoded within the ongoing, and habitually resurrected, furore over the seemingly 'trivial' issue of parading garb.

REPRESENTATIONS OF ORANGEWOMEN IN NATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL MEDIA

Whilst interviewees consistently lamented the 'bad press' the Order attracted - and the absence of any reference to their immense charitable contributions within both national and local media - the reasons for this inconspicuousness are complexly interwoven with gendered and classed subjectivities: because working-class women are often under/misrepresented in public fora it is

⁷ Morris, *History of the Order of the Eastern Star*, p. 531

⁸ S.B. Ortner, 'Is female to male as nature is to culture?' in M.Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (eds.), *Woman, culture and society*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), pp.72 -73

perhaps unsurprising that Orangewomen should be journalistically overlooked. This is complicated by the myriad ways in which the Order is often presumptuously conflated with militant male masculinities within public discourse: this gendering of Orangeism would be problematized by the prominent inclusion of women in public debates regarding the Order's history, purpose and continued 'relevance.' The institution is commonly conceptualised and publicly mediated as gender-indistinct and the typical, normative member assumed to be male.

Orangewomen remain largely invisible from mainstream media: even prominent female members renowned for their sporting or entrepreneurial achievements are dissociated from their Orangeism within public obituary to render them 'acceptable' icons to be amalgamated into the canonical collective national memory; similarly within Orange publications, Protestant women are represented one-dimensionally as paragons of religious virtue, domesticity and family values and the complexity of their professional lives and public attainments are often downplayed. Posthumous imaginings are revealing of the gender-specific criteria against which Orangewomen's lives were, and continue to be, measured: emphasis is consistently placed upon traits such as reliability, adherence, loyalty, benevolence and church attendance whereas brethren are belatedly appraised according to their individual talents, initiative and public achievements.

Since 2006, Scottish Orangewomen have attempted to engage with the media on their own terms to promote their shared priorities, tentatively publicising their own subaltern status in attempt to compel the 'dinosaurs' to finally countenance change. At the same time – and somewhat contradictorily – these Orangewomen have challenged and problematized prevailing, crude, reductionist understandings of the Order as a homogenous organisation championing male disorder, drunkenness and sectarian triumphalism. Although mediated representations of the sisters were inevitably moderated by the sensationalising agendas of broadcast and print media, Orangewomen nevertheless agentically co-opted journalists to promote their organisation, attract new members, preemptively promulgate the modernising agenda of its leadership, raise the Ladies' Association's charitable profile and improve the organisation's tired public image. The BBC documentary *21st Century Orangeman* significantly overlooked the gendered disparities the institution, yet demonstrated Orangewomen to be contributing to public committees and operating as leaders in their communities: it was thus able to foreshadow change in women's status. The 2009 Centenary Brochure afforded Orangewomen a seemingly unintermediated institutional space to disseminate their modernising agenda for gender equality, whilst allaying male misgivings and celebrating their own historical achievements: this janiform publication facilitated a unique platform for the female membership to articulate their own constructions of Orange selfhood, unique experiences and ideations of their organisational role.

Permeating each of this thesis' chapters thus is a sense of the symbiotic dialectic between Grand Lodge's overarching attempts to circumscribe and channel the energies of its female membership

towards the fulfilment of its own aims and, over-against this, the subversive resistance of some sisters' wilfully intent upon agentic pursuit of their own collective concerns and individual self-expression. Whilst Orangewomen were inevitably delimited by these continued pressures, these tensions also proved invigorating and inspired the sisters to identify innovative, subtle and non-confrontational paths of self-assertion. This thesis has argued that Orangewomen were and remain self-directing beings, actively and resolutely shaping their own history rather than blindly and placidly acquiescing to male authority. Whilst further research into the cross-jurisdictional relations of Orangewomen – and the potential of these intra national networks to inhibit and/ or encourage change – might prove fruitful, the priorities of future study are unfortunately restricted by the piecemeal availability of evidence. Should this interdisciplinary historical project – blurring the boundaries between the archival and the contemporary - be repeated, the use of methodologies such as participant observation might prove invaluable in plugging the gaps in documentary evidence, particularly with regard to ritualism and parading. Additionally there is a need to revisit the themes of this research within the next decade to update and chart developments in Orangewomen's ongoing attempts to progress their institutional status, and to document the slowly shifting socio-economic and ethno-religious profile of the membership.

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APPENDIX A

MEMBERSHIP AND TRANSFER DATA FOR FEMALE LODGES AND SPECIFICALLY PRIMROSE LLOL 13 COWCADDENS

Table 1.1: The growth of female lodges prior to the First World War

The table below illustrates the register of warrants for female Orange Lodges in Scotland by District:

YEAR	NUMBER OF FEMALE LODGES
1910	18
1913	42
1914	53
1915	49
1916	46
1917	51

Table 1.2: Female expulsions and suspensions, 1912-1927

YEAR	MEMBER	LODGE, DISTRICT	ACTION TAKEN	STATED REASON
1912	Elizabeth Burgess	LLOL 7, 25	1 year Suspension	Unworthy conduct
1912	Violet Montgomery	LLOL 7, 25	Expelled	Unworthy conduct
1912	Mrs Mullholland	LLOL 12, 19	Resignation	No reason
1912	Mrs Neilands	LLOL 37, 18	Expelled	Immorality
1912	Catherine Smith	LLOL 37, 18	Resignation	No reason
1913	Mrs Lawson	LLOL 3, 16	2 year Suspension	Non-attendance & non-payment
1913	Miss Osbourne	LLOL 3, 16	2 year Suspension	Non-attendance & non-payment
1913	Mrs Watt	LLOL 3, 16	2 year Suspension	Non-attendance & non-payment
1913	Maggie Miller	LLOL 25, 11	Expulsion	Breach of obligation
1915	Susan Wallace	LLOL 27, 36	Expulsion	Appropriated lodge funds
1915	Mrs Hilligan	LLOL 21, 15	Resignation	No reason
1915	Mrs McCulloch	LLOL 21, 15	Resignation	No reason
1915	Robina Hamilton	LLOL 3, 16	Resignation	No reason
1916	Elizabeth Magee	LLOL 18, 42	Expulsion	Conduct unworthy of a member
1917	Jeanie Sheoch	LLOL 4, 6	Expulsion	Married a Roman Catholic
1919	Mrs Middleton	LLOL 55, 14	Expulsion	Breach of obligation
1919	Mary Wardrope	LLOL 7, 25	Expulsion	Married a Roman Catholic
1920	Mrs Spence	LLOL 42, 42	Expulsion	Married a Papist
1920	Annie Scott	LLOL 50, 3	Resignation	No reason
1920	Maggie Dick	LLOL 14, 28	Resignation	No reason
1920	Mrs Hilligan	LLOL 21, 15	Restoration	No reason
1921	Mrs Nelson	LLOL 56, 10	2 year Suspension	Obscene language & striking Worthy Mistress
1921	Chrissie McFarlane	LLOL 12, 19	Expelled	Insubordination & threatening, profane language

1921	Sarah McKay	LLOL 12, 19	Expelled	Insubordination & threatening, profane language
1921	John McFarlane	LLOL 12, 19	Expelled	Embezzlement of lodge funds
1921	Maggie Graham	LLOL 25, 41	Expelled	Embezzling funds of the lodge
1921	Mrs Maggie Jamieson	LLOL 25, 41	Expelled	Embezzling funds of the lodge
1922	Mrs Andrews	LLOL 30, 24	Suspended indefinitely until money is paid back	Embezzlement
1922	Eliza Frazer	LLOL 42, 42	1 year Suspension	Unworthy conduct during fit of temper
1922	Sarah Dymond	LLOL 29, 8	Expelled	Married a Roman Catholic
1922	Mary Rogers	LLOL 26, 21	Expelled	Married a Roman Catholic
1922	Mrs Laughlan	LLOL 30, 24	Expelled	Revealing secrets of the order
1922	Mrs Gray	LLOL 30, 24	Expelled	Using improper language in the lodge
1922	Barbara Baird	LLOL 16, 39	Expelled	Married a Roman Catholic
1922	Mrs A. Murray	LLOL 51, 46	Expelled	Theft of firewood
1922	Mary Jane Niven	LLOL 4, 6	Resignation	No reason
1922	Sarah Smith	LLOL 16, 39	Resignation	No reason
1924	Mrs Wm. Holton	LLOL 98, 4	2 year suspension and apology	Insubordination in an open lodge
1924	Margaret Miller	LLOL 37, 18	Expelled	Married a Roman Catholic
1924	Mrs E. McKinnon	LLOL 26, 21	Expelled	Immorality
1924	Mary Ann Jane Booth	LLOL 26, 21	Expelled	Conduct unworthy of an Orangewoman
1924	Marion Milligan	LLOL 65, 25	Expelled	For attending and worshipping at Grotto, Carfin ¹
1924	Mrs Agnes Dawson	LLOL 65, 25	Expelled	For attending and worshipping at Grotto, Carfin
1924	Margaret Chalmers	LLOL 65, 25	Expelled	For attending and worshipping at Grotto, Carfin
1924	Mrs McCallum	LLOL 53, 27	Expelled	Voting socialist
1924	Elizabeth Smith	LLOL 24, 38	Expelled	Keeping company with a Roman Catholic
1924	Mrs McArthur	LLOL 45, 40	Expelled	Married a Roman Catholic
1924	Mrs Mary J. Farrell	LLOL 4, 6	Resignation	No reason
1924	Mrs Barbara Wilson	LLOL 4, 6	Resignation	No reason
1924	Adeline Kenny	LLOL 2, 23	Resignation	No reason
1924	Maisie L. Watson	LLOL 2, 23	Resignation	No reason
1924	Mrs Mary Watson	LLOL 2, 23	Resignation	No reason
1924	Mrs Helen Miller	LLOL 2, 23	Resignation	No reason
1924	Mrs Jas McDonald	LLOL 2, 23	Resignation	No reason
1925	Mrs Hutton	LLOL 4, 98	2 year Suspension	Insubordination in an open lodge
1925	Elizabeth Morrison	LLOL 91, 6	Expelled	Immorality

¹ The reputedly “miraculous” Carfin grotto situated in “the symbolic territory of Scotland’s industrial heartland” was regarded a particular an affront to Orangeism. Consequently parades were deliberately routed past the shrine, which frequently “occasioned outbreaks of trouble” (Walker, ‘The Orange Order in Scotland between the wars’, p.199)

1925	Mary Haddow	LLOL 29, 8	Expelled	Supported socialist candidate
1925	Jeanie Russell	LLOL 29, 8	Expelled	Supported a socialist candidate
1925	Isabella Miller	LLOL 13, 11	Expelled	Supported a socialist candidate
1925	Mrs Mary Reid	LLOL 92, 11	Expelled	Supported a socialist candidate
1925	Nancy Stewart	LLOL 57, 14	Expelled	Immorality
1925	Margaret Cullen	LLOL 57, 14	Expelled	Immorality
1925	Mrs Jeanie Gault	LLOL 32, 17	Expelled	Bigamy
1925	Jessie Lomond	LLOL 10, 17	Expelled	Married a Roman Catholic
1925	Mary Ann Jane Booth	LLOL 26, 21	Expelled	Conduct unworthy of an Orange Order member
1925	Sarah Rogers	LLOL 102, 21	Expelled	Married a Roman Catholic
1925	Margaret D. Robertson	LLOL 2, 23	Expelled	Became a socialist
1925	Mrs Mary Hepburn	LLOL 2, 23	Expelled	Became a socialist
1925	Agnes McMillan	LLOL 67, 25	Expelled	Married a Roman Catholic
1925	Mrs Robert Laird	LLOL 52, 37	Expelled	Immorality
1925	Mrs Emma Boyle	LLOL 24, 38	Expelled	Working and voting for a socialist
1925	Mrs Wm. Harvie	LLOL 24, 38	Expelled	Working and voting for a socialist
1925	2 members	LLOL 57, 14	Resignations	No reason
1925	9 members	LLOL 119,15	Resignations	No reason
1925	3 members	LLOL 60, 17	Resignations	No reason
1925	1 member	LLOL 32, 17	Resignation	No reason
1925	1 member	LLOL 82, 28	Resignation	No reason
1925	4 members	LLOL 91, 6	Restorations	No reasons
1925	Mrs Cook	LLOL 119, 15	Restoration	No reason
1925	Elizabeth Wilson	LLOL 12, 19	Restoration	No reason
1925	Maggie Dalziel	LLOL 63, 6	Rejection	No reason
1925	Charlotte Stewart	LLOL 57, 14	Rejection	No reason
1925	Mrs Simpson	LLOL 7, 25	Rejection	No reason
1925	Mrs Hall	LLOL 52, 37	Rejection	No reason
1926	Mrs M. Laurie	LLOL 124, 5	Suspension	Insubordination in the lodge
1926	Mrs Janet Taylor	LLOL 81, 6	Expelled	Attending a Roman Catholic place of worship
1926	Hannah Rice	LLOL 4, 6	Expelled	Married a Roman Catholic
1926	Catherine Nevin	LLOL 4, 6	Expelled	Married a Roman Catholic
1926	Gladys Graham	LLOL 48, 10	Expelled	Making false statements at initiation
1926	Catherine Kennedy	LLOL 119, 15	Expelled	Joined spurious body of independents
1926	Mrs Kirkwood	LLOL 73, 22	Expelled	Immorality
1926	Mrs Richardson	LLOL 73, 22	Expelled	Immorality
1926	Mary Kennedy	LLOL 30, 24	Expelled	Turned socialist
1926	Mrs Agnes Sinclair	LLOL 30, 33	Expelled	Married a Roman Catholic
1926	Mrs Dunachie	LLOL 111, 33	Expelled	Immorality
1926	Isabella Lawrie	LLOL 24, 38	Expelled	Defaming a brother's character
1926	Isabella Cummings nee Simmons	LLOL 51, 46	Expelled	Married a Roman Catholic
1926	10 members	Various	Resignations	No reason
1926	3 members	Various	Restorations	No reason

1926	3 members	Various	Rejections	No reason
1927	1 member	LLOL 129, 3	Expelled	No reason
1927	3 members	LLOL 91, 6	Expelled	No reason
1927	3 members	LLOL 37, 18	Expelled	No reason
1927	1 member	LLOL 12, 19	Expelled	No reason
1927	2 members	LLOL 19, 21	Expelled	No reason
1927	2 members	LLOL 26, 21	Expelled	No reason
1927	1 member	LLOL 7, 25	Expelled	No reason
1927	1 member	LLOL 36, 32	Expelled	No reason
1927	1 member	LLOL 6, 33	Expelled	No reason
1927	1 member	LLOL 77, 33	Expelled	No reason
1927	1 member	LLOL 51, 46	Expelled	No reason
1927	3 members	Various	Resignations	No reason

Table 1.3: Applicants to Primrose LLOL 13, Cowcaddens, 1949-1962

1949				
Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Occupation	Evangelical Church attended
19	Married	Glasgow	Salesgirl	St Stephens
1950				
Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Occupation	Evangelical Church attended
28	Married	Milton, Lanarkshire	Machinist	St Georges in the field
55	Widow	Glasgow	Housewife	Oatlands, St Bernards Glasgow
54	Married	Lanarkshire	Housewife	Oatlands, St Bernards, Glasgow
17	Single	Lanark, Glasgow	Scarf maker	Church of Scotland
16	Single	Possilpark, Lanark	Factory Worker	Rockvilla
19	Single	Glasgow	Sorter of lenses	Woodlands Church
21	Single	Glasgow	Post office Assistant	Lyon Street
45	Married	Ashgill Road	Housewife	Hamilton Hill Mission
21	Married	Partick	Housewife	St Brides
55	Widow	Glasgow	Supervisor, Co-op Canteen	St Cuthberts
16	Single	Ashgill Road	Shop Assistant	Cowcaddens
21	Married	Not stated	Ring Yarn Winder	Renwick Church of Scotland
29	Unstated	Possilpark	Despatch clerk	Drummond
1951				
Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Occupation	Evangelical Church attended
17	Single	Lanarkshire, Milton	Apprentice French Polisher	Salvation Army
26	Married	Boston, Lincolnshire	Housewife	St Georges, Tron
47	Unstated	Glasgow	Clerkess	Hendry, Drummond
18	Unstated	Glasgow	Cashgirl	St Pauls, Provanmill
17	Single	Lanarkshire, Townhead	Shop Assistant	Salvation Army
46	Married	Anderson, Lanarkshire	Housewife	Renkilpatrick Parish Church
23	Single	Milton, Lanark	Illegible	Church of Scotland
18	Single	Glasgow	Machinist	St Georges in the field
38	Married	Glasgow	Housewife	Queens Christian Church
52	Married	Glasgow	Shopkeeper	Free Church, Govanhill
1952				
Age	Marital	Place of Birth	Occupation	Evangelical Church attended

	Status			
46	Married	Dunfermline, Fife	Housewife	Govan Evangelical Church
31	Married	Lanarkshire	Housewife	Apostolic Church
21	Married	Glasgow	Housewife	Church of Scotland
17	Single	Glasgow	Shop Assistant	Balarnock Parish
35	Married	Glasgow	Machinist	Hamilton Hill Wood
40	Married	Warrington, Lancashire	Housewife	Cowcaddens Church
16	Married	Glasgow	Housewife	St Lukes' Parish
43	Married	Glasgow	Warehouse Saleswoman	St Clements' Parish
27	Married	Glasgow, Milton	Housewife	St Stephen's Parish Church
24	Married	Maryhill	Shop Assistant	Possilpark Parish
16	Single	Glasgow	Apprentice Feeder	Dundow Street
18	Single	Lanark	Machine Assistant	St Pauls
23	Single	Lanark	Tailoress	St Pauls
16	Single	Lanarkshire, Milton	Shop Assistant	Drummonds Church
1953				
Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Occupation	Evangelical Church attended
16	Single	Lanarkshire	Factory worker	Lansdowne Mission
18	Single	Glasgow, Woodside	Bond Worker	Cambridge Street
36	Married	Milton	Housewife	Cowcaddens Church of Scotland
52	Married	Leith	Housewife	Springburn North
18	Single	Possilpark	Glass Fibre Worker	Johnston Memorial
54	Married	Lanarkshire	Housewife	Milton Parish
21	Single	Lanark	Bookmaker	Milton Parish
37	Married	Unstated	Housewife	Bluevale Parish
1954				
Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Occupation	Evangelical Church attended
19	Single	Lanark	Conductress	St James Church of Scotland
27	Married	Lanark	Housewife	Ferguson Memorial
16	Single	Elgin	Assembly worker	St Georges Road
17	Single	Glasgow, Possilpark	Factory Worker	Possilpark
27	Married	Lanark, Milton	Housewife	St Georges in the Field
20	Single	Lanarkshire	Machinist	Wellfield
29	Married	Cowcaddens	Housewife	St Davids Ramshorn
25	Married	Milton, Cowcaddens	Housewife	St Georges in the Field
1955				
Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Occupation	Evangelical Church attended
16	Unstated	Royston Road	Bookbinder	Glasgow Foundry Boys ²
29	Married	Govan, Ayrshire	Housewife	Possilpark Parish
52	Married	Lanark	Housewife	Carlton
49	Married	Lanark	Housewife	Trinity Church, Possilpark
19	Single	Lanarkshire	Bookbinding	Rockville Church
25	Unstated	Lanarkshire	Machinist	Milton Parish
17	Unstated	Unstated	Invoice Clerkess	St James Church
26	Married	Unstated	Housewife	Townhead Parish
64	Married	Kinross	Housewife	North Kelvinside

² This was an evangelical Victorian institution founded by factory worker Mary Ann Clough to instil in youths habits of thrift and temperance. The organisation also admitted female workers, as evidenced by the allegiance of some Orangewomen. Callum Brown has described this drastically diminished organisation as promoting a form of "muscular Christianity" which fused "physicality" with "spirituality" (Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, p.96)

35	Married	Lanark	Housewife	Unstated
19	Married	Cowcaddens	Housewife	Milton Parish
41	Widow	Cowcaddens	Cleaner	Milton Parish
16	Unstated	Glasgow	Bookbinder	Glasgow Foundry Boys
1956				
Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Occupation	Evangelical Church attended
26	Married	Lanarkshire	Housewife	St Georges Tron
25	Married	Lanark	Housewife	Johnstone Memorial
34	Married	Lanark, Cowcaddens	Housewife	Milton Parish
37	Married	Unstated	Housewife	Church of Scotland, Ross Memorial
31	Married	Unstated	Housewife	Hillhead Baptist
22	Married	Bushy	Housewife	Bushy West Church
1957				
Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Occupation	Evangelical Church attended
18	Unstated	Glasgow, Milton	Welding Machine worker	St Georges Road
51	Unstated	Glasgow, Camlachie	Nickel Plater	Wellpark UF
1958				
Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Occupation	Evangelical Church attended
22	Single	Lanark, Springburn	Confectioner	Summerville Memorial
28	Single	Anderson, Glasgow	Electric Plastic Welder	Summerville Memorial
43	Married	Bridgeton, Lanark	Housewife	Rockvilla
1959				
Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Occupation	Evangelical Church attended
46	Married	Townhead, Lanark	Despatch Clerkess	Barrony
1962				
Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Occupation	Evangelical Church Attended
35	Married	Glasgow, Townhead	Housewife	Milton, St Stephens

Table 1.4: The professional categorisation of Orangewomen's jobs within a recognised occupational groupings schema³

CODE	SOCIAL CLASS	OCCUPATIONAL TYPE
A	Upper middle-class	Higher managerial, administrative or professional
B	Middle-class	Intermediate managerial, administrative or professional
C1	Lower middle-class	Supervisory, clerical or junior managerial, administrative or professional Shop-keeper, Canteen Supervisor, Sales girl, Cash girl, Clerkess, Invoice Clerk, Dispatch Clerk, Post Office Assistant, Warehouse Sales, Shop Assistant
C2	Working-class	Skilled manual workers Machinist, Confectioner, Nickel Plater, Glass Fibre Worker, Tailoress, Apprentice French Polisher, Scarf-Maker, Apprentice Feeder, Electric Plastic Welder, Welding Machine Worker, Bookbinder

³Groups ABC1 are often regarded as middle-class whereas C2DE represent the working classes. See J. Reynolds, *Occupational Groupings: a Job Dictionary* (London: Market Research Society, 2006)

D	Working-class	Semi and Unskilled manual workers Cleaner, Factory Worker, Assembly Worker, Conductress, Machine Assistant, Bond Worker, Ring Yarn Winder, Sorter of Lenses
E	Non-working	Casual or lowest grade workers, the unemployed and pensioners

Table 1.5: New applications to LLOL 13, 1958-1990

1958			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
18/09/58	Westerhill Street	Married	Yes
1959			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
20/11/59	Glasgow, G4	Married	Yes
20/11/59	Hinshaw Street	Married	Yes
22/11/59	Carmell Street, Glasgow	Single	Yes
1960			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
25/03/60	Wigtown Street	Widow	Yes
1962			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
01/06/62	Hinshaw Street	Married	Yes
25/10/62	Hinshaw Street NW	Married	Yes
27/12/62	Bumola Street, Glasgow N2	Divorced	Yes
27/12/62	Portna Street, Glasgow G4	Single	Yes
1963			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
27/06/63	Sandmill Street	Single	Yes
01/07/63	Lily Street Bridgeton	Married	Yes
31/10/63	Tannock Street, N2	Married	Yes
1964			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
26/03/64	St Mungo Street	Married	Yes
23/04/64	Saracen Street Possilpark	Married	Yes
23/04/64	Springburn	Single	Yes
25/06/64	Burmola Street	Single	Yes
26/06/64	Whitworth Street, Rockhill	Single	Slip Missing
1966			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
26/06/66	Glasgow G4	Married	St Peters Church
27/10/66	Glasgow N1	Married	Bishoploch, Easterhouse
1967			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
09/10/67	Barmulloch	Married	United Free Church of Scotland
26/10/67	Springburn	Married	St Rollox
1968			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
25/01/68	Ruchazie	Single	Ruchazie Parish Church
29/02/68	Castlemilk Drive Glasgow	Single	Lloyd Morris
29/02/68	Castlemilk West	Unstated	Castlemilk West
29/02/68	Castlemilk	Single	Castlemilk West
14/06/68	Possilpark	Married	Rockvilla
28/06/68	Possilpark	Single	Rockvilla
28/06/68	Possilpark	Single	Rockvilla
28/11/68	Illegible	Unstated	Parish Church
1969			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
30/01/69	Glenfinnan Road	Married	Unstated
27/02/69	Glasgow W5	Single	St Andrews Church of Scotland

30/10/69	Ruchazie	Single	Ruchazie Church
1970			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
26/05/70	Glasgow G4	Married	St Georges Trongate ⁴
1971			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
25/02/71	Lorne Court	Married	Unstated
22/04/71	Springburn Hall Parish	Single	Springburn Hall Parish
1972			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
14/04/72	Glasgow G4	Single	St Georges Trongate
1973			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
30/08/73	Barnes road	Married	Sandyford Henderson Memorial
30/08/73	Huxley Street, Glasgow	Married	Queens Cross ⁵
30/08/73	Huxley Street, Glasgow	Single	Queens Cross
1975			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
11/10/75	Argyle Street	Single	Kent Road
1976			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
18/11/76	Easterhouse	Single	Easterhouse Baptist
1977			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
28/04/77	Milton	Single	Lambhill
25/08/77	Springburn	Married	Colston Milton Parish
1979			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
30/08/79	Glasgow G22	Single	Rockvilla Parish
30/08/79	Glasgow G22	Married	Rockvilla Parish
1983			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
25/08/83	Berneray Street, Glasgow	Single	Colston ⁶
25/08/83	Berneray Street, Glasgow	Married	Colston Milton
1984			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
22/08/84	Scalpay Street	Single	Trinity Possil Henry Drummond
1989			
Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
18/09/89	Waterside	Single	No ⁷
19/09/89	Glasgow [REDACTED]	Single	Possilpark Parish
1990			

⁴ This applicant specified her parent's religion as Church of England and her husband's denomination as Church of Scotland

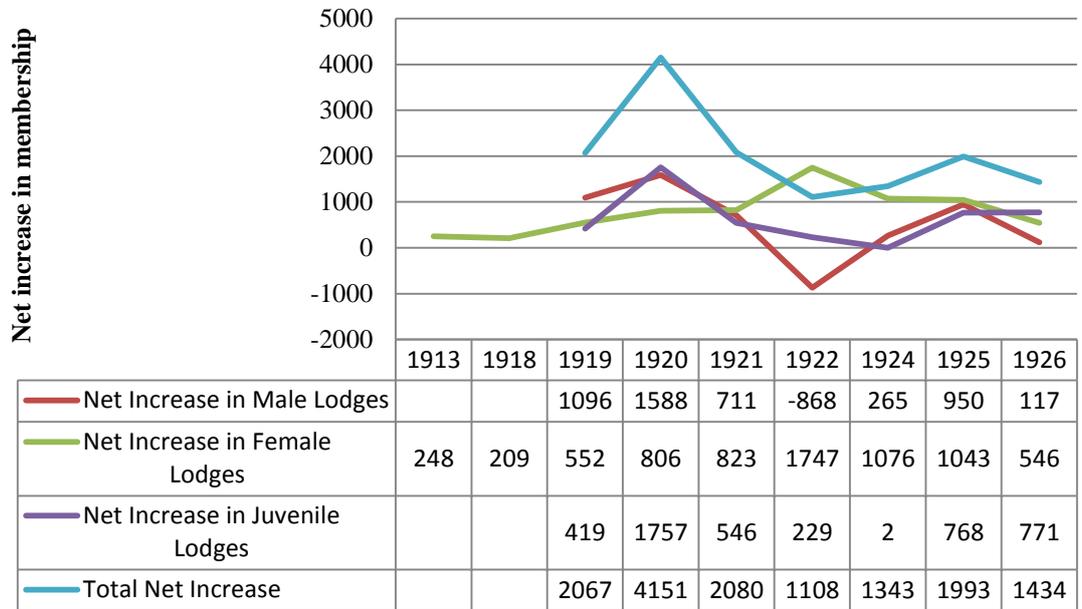
⁵ This candidate and the woman listed directly below both share the same surname and address; one is single, the other married. There is thus a strong likelihood that they are mother and daughter

⁶ Identical address, parish and date of application suggest this applicant (and the woman listed below) are either related or close associates. The fact that one is married and the other is single is suggestive of a mother-daughter relationship

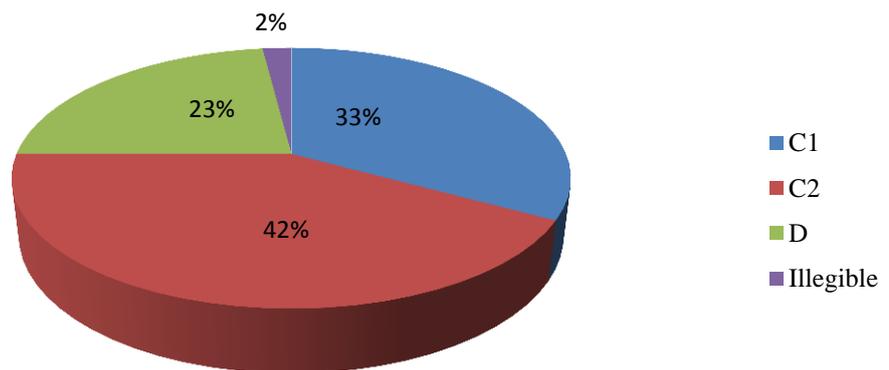
⁷ In the absence of further disambiguation, this answer indicates perhaps the applicant's sporadic attendance and/or non-membership rather than disbelief or rejection of organised formal worship

Date	Town/Address	Marital Status	Active Member Evangelical
12/06/90	Glasgow [REDACTED]	Single	Colston Milton
12/07/90	Pollock	Single	Houghburn Parish

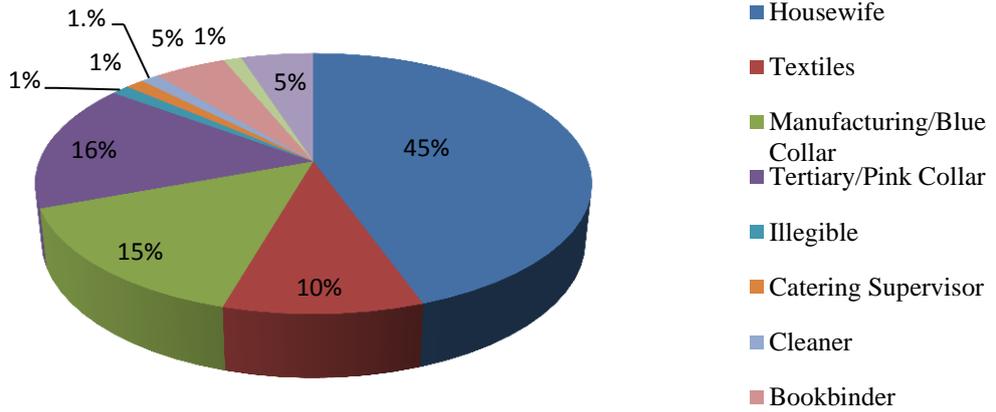
Graph 1.1 Changes in membership for male, female and juvenile lodges, 1913-1926



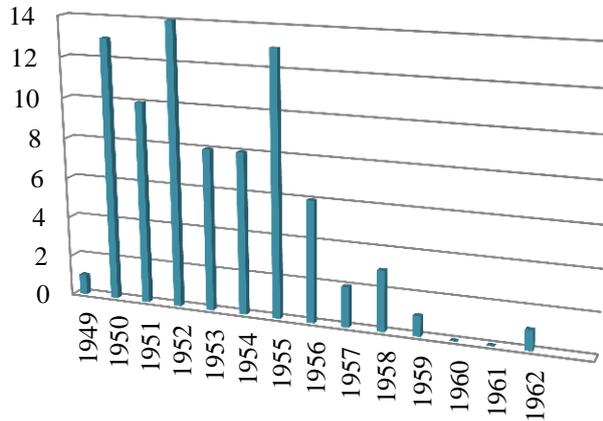
Graph 1.2 Applicants to LLOL 13 by Social Class, 1949-1962



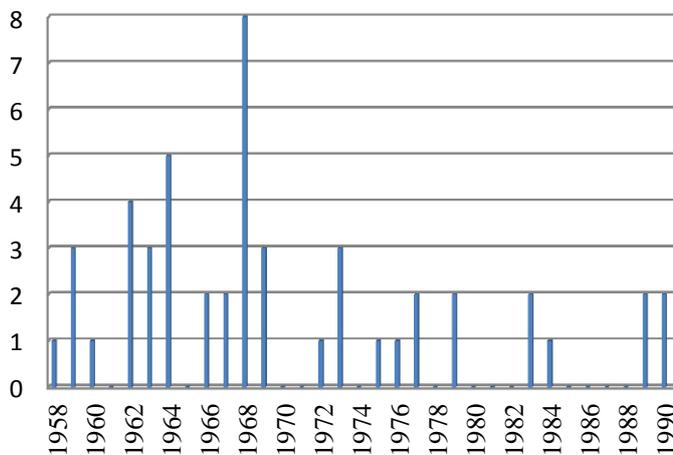
Graph 1.3. Stated Occupations of Applicants to LLOL 13 between 1949-1962



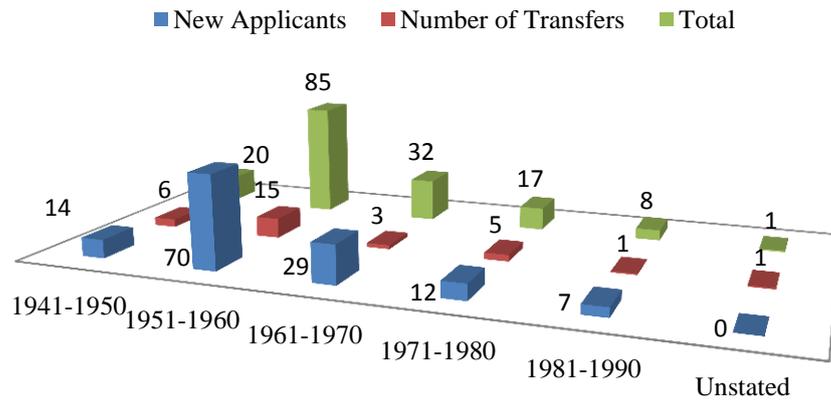
Graph 1.4 Membership Applications to LOL 13 from 1949 - 1962



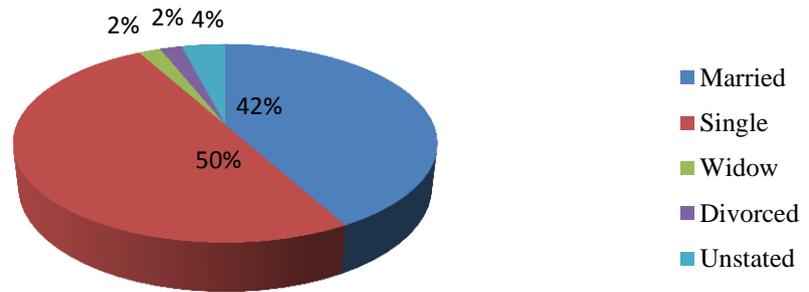
Graph 1.5 New Applications to LLOL 13 from 1958-1990



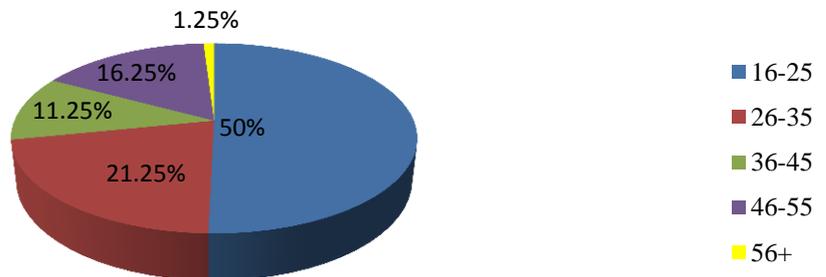
Graph 1.6 Number of Applicants and Transfers into LLOL 13 from 1941-1990



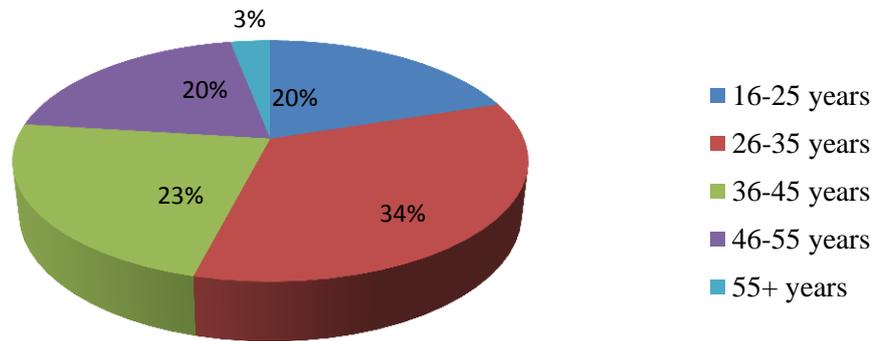
Graph 1.7 Marital Status of Applicants to LLOL 113, 1958-1990



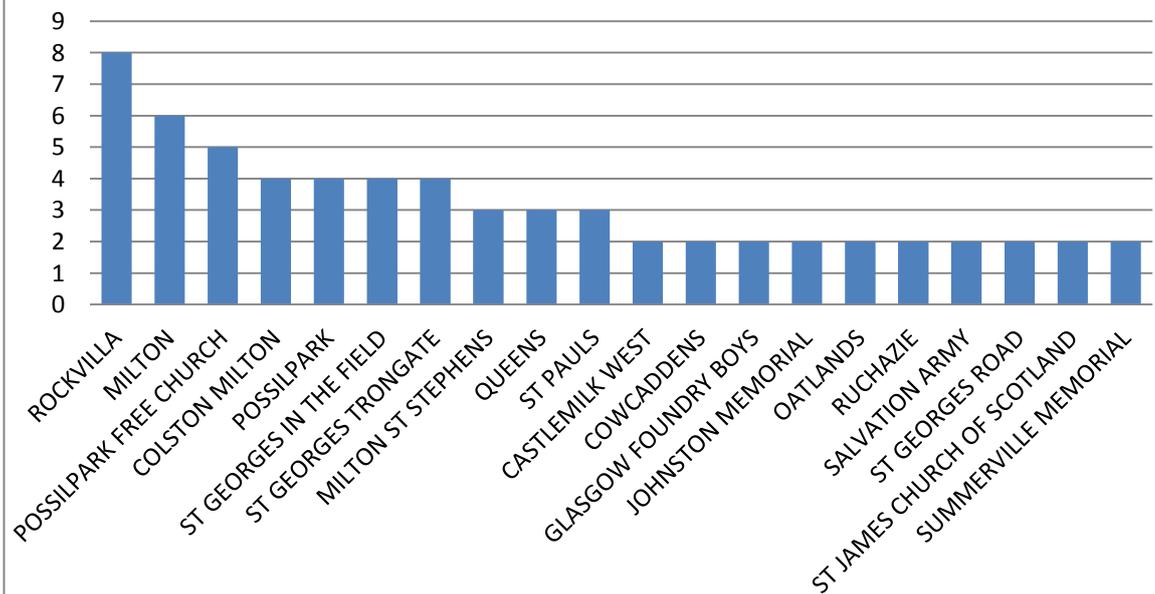
Graph 1.8 Ages of Applicants to LLOL from 1949-1962



Graph 1.9 The Age composition of 'Housewives' making application to LLOL 13, 1949-1962

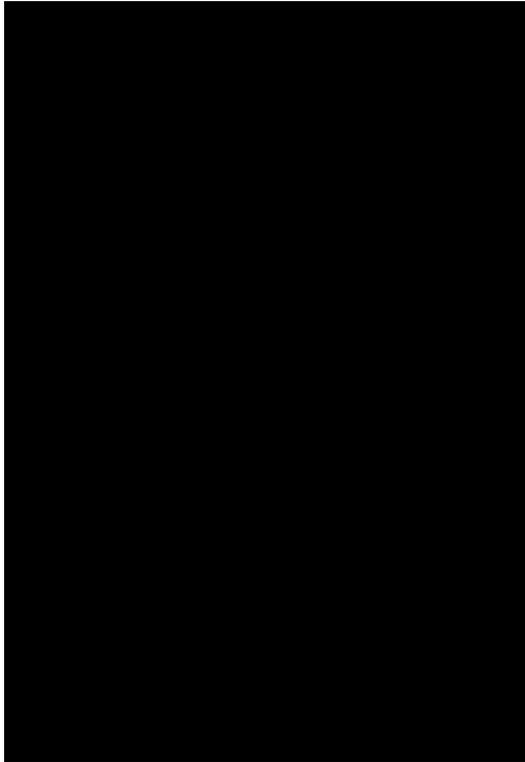


Graph 2.0 Applicants to LLOL 13 by church membership, 1949-1990



PHOTOGRAPHS

1.1 Female trustee Jean Logan, 2010¹



1.2 Jean and her husband entering the Millarbank Orange social club in 2010 celebration of her Royal invitation to the Queen's Garden Party. The piper, along with the Saltire and Union flag emblazoned onto the carpet, illustrates the hybridity of Scottish and British Orange subjectivities.²

¹ Supplied courtesy of Jean Logan

² Supplied courtesy of Jean Logan



1.3 Jean cutting a bible and crown cake, visually affirming the royalist and British unionist allegiances of contemporary Orangewomen.³

1.4 A contingent of Glaswegian Orangewomen, c.1960s. The 'respectable' hats, gloves, skirts and handbags embody gender-specific organisational dress codes.⁴



skirts and handbags embody gender-specific organisational dress codes.⁴

³ Supplied courtesy of Jean Logan

⁴ Supplied courtesy of Jean Logan



1.5 Orangewomen
parading in Ingram
Street, Glasgow, 1954⁵

1.6 Orangewoman carrying crown on parade, c.1960s⁶



1.7 Springburn Juveniles
arrayed as William and
Mary prior to a parade⁷



⁵ Supplied courtesy of Jean Logan

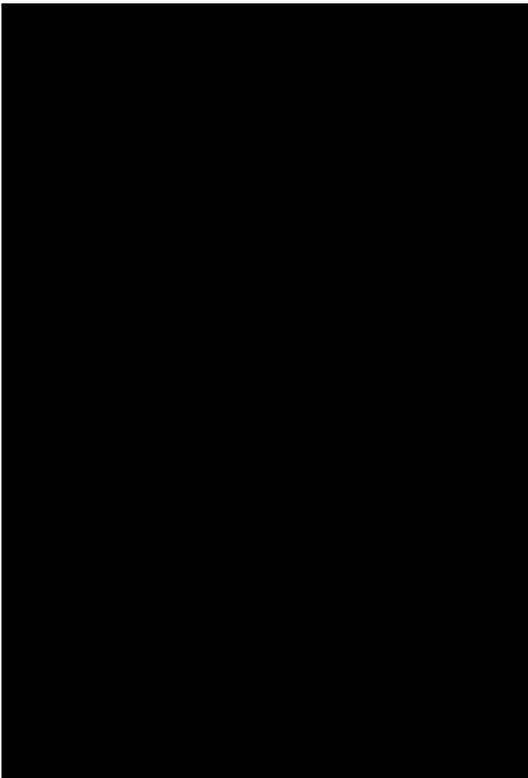
⁶ Supplied courtesy of Jean Logan

⁷ Supplied courtesy of June Crowley



1.8 Past Presidents' Jewel. Only three of these ornamental pins remain since they were discontinued when the title of 'President' was replaced with 'Grand Mistress' in 1929. The medallion displays William of Orange astride his charger positioned above the three definitive symbols of female Orangeism – the cross, anchor and heart– emblematic of faith, hope and love. The jewel once belonged to Orangewoman Margaret McWhinnie

and is now proudly worn on the collarette of her granddaughter, Carol Hannah.⁸

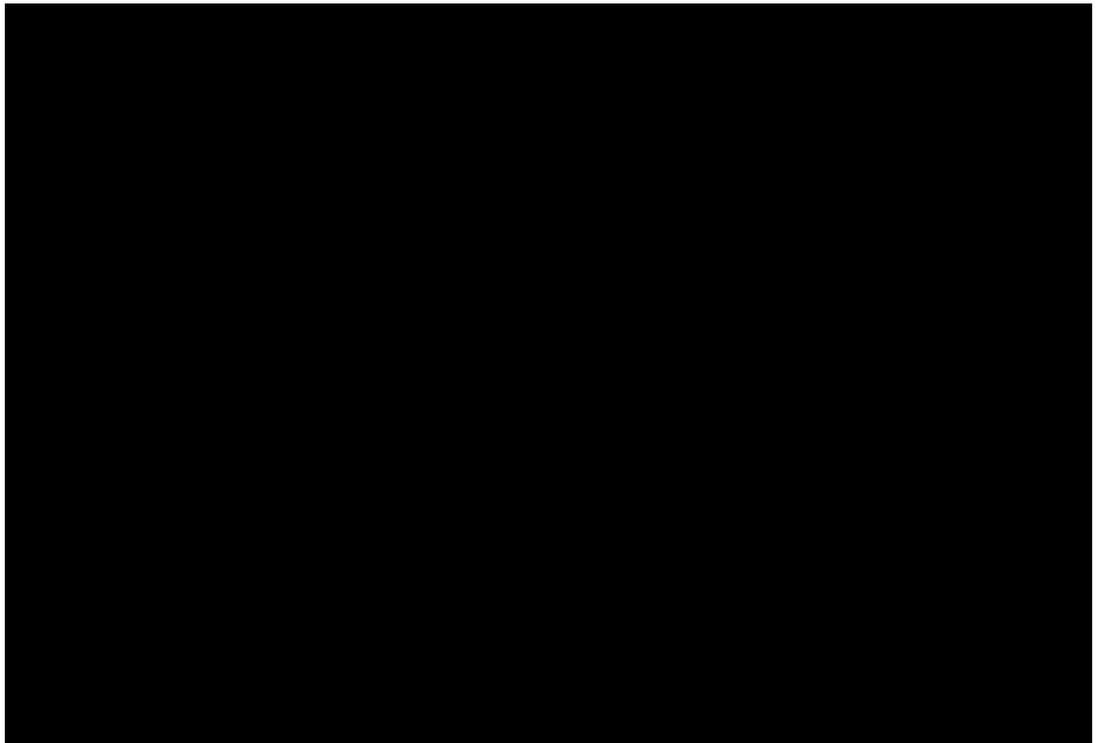


1.9 Coterminous Past Grand Master Ian Wilson, with Past Grand Mistress Margaret Blakely.⁹

⁸ Photo supplied courtesy of Carol Hannah

⁹ Photo supplied courtesy of Margaret Blakely

2.0 Ladies' 100th anniversary divine service parade 2010, Auchinleck¹⁰



2.1 Scottish Orangewomen Margaret Blakely and Jean Logan at Stormont, October 2011, for the Ulster Covenant commemorations. This photo demonstrates the strong diasporic links between Scottish and Irish Orangeism, and also the historical continuities between past and present female Orangeism¹¹

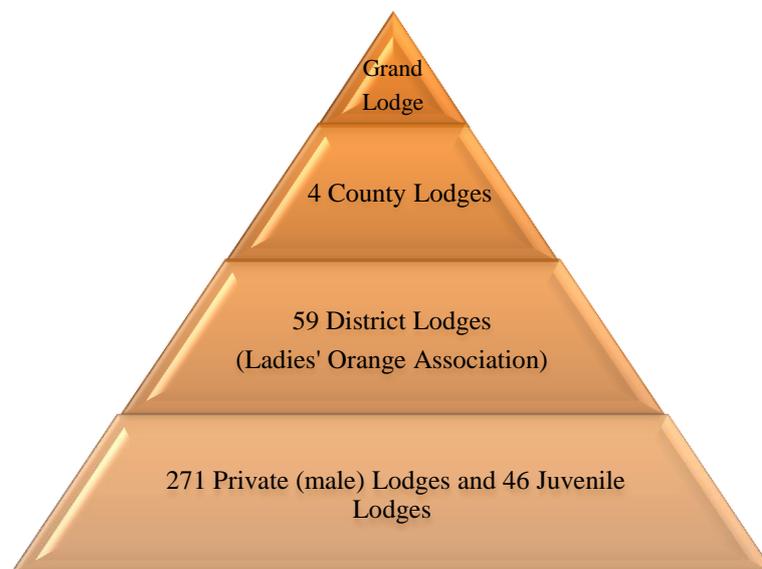
¹⁰ Supplied courtesy of Margaret Blakely

¹¹ Supplied courtesy of *Belfast Telegraph*

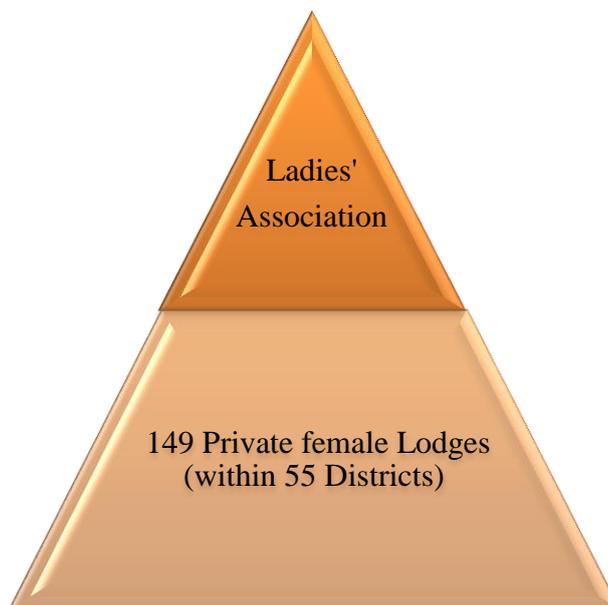
APPENDIX C

HIERARCHICAL DIAGRAMS

1.1 Structure of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland (GOLS) ¹



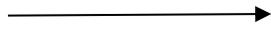
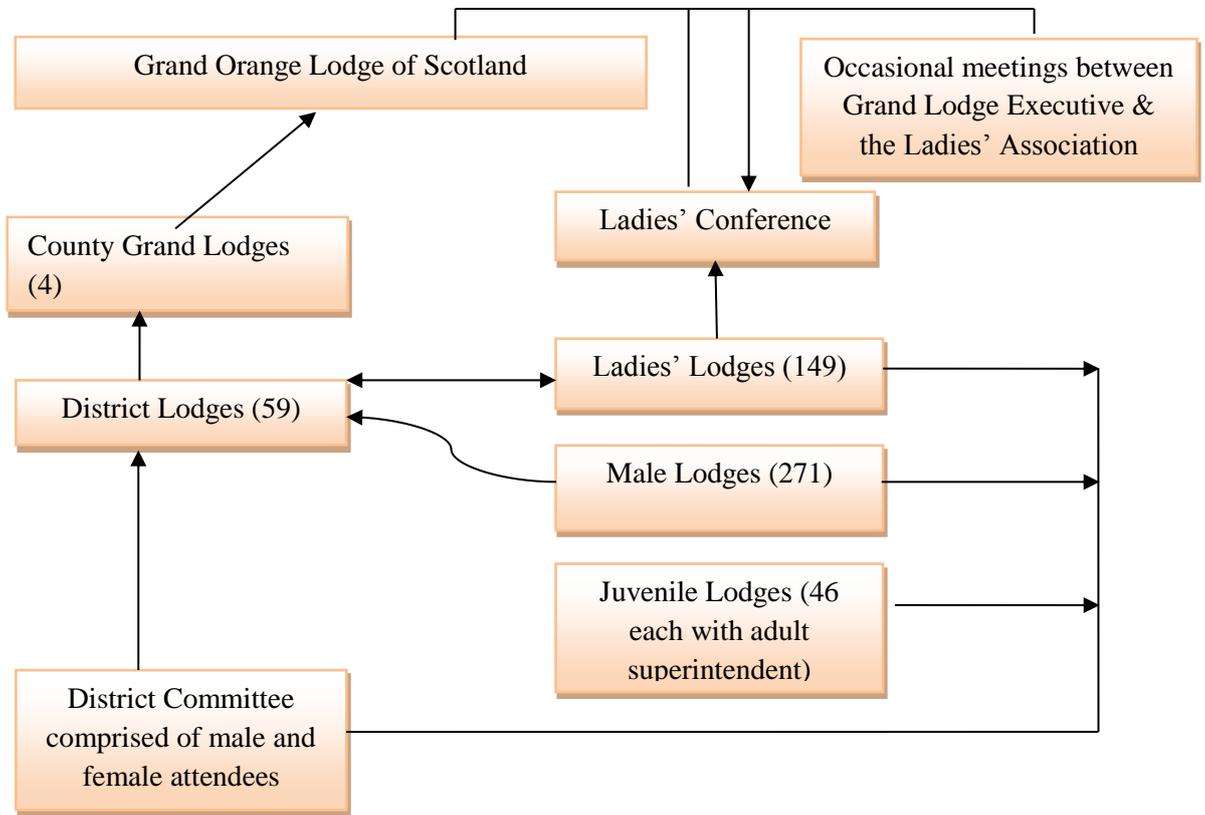
1.2 Structure of the Ladies' Association of Scotland (LOAS) ²



¹ Figures provided by Kirsty Gardiner, Secretary of the Ladies' Association in 2012. The Ladies' Association of Scotland – according to the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland's Laws and Constitutions – has the equivalent authority of a male District Lodge with regard to forwarding notices of motion to Grand Lodge, hence the stratification within the diagram

² Figures provided by Kirsty Gardiner, Secretary of the Ladies' Association in 2012

1.3 Flowchart of current system of District Representation



Arrows show delegates to various committees

1.4 Structure of the Loyal Orange Institution of Ireland³



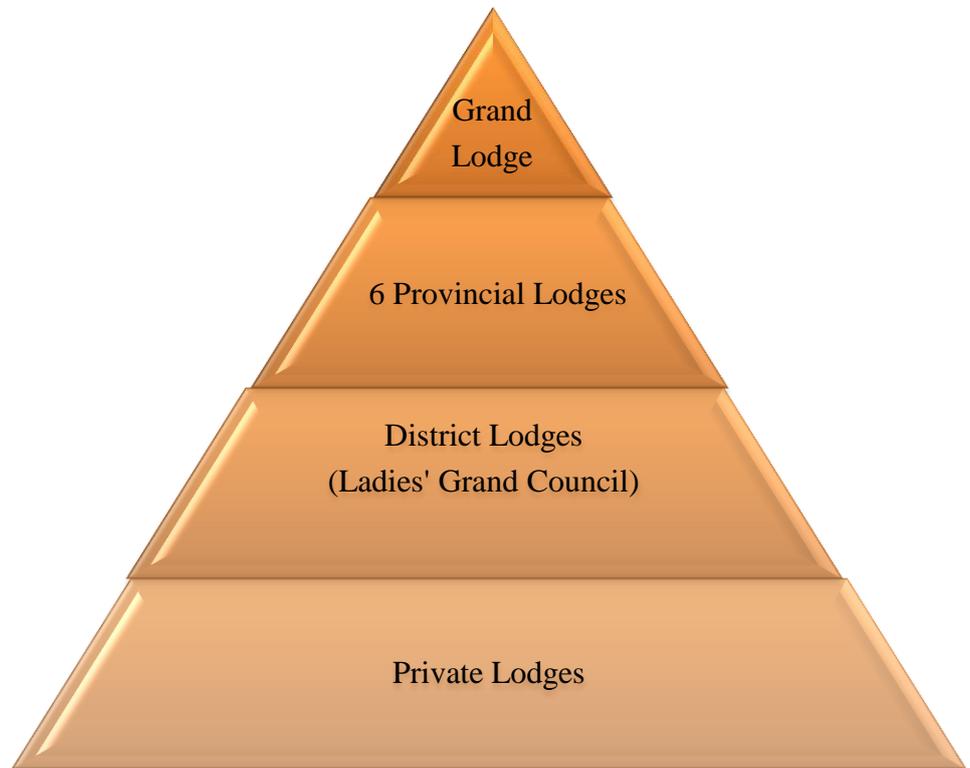
1.5 Comparative membership of the male Loyal Orange Institution of Ireland (including independent) and the Association of Loyal Orangewomen of Ireland (ALOI)⁴

Organisation	Number of Lodges	Average number of members per Lodge	Approximate number of members
Loyal Orange Institution	1155	30	34,650
Association of Loyal Orangewoman	106	24	2,544

³ Figures taken from the official Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland website: <http://www.grandorangelodge.co.uk/structure>

⁴ Figures in the above table are average estimated figures based on the responses from an administered survey commissioned by the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland (RSM McClure Watters, *The socio-economic impact of the traditional Protestant parading sector in Northern Ireland*, (May 2013))

1.6 Structure of the Loyal Orange Institution of England⁵



⁵ Female lodges existed in England since the late nineteenth-century yet it was only in 1960 that female members formed their own association, namely the Loyal Orange Institution of Orange Ladies of England. The trustees of the female section are known as the 'Ladies Grand Council.' The English Grand Mistress, unlike her Scottish counterpart, is not subject to limitations on her term of office and consequently England has had only four Grand Mistresses. There are currently no female lodges in Wales – and indeed the few male lodges in existence fall under the English jurisdiction- although in 1850 there were four Ladies' Lodges listed in South Wales (Jan McFarland, emails to the author, 9-10 November 2013)

APPENDIX D

TIMELINE OF KEY DEVELOPMENTS FEMALE ORANGEISM

- 1801 First warrant issued for Ladies' Lodge no. 8, Dublin
- 1836 Following the official dissolution of Orangeism by the King, Scottish Orangeism is fragmented. The Grand Protestant Confederation and the Grand Orange Association of Scotland are both inaugurated. The Grand Protestant Association of Loyal Orangemen of Great Britain later emerges from the Confederation
- 1850-1 Ladies lodges appear in the North of England; the Grand Protestant Association of Loyal Orangemen of Great Britain devises a system of Provincial Grand Lodges
- 1860s Female Orange lodges appear in England
- 1874 The Provincial Grand Lodge of Great Britain report lists 2 female lodges meeting in Candleriggs, Glasgow
- 1876 Amalgamation of all disparate Scottish bodies into a singular organisation (Scottish Loyal Orange Institution) results in the disappearance of the only two known female lodges
- 1887 The threat of Gladstone's Home Rule Bill passes and the female movement in Ireland falls dormant
10 June - Paisley District no.6 are refused Grand Lodge permission for a warrant to institute a local Ladies' Lodge
- 1889 Dr Griffith proposes a prize for an essay on the formation of women's lodges in Scotland but is severely reprimanded by Grand Lodge
- 1890 Loyal Orange Benevolence Association (Orangewomen) is formed in Canada
- 1893 Second Home Rule is passed by House of Commons but vetoed by the Lords
- 1894 In Canada, the Ladies' Orange Benevolent Association is formed
- 1901 Proposal by Bros. McRoberts and McIntyre of Greenock to institute Ladies Lodges is rejected
- 1907 Proposal is introduced by District no.24 Glasgow resulting in the formation of a committee to consider the matter, but their findings were unsympathetic
- 1908 In June the Wilson sisters journey to Newcastle Female lodge 101 to undergo initiation
- 1909 Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland sanctions female lodges and motion carried by a large majority
First Ladies Lodge LLOL 1 is established in Glasgow
The Ladies Orange Association was formed
At the end of October Grand Lodge appoint a Sub Committee to draft the ladies' constitution and ritual
First Juvenile warrant is granted to Harthill
- 1910 First Female Lodge installed on 28th June in Glasgow
- 1911 Women's Orangeism is revived in Ireland in the form of the Association of Orangewomen of Ireland under Mrs Drennan in response to the Ne Temere Decree
- 1912 First meeting is held in Dublin in February and warrants issued
At a Grand Lodge meeting in June proposals to introduce females to juvenile lodges were defeated
- 1917 Grand Lodge Committee decided upon a Biannual Ladies Conference to convene with 2 representatives from each female lodge. They also agree to revise and enlarge the Ladies' rule book
- 1918 Decision taken to admit females into juvenile lodges, to form mixed-sex children's lodges
- 1919 A meeting in February of Districts and Ladies' Representatives discusses the arrangements for School Board elections following the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act
In April the first Ladies' Half-Yearly meeting occurs, chaired by the Grand Master in the Chair
At Half-Yearly Conference of 8 November, Ladies' vote against receiving a warrant for the formation of the Ladies' Supreme Grand Lodge to oversee the business of the women's order

- 1920 In October Mrs Drennan from Ireland initiated (with numerous Irish Orangewomen present) in the first degree in Scotland with intention of introducing it to Ireland. Ireland is partitioned
Women's Membership Diploma devised by Grand Lodge is presented at the October Ladies' Half-Yearly meeting and receives unanimous approval
- 1921 Irish Orangewomen send for copies of Scottish women's ritual
At the Half-Yearly Conference in April, Bros. Rice and Munn move that the sisters be appointed to conduct the opening ceremony
October Half-Yearly Conference is the first at which the women officiate the opening ceremonies
- 1923 Ladies rule book printed to replace the male rule book previously kept in their lodges for reference
Ritual Committee established in April to investigate the practice of ritual in various lodges
- 1924 Various Ritual Committee meetings are arranged at which the various forms of ritual are enacted, debated and assessed. October Ladies' Half-Yearly meeting passes a motion expelling women dabbling in spiritualism
- 1925 Ladies' rule book re-issued. The October Half-Yearly Meeting carries a motion that the second degree ritual cannot be conferred until a sister has been a member for 3 months
- 1927 In October the first minute of Ladies Half-Yearly meeting is published in the Grand Lodge minute book. A presentation of Past President's Jewel to Sisters McWhinney, Mitchelson and Irvine. At the October Ladies' Half-Yearly meeting, it was resolved that more space would be allotted for the women's section in the Annual Report of Grand Lodge proceedings
- 1928 Mixed-sex Orange Choir instituted on 11 December. Its first Choir Mistress is Flo Stevenson
- 1929 Revised ladies' rule book issued. The Ladies' Half-Yearly meeting of 12 October was the first meeting in the history of the Conference at which the Grand Mistress presided throughout and Grand Master gave ruling that the Grand Mistress should conduct the business of all future Conferences
The office of President is replaced by that of Grand Mistress and women are permitted to preside over the Ladies' Conference
- 1930 Grand Lodge Committee ask the sisters whether the title of President/Grand Mistress is preferred and they opt unanimously for the latter
- 1933 At the April Half-Yearly Conference the sisters draft a telegram to Ramsay McDonald protesting against his papal visit
- 1934 At April Half-Yearly Conference Bro. Digby Brown proposes a supportive telegram be sent to Lord Carson and this is promptly approved.
First Ladies' Committee is elected
At the October Half-Yearly Conference presentations are made to the Wilson mother and daughter, the early pioneers of female Orangeism in Scotland
- 1939 At the October Ladies' Conference, Senior Deputy G.M., Bro. Dorrian, suggests the sisters arrange a War Comfort's Fund. Lodge meetings are also permitted to be held in private homes of members. Sisters urged by Grand Lodge representative to ensure the jobs of their menfolk were not in their absence filled by those who had been rebels to the British constitution, but rather to occupy these posts themselves. Women also urged to form working parties for knitting and sewing, possibly in conjunction with the Red Cross
- 1940 October Ladies' Conference raised money for a Red Cross ambulance. MWGM Helen Hazlett carried out an impressive programme of lodge visitations across the country in spite of cumbersome black-regulations and transport restrictions
- 1942 Female lodges open their doors to servicemen, extending hospitality and entertainment.
Aid received from brethren and sisters in Canada, USA and Australia to provide assistance to British victims of bombing
- 1943 April Ladies' Conference raises money for the Grand Lodge War Relief Fund

- 1947 Changes to the Ladies ritual are published
- 1948 Grand Mistress intimates at the April Conference that the Ladies' Committee had considered the advisability of nominating a Supreme Grand Mistress for the purpose of meeting overseas sisters on points of business. This was rejected at the October meeting by the Grand Master.
- 1955 Revised ladies' rule book issued along with the ladies ritual
- 1963 Revised ladies' rule book issued
- 1965, c. Orange choir is disbanded
- 1969 Ladies Orange Association of Scotland celebrate their Diamond Jubilee
Outbreak of 'Troubles' in Ulster
- 1970s, c. Ulster Relief Fund established
- 1973 Scottish Orange Home Fund set up by the sisters
- 1971/2 Ibrox Stadium Football Disaster occurs and Ladies' Committee subsequently visit the homes of all the families affected
- 1980 Revised and expanded ladies' rule book issued, containing the details of the Ladies' Conference and description of office bearers
- 1982 Sisters attend Triennial Council meeting in Toronto and discuss the future format of Orangewomen's sessions at the Council
- 1984 Revisions to the Ladies' ritual are published
- 1993 Revised ladies' rule book issued
- 1996 Sisters visit victims of Dunblane Tragedy
- 2001 'Girl Power' Article appears in *The Herald* on 19th March discussing the status of the Ladies. *The Torch* in April publishes a cover story in response to the article
- 2003 Issue of Orangewomen's admission to District meetings is raised and questionnaires are sent to all female lodges by Grand Lodge to garner opinions
- 2009 Ladies' Orange Association celebrates its centenary
- 2010 Revised ladies' rule book and ritual are issued
- 2011 ALOI centenary celebrations
- 2014 Referendum on Scottish independence due to occur in September. Various Orangewomen have actively campaigned to retain the union

APPENDIX E

QUESTIONS ADDRESSED TO GRAND MASTER IAN WILSON BY PGM MAGNUS BAIN IN 2002 AS IMMOVABLE OBSTACLES TO AFFORDING WOMEN ENTRY TO THE DISTRICT LODGE

- 1) What would be the status of a lady – a full member the same as a man?
- 2) Would she have the right to stand for office?
- 3) Would she be able to become a delegate to the County Grand Lodge or just an observer with no voice?
- 4) Would she be able to become a delegate to Grand Lodge?
- 5) What would be the status of the female office bearers and the Grand Mistress if the changes were effected? Would they no longer be required?
- 6) Would the District Lodge change the ritualistic content of the meeting to accommodate the ladies being there?
- 7) Would a young member (male/female) who wasn't fully qualified (who had not undergone the RAP degree initiation) be allowed access to the District meeting?

QUESTIONS POSED IN THE 2003 SURVEY DISTRIBUTED BY IAN WILSON TO ALL FEMALE SCOTTISH LODGES:

- 1) How many sisters attended the meeting when this survey was carried out?
- 2) Are the members of your lodge happy to retain their own identity of the Ladies Orange Association? Take a vote and intimate numbers.
- 3) Are there any members of your lodge who would wish to attend a District Lodge meeting? Take a vote and intimate numbers. Briefly state why they would want to attend a District meeting
- 4) Is your lodge aware that the Constitution would require change to allow sisters to attend a District meeting?
- 5) Do you get regular feedback from your District Lodge?
- 6) Do you attend District Committee meetings? If not briefly state the reason why.
- 7) Do you think that attending a District meeting will benefit your Lodge? Take a vote and intimate numbers. If the answer is yes, briefly state the benefits
- 8) Do you think that attending a District meeting will benefit the District Lodge? Take a vote and intimate numbers. If the answer is yes briefly state the benefits

APPENDIX F

Table 1: Lily of Scotland LLOL 16 Greenock District, Annual Harvest Thanksgiving Service

Below is the list of emblematic associations symbolically connecting each office-bearer with a piece of fruit:

PAGE	RANK OF OFFICE	FRUIT	QUALITIES REPRESENTED BY FRUIT	COLOUR	QUALITIES REPRESENTED BY COLOUR
3	Past Mistress	Plums	'...a reminder that we are to plumb our actions with the teaching of our Order'	Purple	'...it's been worn from time immemorial by the Lord's chosen few, here on my breast I'll wear it, all my actions proving true, in honour of the Lily of Scotland and of you'
4	Deputy Mistress	Raisins	'...they are to remind us that there is time to reason out all good things'	Blue	'...like the sky that's above, where our Father doth reign eternal in love, He is there to receive us when our journey is over and welcome us safe on His Heavenly throne'
4	Benevolent Treasurer	Cherries	'...they are to remind us to cherish the Siege of Derry'	Crimson	'...to Derry I will be true, for women played their noble part, that Siege to carry through'
5	Inner Door Guard	Raspberries	'...they are to remind us of our promise to love and obey'	Dark Red	'...it's a symbol of the King and round his Royal Banner His promises I will sing'
6	Financial Secretary	Apples	'...they are to remind us of good and evil'	Bright Red	'...it will lead me not astray, for on the Cross of Calvary my Saviour died for me, and with His Blood he cleansed me and set my conscience free'
7	Treasurer	Currants	'...they are to remind us of the current times we are living in'	Royal Blue	'...it is by those that are true, to our Order, Our Queen ¹ , our Country, and Heaven be praised we are true'
9	Inner Door Guard	Strawberries	'...they are to remind us of our flag, which stands for freedom to all'	Light Red	'...and to the Union Jack I'll cling, for it has braved a thousand years, for the Union and the Queen'
10	First Auditor	Bananas	'...to remind you of the remarkable youth of our Order'	Pink	'...it will cause us all to think, when our anger would arise against a sister, to suppress, let us all our vows remembers and to God we will surrender'
11	Second Auditor	Damsons	'...to remind us of the shore, where we will part no more'	Maroon	'...like the Western sun, and when this life is ended may the spirit have ascended to him who breathed the soul through Christ, has made us whole'
12	First	Sheaf of	'...it will remind	Yellow	'...the yellow of constancy and true,

¹ The use of 'Queen' instead of King obviously suggests that the editing of the text post-1953. The original wording is not known.

	Lecturer	Corn	us of God's goodness to us, in providing us with the bread of life'		and with love and kindness my sisters never rue, to hear my Saviour telling of the bright gifts in store when the Harvest here is ended, we will reign forever more'
13	Second Lecturer	Sheaf of Wheat	'...it is to remind us of plenty, and each of us have abundance and to spare'	Deep Yellow	'...of Heaven's golden rays, where our Saviour He is waiting each Sister here to Save, if only she is willing to be gathered with the Sheaves, in that Harvest Home eternal, we will sing and give Jesus the praise'
16	Senior Member	Tomatoes	'...they are to remind us of the scarlet thread that hung from the maid's window' ²	Scarlet	'...the maid who adorned it saved the lives of the three, their trumpets they blew as they marched along, with their colours high flying they sang that sweet song'
17	Recording Secretary	Pears	'...they are to remind us that someday we should appear before our Divine Master'	Sky Blue	'...I see it every day, it reminds me of the Heavens where I hope someday to be, with my Eternal Father and Christ to comfort'

Table 2: Lily of Scotland LLOL 16 Greenock District - Flowers and their symbolic import

The flowers, present in the bouquet presented to the Worthy Mistress at the end of the rite, along with their prescribed figurative 'meanings' are as follows:

Flower ³	Meaning Given
Orange Lily	'...some hate its great sight, they would it destroy, but never you mind, it is here to be seen so the flowers of freedom sent from above'
Violet Blue	'...always true no matter where we be in palace grand or cotter's land may we always prove true blue'
Red Rose	'...which goes to prove our love for England here on her shores sprang freedoms' cause and spread the wide world over.'
Daisy	'...then I will recommend, and with its fellow centre to its petals trimmed with white pure as daylight because Heaven we have in view.'
Fern	'...the mother fern by nature from which it grew, the mother of all plants on earth so lovely sweet to view.'

Table 3: Primrose LLOL 13 Flower Service – flowers and their symbolic import

PAGE	FLOWER/SYMBOL	REPRESENTS
1	Snowdrops	'Anthems of spring'
1	Primrose	'Emblem of Nature or the Holy City'
1	Summer green	'Though he has children many, God careth for us'
1	Sunshine and flowers	'Kind words can never die and Christ-like deeds remain. These flowers such as spring below are found in Heaven again'
1	Rose of Sharon	'Love we shall share if we would keep his blessing from above'

²See the biblical story of Rahab, the Caananite prostitute who hides Joshua's spies from the King's men thus saving the Israelites. In return for her kindness, the spies provide her with a crimson thread to hang from her window enabling her family to be spared when the Israelites sacked Jericho (Joshua 2).

³ (Lily of Scotland, 18-19)

2	White lilies	‘White stands for truth and purity. It will make all things agree for folks will judge of what you say, and by what their eyes can see.’
2	Variety of colours	‘Our garden is a big one, with flowers of many shades. They are all alive and growing, their beauty never fades.’
2	Autumn leaves	‘These leaves the colour of the dust remind us of the truth, that back to earth return we must, though now in strength and youth.’
2	Sweet smelling perfumes	‘Not by their taints alone, fair though they be, is our flower garden known all will agree’
2	Red poppies	‘A symbol of remembrance we miss them then another link is gone from life’s chain. We’ll all be severed one by one. Hope’s star guides us to our Celestial home. A life well spent, a race well run.’
2	Three Graces – Faith, Hope and Charity	‘Faith and Hope and love I see, joining hand in hand with three, but the greatest of the three, the Heart of Charity.’
3	Last rose of summer	‘The last rose of summer left blooming alone, all her lovely companions are faded and gone’
3	Sheaf	‘These golden sheaves in the harvest morn, gathered by the brave and the free. Binded [<i>sic.</i>] by the purple band, Christ’s golden sheaves for ever more to be.’
3	Tares	‘Jesus the wheat, Satan the tares so the word of God declares.’
3	Golden Jessamine	‘In the Golden Land of Heaven joy comes to stay, tears into the rainbows, turn night into day’
3	Queen of the garden	‘So in the garden of your heart, if you could only keep that tireless perseverance we can obtain that which we seek’
3	Orange-Purple-Blue : the loyal orange lily	‘As these glorious colours we review they send us on our upward way. Great things for God to dare and do. Our watchword NO SURRENDER’
4	Purple heather	‘Let humilities sweet blossoms in our garden have a place’
4	Blue violets	‘We’ll be true blue what’er we do beneath these Colours Three’
4	Purple band	‘But vain were all their Popish arts, the gates were shut by gallant hearts, so thus I bring you dreams by beauty here. My faithfulness I tell thus, I knit the bonds of friendship sisters loving sisters well’
4	Crown	‘The fairest gem Britannia boasts was bright with rich renown. T’was won when William led his hosts for Bible, Home and Crown.’

Table 4: Primrose LLOL 13 Cowcaddens District, Flower Service – explanation of imagery

SYMBOL	MEANING
Purple band	‘...is the emblem of sisterhood. Oh may we pray and never idly stand, and labour for our great cause at God’s command. We will not break the binding cords upon us laid, so every loyal sister be up and lend their aid. Around the walls of Derry a garland we will throw, we’ll honour and make merry as we our tribute show. For when the foe was nearing to slay loved freedoms joys, closed were the gates mid cheering, by the gallant ‘prentice boys.’
Queen of the Garden (red Rose)	‘Here I am the Queen of Roses taken from my garden kingdom, away from every floral friend I ever knew but there was one who loved and worshipped me more than all my other floral subjects, that one was my mother, whose touch was tender and kind, a gentle worker in his garden through all seasons. He gave me the majesty of Grace and helped me to burst into Crimson Glory and the

	<p>sweetness of a big Red Rose. In some ways we can learn a lesson from this beautiful rose, if we want to be fruitful in God's garden we must learn to be quiet, to wait, to prepare for service. If we spread kindly our deeds our gardens will be full of flowers, of fragrant kindness to others when we offer these red roses the blossom of the plant, the prime, and the best of it to those we love and place them on the resting place of our dear departed. They stand for love, theirs is the message we fling out to the wide world, and what a world. If they carried it out ere they reached their last resting place to sleep beneath the rose.'</p>
Sheaves	<p>'The sheaf is emblematic of the harvest. It reminds the gleaner that patient toil is needed for the gathering of units one by one to form the fragrant sheaf.' The harvest of nature is 'God's gracious provision for the requirements of the human body. The harvest of character whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap. The harvest too of influence in the soil of others hearts and minds we daily sow seeds of some sort which will take root and in due course bring forth multiple results. The harvest lastly of eternity, the seed time is the passing hour of today. There we trust the emblem of the sheaf will be a daily power over us all and that faith, hope and love may be continually deepened in the harvest fields of time and eternity. Let us not be weary in well doing for in due season we shall reap if we faint not.'</p>

APPENDIX G

ROLL OF GRAND MISTRESSES AND GRAND MASTERS

YEAR	GRAND MISTRESS	GRAND MASTER
1907		Cllr. William McCormick
1909	Agnes Mitchelson ¹	
1910	Jeanie Salmond	David Ness
1924	Isa McKinlay	Lt. Col. A. Douglas McInnes-Shaw
1928	Isa Brown	
	Margaret McWhinnie	
	Jean McLeod	
	G Irvine	
	Elizabeth Irvine	
1929	Helen Kennedy	
1930	Sister Vance	
1931	Martha Murray	
1932	Sister Priestly	
1933	Sister McRoberts	
1934	Mary Moore	
1935	Mary Bowers	
1936	Isa Elliot	
1937	Joan Brown	
1938	Margaret McCulloch	
1939	Sarah Paisley	
1940	Helen Hazlett	
1941	Emma Bruce	
1942	A MacGregor	
1943	Jessie Berry	
1944	Sister E. Dawson	
1945	Councillor Elizabeth Laughton	
1946	Sister Mary Newton	Cllr. Frank D. Dorrian, J.P.
1947	Bessie Cathcart	
1948	Helen Thomson	
1949-50	Annie Ritchie	
1950	Annie Ritchie	Joseph Baxter
1951	Grace Murray	
1952	Annie Thomson	
1953	Annie Rannachan	
1954	Agnes Owens	
1955	Ruby Halliday	
1956	Catherine Kerr	
1957	Sister E. McInnes	Thomas Corry
1958	Martha Grieve	Rev. Alan G. Hasson
1959	Jessie Moody	
1960	Sister M. MacGregor	James Martin Aitken
1961	Jenny Fowlie	
1962	Sister M. Johnston	
1963	Sister A. MacNaughton	Andrew Dalgliesh
1964	Mary Boyd	
1965	M. Hendry	
1966	Maisie Neil	George Watson
1967	A. Anderson	

¹ The exact dates of the terms of office of Past Presidents (as the office was known from 1909-1928) are unspecified in archival records

1968	V. Wallace	
1969	Sadie Black	
1970	Harriet Allen	
1971	Helen Hosie	Thomas Orr
1972	Mary Totten	
1973	Sadie Eadie	
1974	Bessie Harvey	
1975	Elizabeth McHarry	
1976	M. McMichael	
1977	Lizzie Railey	
1978-1980	Sadie Strachan	
1980-1982	B. McCutcheon	
1983		Magnus Bain
1984-1986	Jean Nicol	
1986-1987	Liz Kerr	
1987-1991	Christine Calvert	
1991-1995	Margaret Dryburgh	
1995-1999	Helen Walker	Ian Wilson
1999-2003	Margaret Young	
2003-2007	Helyne MacLean	
2007-2009	Margaret Blakely	
2009-2013	Rhona Gibson	Henry Dunbar