



WORKING PAPERS IN IRISH STUDIES

<<https://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/IrishStudiesGateway/Research/IrishStudiesWorkingPapers>>

'Flags of our Fathers?: An Inner East Belfast Flags Survey 2001-2021'

Version 1 (Dec. 2021)

GORDON GILLESPIE (Queen's University Belfast)

gordongillespie@hotmail.com

Introduction

Choose life. Choose a job. Choose a career. Choose a family. Choose counting flags. As Ewan McGregor's Renton in 'Trainspotting' might well have said had he lived in Belfast.

In 2004 I was working with Dominic Bryan on a report on flags for the then Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister which became '**Transforming Conflict: Flags and Emblems**' and which was published in March 2005. At about this time in 2004 Dom gave me a copy of a survey of flags on roads and streets across Belfast which had been conducted by Doctor Kate Ferron in late July 2001 – this was the year that large parts of Belfast had been covered in Ulster Volunteer Force and Ulster Defence Association flags – like **Tate's Avenue** in south Belfast.

We thought it would be interesting to try to replicate part of that survey by looking at the number, type and location of flags in some loyalist areas of inner east Belfast. It was decided to do the survey on the day after the Twelfth parades which would be when the greatest number of flags would be on display. I then continued this process in subsequent years. This meant that (depending on how the calendar fell) I conducted the survey on 13 July, or 14 July if the Twelfth fell on a Sunday and the parades were held on Monday 13th.

2004 Year one

In 2004 I covered the Newtownards Road, Templemore Avenue, Albertbridge Road (**map of area**) and the side streets covered by Kate Ferron's survey as well as Dee Street, Mersey Street and part of the Bloomfield area. This took me two mornings to complete. In subsequent years I only covered the Newtownards Road, Templemore Avenue and Albertbridge Road which, setting out at about 6am, I could cover by about 9-10am by which time more people were about (and sometimes giving me strange looks). Interestingly, I've also noticed that whereas in the early years of the survey there were few people around on the morning after the Twelfth in more recent years it seems more like an ordinary working day.

Quite a few of the side streets have changed substantially over this period of time, for example around the Mersey Street area, whereas the main thoroughfares have remained largely the same and so we can get a more consistent run of counting like with like from one year to the next.

A significant factor in what had instigated the renewed interest and concern in public, popular, displays of flags in the early twenty-first century was the physical manifestation of the UDA-UVF feud of 2000 with **UVF Purple Standard** flags and **light blue UDA** flags appearing in many loyalist areas of Belfast in 2001 and often in the same areas where the two paramilitary groups were in competition. This was apparent in Kate Ferron's July 2001 survey when she found 21 UVF and **Red Hand Commando** flags with another 4 **Young Citizen Volunteer** flags and 54 UDA flags on the Newtownards Road, Albertbridge Road and Templemore Avenue alone. By the time I did my first survey, in July 2004, the number of what we might call overtly paramilitary flags had dropped dramatically to 9 UVF or RHC and 5 YCV and 11 UDA or UFF. After 2001 **Union flags and Northern Ireland** flags (more properly called the Ulster Banner) were by far the most common flags on display and this remained the case over the course of the following two decades. The Union flag was the most numerous flag on display every year apart from 2004 when the Union and Northern Ireland flags were jointly most common and 2013 when UVF flags were the second most common – this was the UVF centenary year.

	01	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
UJ	23	56	52	42	43	49	52	55	45	52	116	102	66	45	91	62	69	75	77
NI	19	56	32	40	34	41	48	46	40	38	26	49	50	33	45	39	44	54	34
UVF	17	6	10	0	0	0	1	2	6	3	34	9	6	2	7	14	32	5	3
RHC	4	3	4	0	1	1	3	3	3	3	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
YCV	4	5	5	1	0	0	1	2	5	1	3	2	2	5	5	6	9	3	1
UDA	54	6	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	4	3	3	5	0
UFF	0	5	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	1	1	0

- Figures cover Newtownards Road, Albertbridge Road and T'more Avenue

How flags are flown

Kate Ferron had only broken down the location of where flags were flown as either being on a **lamppost** (presumably including traffic lights) or **on a house or building** (this was probably because she was covering a large area) but in 2004 I also counted flags at **murals**

and **memorials** separately. In 2005 I added flags **on railings** as a separate category and in 2006 and in 2007 added categories for flags on **other buildings** (usually on a church or Orange Hall), **across the road** (bunting style) and **across the front of houses**. In 2010 I added flags **on bars** and flags **on shops** and, although I missed these two categories in 2011, I have kept those same groupings since 2012. So, although I have, admittedly, been a bit inconsistent over the years in how I broke down where flags were flown there is an annual figure each year for what is usually considered to be the most contested area – the flying of flags on lampposts and traffic lights.

How displayed

LP - Lamppost (includes traffic lights)

FP - Flagpole

H/B - House or building (2006 on disaggregated and refers to House only)

MI - Mural also includes memorials

Rgs - on railings

OB - Other buildings

Xrd - Across the road flown bunting style

XH - Across front of house

FB - Flagpole on a bar (included in other buildings except where disaggregated)

FS - Flagpole on a shop (included in other buildings except where disaggregated)

	LP (%)	H/B (%)	MI (%)	Rgs (%)	FB	FS	OB	Xrd	XH	Other
2001	90 (61.6)	56 (38.3)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
2004	71 (45.5)	84 (53.8)	1 (0.6)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
2005	40 (26.0)	92 (59.7)	7 (4.5)	15(9.7)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
2006	29 (25.0)	41 (35.3)	6 (5.2)	0 (0.0)	-----	-----	39 (33.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.9)
2007	37 (29.6)	39 (31.2)	8 (6.4)	0 (0.0)	-----	-----	40 (32.0)	1 (0.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
2008	32 (24.2)	38 (28.8)	8 (6.1)	0 (0.0)	-----	-----	50 (37.9)	3 (2.3)	1 (0.8)	0 (0.0)
2009	44 (30.8)	37 (25.9)	9 (6.3)	0 (0.0)	-----	-----	45 (31.5)	8 (5.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
2010	50 (34.5)	41 (28.3)	8 (5.5)	0 (0.0)	17(11.7)	6 (4.1)	17 (11.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.7)	5 (3.4)
2011	38 (28.8)	32 (24.2)	16(12.1)	1(0.7)	-----	-----	36 (27.3)	7 (5.3)	2 (1.5)	0 (0.0)
2012	42 (33.6)	22 (17.6)	16 (12.8)	3(2.4)	6 (4.8)	1 (0.8)	31 (24.8)	0 (0.0)	4 (3.2)	0 (0.0)
2013	103(52.3)	35 (17.8)	19 (9.6)	1 (0.5)	9 (4.6)	3 (1.5)	12 (6.1)	7 (3.6)	5 (2.5)	3 (1.5)
2014	83 (42.6)	49 (25.1)	13 (6.7)	11(5.6)	12(6.2)	3 (1.5)	17 (8.7)	0 (0.0)	4 (2.1)	3 (1.5)
2015	59 (36.0)	45 (27.4)	13 (7.9)	2 (1.2)	14 (8.5)	7 (4.3)	14 (8.5)	0 (0.0)	7 (4.3)	3 (1.8)
2016	100(49.8)	35 (17.4)	19 (9.5)	0 (0.0)	14 (7.0)	7 (3.5)	15 (7.5)	0 (0.0)	10 (5.0)	1 (0.5)
2017	118(60.2)	28 (14.3)	14 (7.1)	0 (0.0)	8 (4.1)	6 (3.1)	14 (7.1)	0 (0.0)	5 (2.6)	3 (1.5)
2018	99 (53.2)	43 (23.1)	14 (7.5)	0 (0.0)	8 (4.3)	6 (3.2)	14 (7.5)	0 (0.0)	2 (1.1)	0 (0.0)
2019	92 (49.7)	33 (17.8)	15 (8.1)	5 (2.7)	14 (7.6)	4 (2.2)	15 (8.1)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.5)	6 (3.2)
2020	72 (45.6)	35 (22.2)	12 (7.6)	5 (3.2)	12 (7.6)	5 (3.2)	12 (7.6)	5 (3.2)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
2021	89 (49.7)	37 (20.7)	14 (7.8)	1 (0.6)	15 (8.4)	6 (3.3)	14 (7.8)	0 (0.0)	3 (1.7)	0 (0.0)

Bannerettes

One attempt to reduce the number of cheap flags flown on lampposts was the introduction of plastic bannerettes in 2004. These were attached to brackets and were removed at the end of the marching season (the end of August) to be reused the following year. Many of these

banners were sponsored by organisations like Orange Lodges or individuals, including local politicians, but also families and friends of specific people to commemorate these individuals. For example, there has nearly always been a bannerette remembering Valerie Hamilton located close to the Methodist church on the Albertbridge Road at the junction with Templemore Avenue. This was because, I was informed, she was associated with that church. The vast majority of these bannerettes have featured an image of **King William crossing the Boyne on an orange background or Queen Elizabeth on a Union Flag background** with smaller numbers featuring a Northern Ireland flag. Bannerettes featuring images relating to the **First World War** were used in 2016-18 before returning to the former King Billy and Queen Elizabeth images in the following years.

Possibly the most contentious bannerette image appeared in 2005. Four bannerettes appeared on the Newtownards Road and featured an image of a masked gunman with the words **‘UVF 1912 to present still undefeated’**. Other bannerettes featured images of Sir Edward Carson and the First World War and were apparently intended to link the present day UVF to the pre-World War One organisation of the same name – however, this UVF bannerette did not appear in subsequent years.

Despite this attempt to replace flags with bannerettes what has often occurred has been a ‘belt and braces’ situation where flags are flown alongside the bannerettes. For example, in 2017 where East Belfast Protestant Boys band 50th anniversary flags were flown alongside the bannerettes.

Flags marking specific commemorations

Advances in technology have made it much easier to produce flags for specific events so that, for example, in 2008 we saw blue **Royal Irish Regiment** flags flown as part of the Homecoming event – this flag was flown on lampposts, Orange Halls, unionist party offices and became something of a pan-unionist symbol.

2012 saw the displaying of flags marking the **Queen’s Diamond Jubilee** and the centenary of the **Ulster Covenant**.

In 2013 we saw **UVF centenary** flags.

In 2016 there were **Somme centenary** commemoration flags as well as **Northern Ireland football flags** marking Northern Ireland’s participation in the European Nations football championship finals that year. Some flags even made a link between the two as the football finals were, coincidentally, played in France that year.

In 2017 13 **East Belfast Protestant Boys** 50th anniversary flags were displayed to mark the band’s formation in 1967. Somewhat surprisingly 25 of these flags were flown the following year and 3 in 2019 which perhaps tells us something about the life cycle of specific flag designs.

In 2019 several banners and **Christian flags** were displayed at Cluan Place and nearby on the Albertbridge Road to commemorate, and to protest against, the murder of local man Ian Ogle by members of the UVF in January that year.

In 2020, in the midst of the covid-19 pandemic there were fewer flags on display but these included 9 Union flags bearing the message '**Thank You NHS**'.

2021 saw a range of flag designs commemorating the **centenary of Northern Ireland**. I counted eight separate flag designs in this area alone and another on the Beersbridge Road and there were undoubtedly many more elsewhere.

The Flags dispute 2012-13

I do not intend to get into the details of the political controversy of the flags dispute which erupted in late 2012. Suffice to say that the decision taken by Belfast City Council to reduce the number of days and locations on which the Union flag was flown on council buildings was not well received by unionists and loyalists. Unionists particularly blamed the Alliance party for supporting this decision although Alliance argued that they took the most sensible approach in what was a difficult situation. Nevertheless, the decision sparked protests and violence that continued well into the next year with an impact on how flags were displayed on the streets.

In 2012 the number of flags on display that summer had declined to 125 compared to 132 the previous year.

In early December 2012 flags were erected in protest against the Belfast City Council decision and on **31 December 2012** there were 114 flags on the three routes. Of these, 107 were Union flags and two were Northern Ireland flags.

In connection with a UVF centenary commemoration flags were erected on Sunday 14 April 2013 along a parade route which included Templemore Avenue and part of the Newtownards Road. A significant number of Union flags were still on display and in some instances **two flags were displayed on the same lamppost** - those lower on the lamppost were erected in connection with the flag protest and those higher up with the UVF centenary parade. A **specific UVF centenary flag**, featuring images of Sir Edward Carson, James Craig and Fred Crawford on a purple standard UVF flag, were prominent along the parade route. These had been commissioned by the body organising the parade and were available to buy in loyalist shops for £10 each. On the Newtownards Road no UVF centenary flags were displayed below Templemore Avenue as this was not on the parade route (thus avoiding the Short Strand interface). Some flags were removed on Thursday 25 April but most were left in place.

By 22 April 2013 140 flags were on display; 92 flags were Union (87) or NI (5) flags. There were also 42 UVF centenary flags, 2 UVF flags, 2 YCV flags, 1 36th Ulster Division flag and 1 Australian national flag.

By July 2013 there were 197 flags on display on the three main thoroughfares, the largest number in the 21st century at that time. The increase was clearly the result of ongoing loyalist antagonism over the Belfast City Council flag decision and the fact that many UVF centenary flags remained in place. All three routes showed an increase in the number of flags. Of the 197 flags on display 142 were either Union flags (116) or NI flags (26). There were 37 UVF related flags (including 32 UVF centenary flags) and 3 UDA flags.

By November 2013 almost all of these flags were still on display - unlike in previous years when they had been removed around September.

Around 9 December flags on lampposts in other areas of east Belfast - the Belmont Road, Hollywood Road and the Upper Newtownards Road, were removed and Christmas lights put up. Presumably cherry pickers had been used to do both at the same time. However, flags on the Newtownards Road were left in place. A small number of flags on the Albertbridge Road and Templemore Avenue were also left up.

By 14 January 2014 most of the 2012-13 flags remaining on the Newtownards Road had been removed. There were 2 Union flags on lampposts, 1 Union flag at a memorial, 1 UVF flag on a lamppost, 1 UVF on a flagpole at a mural and 1 YCV on a flagpole at a mural still left up (6 total).

By 9 May new Union flags were on lampposts on the Albertbridge Road and on the Upper Newtownards Road.

Over the weekend of 7-8 June Union and NI flags were put up on lampposts on the Newtownards Road. Bannerettes were also erected over the weekend of 28-29 June in advance of the Somme parade on 1 July.

This increase in the number of flags may have been related both to the flags dispute but also to the PSNI campaign against the UVF in east Belfast.

The number of flags in July 2014 remained similar to the previous year at 195 (197 in 2013). Union and Northern Ireland flags accounted for 151 of these. There were 13 UVF related flags and 4 UDA related flags. The decline in UVF flag numbers being largely due to the disappearance of UVF centenary flags.

2015

In 2015 the number of flags declined to 164 (from 195). This may have been due to the fact that tensions surrounding the flags dispute of the previous years had eased somewhat. However, the number of flags on display was still higher than they had been before the flags protests began.

There were fewer Scottish flags on display this year than the previous year (12 down to 6) and many of those flown were part of the flags of the UK display (ie with UJ, NI and sometimes England or Wales) but they were rarely flown individually as would have been more common in previous years. The pro-independence policy of the Scottish National Party may well have been a factor in this decline and by 2020 and 2021 only three Scottish Saltires were on display.

2016

2016 was dominated by two major centenaries - the Easter Rising and the Battle of the Somme. Flags were put up on the Newtownards Road on 6 June. Some flags were removed on the weekend of 1-2 October - however, the green Somme centenary flag and East Belfast

Somme centenary flags among others were left up. UVF flags were taken down on 29 October while the remainder (except for a handful) were taken down along with bunting on 28 November.

In July 2016, 201 flags were on display on the three thoroughfares, the greatest number during the period. Union and NI flags accounted for only 78 of the flags - the lowest number since 2007. There were 11 paramilitary flags on display, 7 UVF related and 4 UDA. There was also an interesting change in the type of UVF related flag on display, RHC flags disappearing completely while YCV flags (with the connection to the First World War) were 5 of the 7 UVF flags. There were 74 Somme Centenary flags while another 10 flags commemorated the 36th Ulster Division. Against the background of the Brexit campaign one bar also displayed a European Union flag but with the word OUT in the centre.

2017-19

Between 2017 and 2019 the number of flags on display declined slightly from 196 to 186 and then 185.

2020

2020 was dominated by the fall-out from the Coronavirus pandemic. Many traditional commemorations were cancelled and these included the First of July Somme commemoration parade and the Twelfth parades. Nevertheless, flags did appear in many of the usual locations. Union flags bearing the words 'Thank You NHS' were erected on lampposts on the Newtownards Road over the weekend of 30-31 May, however, these were noticeably lower on the lampposts than the usual summer flags. Large (9ftx6ft) Union and Ulster Banner flags were erected on the same lampposts the following weekend (6-7 June) while many of the other usual points where flags were flown (eg the Prince Albert bar) also had flags on display by this time. In Templemore Avenue many houses were already decorated with flags and bunting in early June but plastic bannerettes were not erected until 14-15 June. Some of these appeared to be new bannerettes. Flags also appeared at the murals on Freedom Corner on the Newtownards Road by 29 June. Interestingly, bunting was not strung across the Newtownards Road as it had been in previous years and the use of larger Union and NI flags may have been a substitute for this. Intriguingly a Belgian national flag which had flown on a pole in Templemore Avenue had been removed by 14 July!

In the wake of the controversial funeral of republican Bobby Storey (which appeared to ignore social distancing rules) at the end of June there was an upsurge in loyalist activity. Most flags had already been erected by this time but there was a renewed surge in bonfire making. Mainstream Orange leaders still called for bonfires not to go ahead or that fewer than 30 people should attend in line with health regulations but this was not observed in many cases.

On 11 July it was reported that Ballymacarrett District Orange Lodge was urging the public to stay at home and stay safe and they would 'bring the Twelfth to the community.' (Belfast Live) Flags were removed from the Newtownards Road over the weekend of 3-4 October.

2021

As in the previous year, the early months of 2021 were dominated by the fall-out from the Covid-19 pandemic. The vaccination programme had been proving successful, however, so

that by the spring of 2021 there was much talk of things possibly returning to normal in the summer – and this included parades and other commemorations. A number of significant factors were at play in 2021; Unionist anger of the fall-out from Brexit and the NI Protocol, continuing discontent over the non-prosecution of Sinn Fein members who participated in the Bobby Storey funeral, and commemoration of the centenary of Northern Ireland. As well as this there was continuing bad feeling between the local UVF based around Pitt Park and the PSNI as well as the outworking of the UVF murder of Ian Ogle. Somewhat surprisingly there were no UDA flags marking the 50th anniversary of the creation of that organisation. Flags had already begun appearing on houses, bars and lampposts in early March following the success of Glasgow Rangers in winning the Scottish football premiership and by May Northern Ireland centenary flags were also appearing. Indeed, Glasgow Rangers flags proved to be some of the most popular sellers of the year at the Union Jack Shop on the Newtownards Road.

By mid-May red, white and blue bunting had been strung across part of the Newtownards Road at the Constitutional Club bar and this was likely associated with Glasgow Rangers' Scottish Premiership win. More flags appeared along the Newtownards Road over the weekend of 22-23 May. As in the previous year there was no bunting across the Newtownards Road in July but larger (9 foot by 6 foot) Union and Ulster Banner flags were flown on lampposts along the road.

There were numerous new flag designs for the Northern Ireland centenary on display. Among these were a blue flag designed by the Loyalist Communities Council (LCC) and a similar blue flag with orange lilies produced by No.6 District of the Orange Order in east Belfast. A revised version of the NI 'comfer shop' flag was also produced. The Orange Order also produced its own centenary flag which was more prominent than the usual Orange Standard this year. Overall, NI centenary commemoration flags accounted for 39 of the 179 flags on the three main thoroughfares. No UDA flags were on display this year and those which would normally be flown at murals on the Newtownards Road were replaced with LCC blue centenary flags and by a B Specials commemorative flag.

Overview

The period began with an upsurge in the displaying of UDA and UVF related flags as part of the outworking of a UDA-UVF feud which occurred in 2000. By 2004, when the author began this survey, paramilitary flags had declined dramatically.

Throughout the period the Union Flag remained the most numerous flag on display. The greatest number appeared in 2013 (116) in the middle of the flag dispute with Belfast City Council. In almost every other year the Northern Ireland flag (Ulster Banner) was most common except in 2013 when there were a greater number of UVF flags.

The total number of flags on the three main thoroughfares ranged between 116 in 2006 and 201 in 2016. The number and type of flag on display was influenced by political events, by historical commemorations and, to a lesser extent, sporting achievements. Commemorations saw an upsurge in UVF flags in 2013, East Belfast Protestant Boys band flags in 2017, the Battle of the Somme centenary in 2016 while flags were also left up longer in 2018 at the time of the centenary of the ending of the First World War. Sporting achievements such as Northern Ireland's qualification for the European Nations competition finals in 2016 were also a factor.

Political and security events were also important. In this regard the flags dispute which began in December 2012 was a significant factor in the increase in the number of flags flown in 2013 (which was also the centenary of the UVF). The increase in the number of UVF flags in 2019 (most saying UVF East Belfast Battalion) was also probably linked to the murder of Ian Ogle and criticism of the local UVF earlier in the year.

There were comparatively few King William, Orange Order and Battle of the Boyne flags flown. This might be interpreted as an indication, as Dominic Bryan has pointed out, of a change away from commemorating the Battle of the Boyne to the Somme and the First World War and to events associated with the more recent Troubles.

2020 saw a decline in the number of flags on display (down 15 percent on the previous year) and this was undoubtedly driven by the Covid-19 lockdown although some side streets showed an increase in the flags on display. 2021 saw an increase in the number of flags, partly driven by flags commemorating the centenary of the creation of Northern Ireland. Although 2021 was also the 50th anniversary of the creation of the UDA there were no UDA flags on display on the main thoroughfares I surveyed.

So, finally, although these figures tell us something about what has happened with flag displays on three main thoroughfares in a loyalist area of inner east Belfast there are also limitations. The count was taken at a time when the greatest number of flags would normally be on display but not (apart from the years of the flags dispute) how this compares with other times of the year. Nor does it tell us what is happening outside of this area and how representative it is of other loyalist areas. If you are interested in knowing the answers to these questions let me know how big a grant you are willing to provide to fund the research and we can discuss it. In the meantime I think these figures at least give us some hard facts to back up some of the speculation about flag displays.

Flags of our Fathers?

So, to return to the question I posed in the title – are these the flags of our fathers – or at least those of the loyalist area around the Newtownards Road, Albertbridge Road and Templemore Avenue? What has changed and what has remained the same over the course of twenty years.

Some of the flags on display, such as the Union and Northern Ireland flags, might be seen as traditional but many are new flag designs drawing on British military themes or unionist and loyalist traditions and iconography. Technological changes have played a significant part in much of this by providing cheaper flags and a wide range of easily produced designs. In some ways, therefore, it is impossible to compare today's situation with that which existed thirty or forty years ago - before this technology was available. There has also been a tendency to leave flags up longer - again this is partly driven by the fact that the flags are relatively cheap

meaning that the flags on lampposts are used only once and there is little financial incentive to take them down and reuse them. It is possible that at least part of the change in how long flags are flown predates the period covered by this survey but it would require further research to attempt to verify this fact. Nevertheless, we can say that in the earlier years of this survey (2004 to 2012) flags on the Newtownards Road were removed between 10 September and 16 October but that since 2015 it has ranged from 4 October to 28 November.

Approximate dates flags erected and removed on the Newtownards Road

	Flags put up	Flags taken down
2004	19 June	18 September
2005	9 June	Not recorded
2006	Not recorded	10 September
2007	Not recorded	16 October
2008	7 June	28 September
2009	6 June	8 October
2010	5 June	12 September
2011	4 June	11 September
2012	26 May	14 October
2013	Flag Protests	end of year
2014	7 June	21 September
2015	6 June	4 October
2016	6 June	28 November
2017	8 June	6 November
2018	14 May	12 November
2019	6 June	21 October
2020	6 June	4 October
2021	23 May	9 October

There is perhaps an element of the philosophical conundrum of the ship of Theseus about this. In some ways parts of the celebration have changed while other parts have remained the same. Nevertheless, we are some way off the situation where the changes that have occurred in relation to the displaying of flags at the Twelfth makes it a completely different event from what occurred in the twentieth century. In any event, it is in the very nature of celebrations and commemorations to change and mutate over time anyway.