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Uda. Uclolgan
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1. The Orange Order has been established in Scotland since 1797. Virtually all Scottish Loyalists belong to it, and its present membership is estimated at 80,000. Its lodges are located principally in the country's industrial areas, especially in Glasgow, Lanarkshire and Inverness. (It is no coincidence that these areas are also characterised by high Catholic populations). Orangemen congregate in Orange halls and in various social clubs, e.g. in Rangers Supporters' Clubs (which are also favourite Orange rallying-points in Ulster).

However, the Grand Lodge of Scotland has rarely exerted any political influence, and its solidarity with Ulster Loyalism did not find expression outside the stereotyped July 12th speeches and rallies until very recently. Scottish Orangemen have traditionally been solid, respectable citizens, whose monthly magazine, the "Orange Torch", regularly condemned violence and armed resistance.

2. With the advent of Loyalist para-military bodies, however, UDA and UVF units were established in Glasgow and elsewhere. Their objective was either to send arms and explosives to their Ulster colleagues or to collect funds needed for purchasing these. The tone of Scottish Loyalist statements became more militant, with periodic hints that in the event of a large-scale conflict, the Scots could be relied on to provide the Ulster Loyalists with men, money and arms. None of the three organizations involved - the UDA (whose membership, rather optimistically, is put by its chairman Roddy McDonald at 2,000), the smaller UVF and the much smaller Orange Volunteers - made any attempts to conceal its existence.

Until the last six months or so, however, all this appears to have been mere sabre-rattling. Very few guns or ammunition were actually sent across, and very little money. No more than half a dozen Scottish Loyalists had been jailed by the beginning of 1975 for illegal possession of guns, ammunition or explosives. In 1974 Scottish Loyalists distinguished themselves only by sending food supplies to the Loyalist population during the UWC strike.

3. During 1975, however, numerous arrests were made in relation to Loyalist offences in Scotland. This reflected either a sudden expansion of UDA/UVF activities there or else increased vigilance on the part of the Scottish police.

- On February 18 Alan Black, a 22 year-old Scottish UDA member, was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for an armed raid on a shop in Ayr.
- On April 29 underground Loyalist activities in Glasgow came to light when four UDA members (Brian Hosie, Samuel Maxwell, John Jack and John Stewart) were charged with the murder of Hector Smith, a West Indian, on February 7. It was alleged that the four, after travelling through Glasgow's prostitute community collecting funds for the UDA, reached Smith's house, where they pointed a loaded revolver at him and demanded £10 a week protection money. When this was refused, it was alleged, they shot him dead. On May 2 Hosie was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment; of the other three, Maxwell and Jack were

given jail sentences for attempted extortion and assault, and Stewart was fined £25 for a technical offence and released. It was reported that fear of reprisals from Glasgow's UDA made prosecution witnesses very reluctant to give evidence.

- On September 28 Scottish police seized the "Shuv-on", a 30-foot cabin cruiser, at Portpatrick harbour in Wigtownshire, and arrested six men. Two of the men, Ronald Smith and George Donnell, were from Belfast, and of these, Smith was a member of the UVF Brigade Staff. These and the four others - Hugh Craig, Thomas Youdale, Ronald Patterson and Andrew Wotherspoon - were charged in Glasgow on September 30 with conspiracy to further the aims of the UVF by obtaining explosives, guns, ammunition and money. At the court hearing three months later, it was alleged that the latter three had stolen drums of sodium chlorate from a local sewageworks and had taken these, along with gelignite and guns, by car to Portpatrick. It was also alleged that Smith and Donnell had travelled by motor boat from Northern Ireland to Portpatrick on September 25 for the purpose of conveying the explosives and guns to Ulster in the cruiser. Smith had been found to be in possession of a UVF Brigade Staff directive to all N.C.O.'s and volunteers, which warned of the penalties facing any volunteer who co-operated with the security forces. A document found during a search of Craig's home warned the Tartan Army, the mysterious Scottish Nationalist organization, that the UVF would take militant action against it unless it ceased its activities immediately. The case concluded on January 27 1976 when the judge instructed the jury to find all six men not guilty (due to lack of evidence) on the conspiracy charge. Youdale, Wotherspoon and Patterson, however, remained to face explosives charges. Two days later, Youdale and Wotherspoon were given twelve-year sentences for possession of explosives, and Patterson was given an 18-month sentence.
- In another case, a Glasgow man, Hugh McDonald, was charged in September 1975 with possession of sodium chlorate and firearms, which were destined for Northern Ireland. McDonald insisted at his trial four months later that the offences had been committed by his son William, now resident in Belfast. This case has not yet concluded.
- In mid-September Glasgow police, informed that firearms and ammunition were being smuggled from the Scottish south-west coast to Ulster ports, decided to launch an investigation into UDA activities in the city's East End. This resulted in jail terms for the commander of UDA 'C' Company in the Bridgetown district, John Kerr (aged 25), and for another UDA member, William Wilson (aged 47).

On September 16 detectives saw Kerr, known locally as a collector of donations for Loyalist prisoners, enter a well-known 'Orange pub', Mason's Bar. A woman, Mrs. Alexandra Watson, emerged later with a brown parcel which she posted to a known UDA member in Belfast. Police recovered it and discovered sixteen sticks of gelignite in it. Kerr, Mrs. Watson and another woman were arrested, and on January 15 1976 the case against the two women was dismissed, but the charges against Kerr were proven and he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

On September 25 police searched Wilson's home in Bridgeton, where they discovered a sawn-off shotgun, three cartridges, "Irish paraphernalia" (including songbooks and a sticker for the UDA-backed Loyalist Prisoners' Aid). They also found five electric detonators in his car. Wilson was arrested and on January 16 1976 he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

4. The commonest contribution made by Scottish UDA/UUVF members is to send gelignite, which is usually donated by or bought from quarry workers. If, say, five sticks are drawn from the stores for an explosion, it occasionally happens that only four are used and the fifth is put aside for shipment to Belfast. Chemicals are also sent. Several types of weed-killer, though long since banned in Northern Ireland, are freely available in Scotland and England. Sodium chlorate on sale in Northern Ireland must be pre-treated to prevent its use in bomb-making, but in Scotland or England no such regulation exists.

Explosives destined for Ulster were most frequently shipped in small boats which set out at night from the Scottish coast and made contact at sea with vessels coming from Ulster ports. Favoured routes were Larne to Laganhead (21 miles) and Groomsport, Co. Down, to Portpatrick (12 miles). However, this method of shipment had to be abandoned in September 1975 following the arrest of the six men at Portpatrick.

5. Besides the trickle of material assistance, Scotland has also served Loyalists on the run as a place of refuge. Its physical proximity to Ulster and its well-organized Orange fraternity made it a natural choice. In late July 1975, for example, one of two men arrested and questioned in Dumfries is known to have been a prominent UUVF leader. Two months later, when Rees re-proscribed the UUVF on October 3, the UUVF leader reported to have given the order for the previous day's spate of assassinations fled to Scotland, and it was also reported that Billy Mitchell, editor of "Combat", had taken temporary refuge in Scotland.

6. Of the thirty or so Scottish Loyalists presently behind bars for firearms and explosives offences (compared to 10 or 11 in England), most are UDA members. Only a few of them are born Ulstermen, for most Ulster-born Loyalist prisoners in Scottish jails have tended to be transferred home to Ulster jails. Following intensive representations by Glen Barr and others, two UDA men, Darragh Gray and William Fulton, who had been sentenced to three years' imprisonment for explosives offences, were transferred from Scotland back to Crumlin Road prison on July 29 1975. Shortly afterwards, Sammy Tyrie, brother of Andy, who had been sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in Scotland for illegal possession of explosives, was also transferred back to Northern Ireland.

However, it was reported recently that the Scottish authorities have said that no one sentenced from now on would be allowed to serve his sentence in Northern Ireland. Loyalist prisoners in Scottish jails are worse off than their Ulster counterparts because, firstly, they have no 'special category' status and, secondly, official policy has been to scatter them around four or five separate jails. And, far from their original bold promises to finance Ulster Loyalists in a future conflict, Scottish Loyalists now find it difficult even to raise the weekly £100 needed to care for the families of their imprisoned colleagues. David McKittrick reported in the "Irish Times"

of December 8 that Roddy McDonald, the Scottish UDA chairman, had recently visited Belfast in order to look for financial assistance from the UDA's Welfare Committee.

8. The sharp escalation of Scottish loyalist activities since September 1975 can be partly attributed to the killing of five Loyalists at Tullyvallen Orange Hall on August 4. Thomas Passmore, Belfast Grand Master of the Orange Order, referred some months later to the "tremendous wave of revulsion throughout our Scottish and English brethren" sparked off by this incident. It was, he said, perhaps a watershed in relations between the various Loyalist communities, "having the same effect on our brethren in Scotland and England as the murder of the three Scottish soldiers had on our people here". The Tullyvallen massacre had a traumatic effect on Scottish Loyalists, and raised them to a new level of solidarity with their (as they saw it) beleaguered Ulster counterparts.

The Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland, meeting soon afterwards, suspended normal business and for four hours talked only of the killings and of what they could do to help. On September 13 over 5,000 Orangemen marched through the centre of Glasgow, protesting at the British Government's security policies; they were later addressed by Glen Barr, Jean Coulter and Harold McCusker. There was much talk at this time of organizing a mass evacuation of Protestants from Co. Armagh to Loyalist homes in Scotland, and one district lodge reportedly bankrupted itself within a few days by buying dozens of camp beds, blankets and other emergency supplies.

On January 11 1976 David Bryce, Grand Secretary of the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland, announced that Scottish Orangemen would be able to provide homes for 40,00-50,000 Ulster Protestants in the event of civil war. About four times that number, he said, could be housed communally in Orange halls and elsewhere. The contingency plan would be to use local lodges as reception centres and to pass on families to the homes of sympathisers. Bryce stressed that his members had drawn up the plan some time previously for "purely humanitarian reasons", and that they had no para-military aspirations.

Nevertheless, it would appear that the Order - though hitherto it kept the UDA and UVF units in Glasgow at arm's length, and often banned them from taking up collections in Orange halls - has lately begun to revise its attitude towards the Loyalist para-militants. Firstly, it sent a delegation to Belfast in autumn 1975 to make contact with the UDA, Orange Volunteers and other para-military groups. The Belfast Orange Order was not informed of the visit, a reflection of scepticism on the part of the Scottish Orangemen about the effectiveness of their colleagues in Ulster. Secondly, there have been indications that money from Loyalist sympathisers in Scotland, which hitherto has been channelled from the Scottish Orange Order to well-known Orange funds in Belfast, may soon be diverted to para-military groups. In a recent statement David Bryce said: "There is no question of us reducing this money. But we are looking at ways of widening our charity work". (The funds in question, earned from Orange Social Clubs, are substantial, running to several thousand pounds each year). Bryce stressed that money would not be given for the buying of arms, but he would not name the organizations who were to benefit from this change of policy. It seems probable that money donated to para-military organizations will be explained as being intended for their welfare sections to help prisoners and their families.

On January 7 1976, following the Bessbrook murders, an emergency meeting of the Grand Lodge of Scotland's executive called all members to what their leader, Thomas Orr, described as a "stand-by alert". While Bryce said this alert implied in no way an offensive role, and would be confined to providing welfare services for families to be evacuated from Northern Ireland, he nevertheless expressed concern that the violence might escalate to the mainland and that "members of the Orange community might become the first targets".

9. Ulster Loyalists in general remain somewhat sceptical of the Scottish Loyalists' ability to provide assistance of either a financial or military nature in the event of a crisis. They have not been impressed by the Scottish efforts to date which, even allowing for the difference in scale, had nothing like the success of, say, similar Irish-American enterprises. The good intentions are there but, due to a lack of para-military professionalism and basic 'know how', they have rarely been realised; and one would not be justified in inferring from the Grand Orange Lodge's recent dramatic statements that things will be any different in this respect in future. However, in spite of the incompetence of most recent gun-running and explosives-smuggling operations, the Scottish Orange sympathy manifested in these operations, and the frequently sensational public statements made by the Grand Orange Lodge, undoubtedly have a strong publicity value for the Loyalist cause.

David Donoghue

4 February 1976