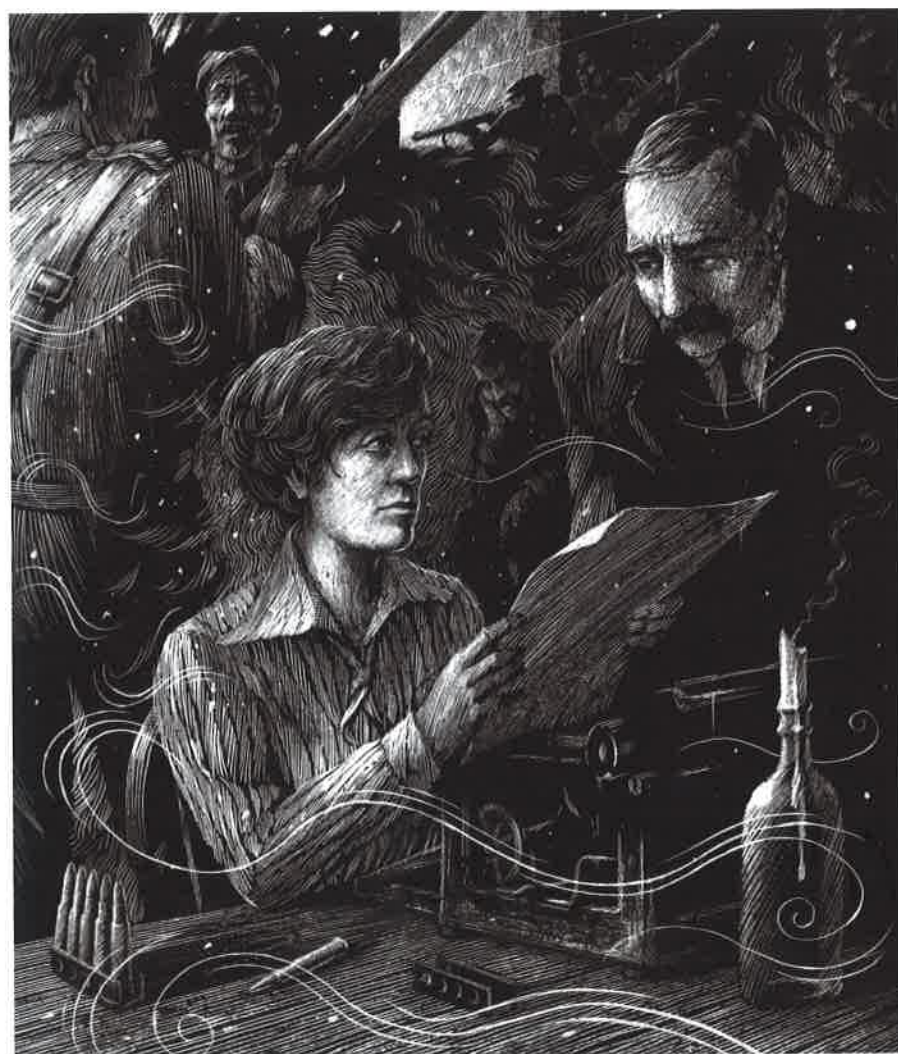


SAOTHAR 43

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**An Cumann Stair Lucht Saothair na hÉireann
The Irish Labour History Society, 2018**

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Other contacts

<i>International:</i>	Fionnuala Richardson, Labour History Museum and Archives
<i>Belfast:</i>	Seán Byers, seanbyers@trademarkbelfast.com
<i>Cork:</i>	Donal Ó Drisceoil, Department of History, 2 Perrott Ave., University College Cork
<i>Derry:</i>	Emmet O'Connor, Department of Politics, Magee College, Derry BT48 7JL
<i>Galway:</i>	John Cunningham, School of Humanities, NUI Galway

Saothar: Journal of Irish Labour History

Saothar: Journal of Irish Labour History is a refereed journal, dedicated to the study of Irish working-class history in its broadest sense, including Irish workers abroad and comparative history. We welcome articles; essays; document, film and visual art studies; oral histories; archival and conference reports; as well as letters on the content of the journal or labour history generally. Articles should be of relevance to the history of the Irish working class, or Irish workers abroad, and should not deal primarily with events less than thirty years old. By the 'history of the Irish working class' we mean waged and unwaged workers, their lives, work, economic conditions, social and cultural relationships, leaders, organisations, movements, values and ideas. Studies of anti-labour organisations or anti-socialist groups are also of relevance. We are particularly interested in studies that focus on the 'everyday life' of workers and their families. Features other than articles, such as essays, may be more contemporary in scope.

Editor: Sarah-Anne Buckley & Martin Maguire *Business Manager:* Ross Higgins

Correspondence should be sent to *Saothar*, c/o Sarahanne Buckley, Sarahanne.buckley@nuigalway.ie and Martin Maguire, Martin.Maguire@dkit.ie. Advertising and distribution queries should be directed to the business manager, c/o ILHS, Labour History Museum and Archives.

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Front cover: David Rooney, Winifred Carney (lithograph print, 2015/16) from '1916 Portraits', courtesy of David Rooney & The Royal Irish Academy. The complete series of forty-two original '1916 Portraits' will be exhibited in the new Kilmainham Museum, also see online.

Back cover: Front cover of the 1967 second edition *Rebel Irishwomen*, published by Progress House, with sketches by Joe Darby, of Nora Connolly O'Brien, Helena Molony, Maud Gonne MacBride, Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, Countess Markievicz, and Charlotte Despard.

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- 58 In 1976, 1979-83, I interviewed William McMullen, Murtagh Morgan, Cathal McCrystal, George McBride, John M'Wade, Vincent O'Boyle, Des Cassidy, Peadar O'Donnell, Frank Robbins, John Swift, Betty Sinclair, Maire Comerford and Nora Connolly O'Brien.
- 59 In a sad moment, on 9 May 1919, Carney told Stack: 'I am feeling dreadfully effeminate and not at all like a soldier of the Irish Republic. I would make the ideal clergyman's wife at the moment,' UCD Archives P149/275(1).
- 60 Carney to Stack, 9 May 1919, UCD Archives, P149/275(1).

To the Electors of Victoria.

"The great only appear great because we are on our knees:
LET US RISE."

FRATERS,

In consenting to stand as a Candidate for the Victoria Division, and in asking the support of the Electors, both men and women, for the Republican ticket, I desire to state the reasons which have prompted my action, the principles and policy for which I stand, and the righteousness of the cause which I have the honour of serving.

The Republican or Sinn Féin Party is contesting every seat in Ireland against the candidates of all other parties—Unionist, Home Rule, and Labour—because, for the first time in election history, there is but one clean and clear-cut issue before the electors: Whether the people of Ireland are to have their own free choice, without the interference of any power, people, or parliament, of the sovereignty and form of government under which they shall live. No other party—not even the Belfast Labour Party—declares the right of Ireland to that free choice, and therefore all other candidates must be opposed by all who believe Ireland has the same right to this free and absolute self-determination as other peoples.

Upon this issue I appeal for the support of the Electors, because I have had the great honour of personal association with the people of this Division, particularly the working men and working women. They know the Republican Candidate and that Candidate's work. They will remember that my convictions, and the profession and practice of my convictions, are the same as those of their champion and my friend, the murdered James Connolly, who died for their sake; and remembering, they will judge between the different parties in this Election.

The principles I state and stand upon are these: The right of all peoples, the Irish included, to the absolute, free, and untrammelled

The form of government for which I stand is the People's Republic, the Workers' Republic, the environment in power of the working class; not the government of wealth and privilege, nor the capitalist Republic of France and America; not the Workers' Republic of the whole Irish people, in which all men and women shall work as do their fellows, and in which no idle rich class shall exploit men and women and children, and grow fat and wealthy upon the sweat and blood and labour of the working class.

The policy of the Party I represent is that of the reliance of the Irish people upon themselves, and of the workers upon themselves. "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

As part and parcel of the Republican faith, I am for an undivided Ireland. I am resolutely opposed to Conspicuous and to the cutting-off of any part of Ulster from Ireland and Ireland's destiny. I should have no hesitation in opposing these damnable measure with the same weapons and the same spirit and determination with which I fought, and am ready to fight again, for the Republic.

The issue, then, is clear and definite: Ireland to England; Independence or Subjection; Freedom or Slavery; the Republic or the English Monarchy; the Workers' Republic or the Capitalist Empire; the Sovereign People or the People in Chains. You know for which of these I stand. For which do you stand?

Already the Republic proclaimed in Easter Week has secured the allegiance of the people, who have remained true to the Republic unopposed. I have no doubt of what allegiance will be given by those men and women—the working men and women of Connolly's love and service—who stand for Ireland. They will give their allegiance to the Republic for which James Connolly worked and fought and, wounded and helpless, fell pierced by British bullets.

In this faith and for this cause I have the honour of subscribing myself,

Yours for the People and the Republic,

Winifred Carney.

the right of the people of Ireland to sovereignty; the right of the people to choose the Republic; and the right of the workers to the control of industry; and to the exercise of that right under the government of the Workers' Republic.

In this election all other candidates—Unionist, Home Rule, Independent, and Labour—limit the self-determination of Ireland to some form or other of local government within the British Empire, although these parties and the British Government and its Allies impose no such limitations upon the self-determination of Poland, Finland, Bohemia, and Jugoslavia. With the Republican Party and with the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, I stand for the same rights for our own Irish people as for the Poles, the Finns, and the Czechs-Slovaks.

Against them all—Unionist, Home Rule, Labour men, and Empire—I assert, with my dear comrades of the Irish Republic of East Week, the right of the people of Ireland to the sovereignty of Ireland to be sovereign and indefeasible. Against them all I declare my allegiance to the Irish Republic. Against them all I take my stand with, and my principles from, the dead martyrs of my people—Wolfe Tone and Emmet, Lator and Mitchell, the Manchester Martyrs and O'Donovan Rossa, James Connolly and Patrick Henry Pearce, and the living men and women of my generation. Against them all I deny the robber right and robber rule of the British Empire or of any foreign government or people in Ireland, and assert that no people, and no government, except the Irish people and the Government of the Irish Republic, have any right, but force and military power, in this country. Against them all I stand for the People, for the Republic, for Ireland—against them all and their kings and thrones and empire.

I am, therefore, Nationalist and Republican in principle, because I stand for the rule of the people of all the people; because there is nobody older or nobler in blood or dignity than the people; because there is nobody good enough or great enough, nobody worthy enough, to rule and govern the people but the people themselves.

Winifred Carney, Election Manifesto (1918), To the Electors of Victoria', UCD Archives, P149/145, by kind permission of UCD-OFM Partnership.

Ardmore Studios, film workers and the Irish State: creative labour in the 'Decade of Upheaval'

Denis Murphy

In December 1957, an ad appeared in the *Irish Times*, seeking 'key technical personnel' to work at the newly established Ardmore Studios.¹ Applicants were required to be resident in the Republic of Ireland, a stipulation that would prove highly ironic in the light of subsequent events. Three months later, as Ardmore prepared to open for business shooting Walter Macken's *Home Is the Hero* for US television, the studio outlined its permanent staffing plans. It would include:

... a projection staff of two; three maintenance electricians; two boilermen; a caretaker, groundsman, storekeeper, cleaners; a camera-crew of three; a sound crew of four; three members of the art department; four transport drivers... a construction crew of 30; and carpenters, riggers and screen-shifters.²

The scarcity of professional film production in 1950s Ireland meant that finding enough qualified workers to fill these positions would be difficult. This article draws on previously unexplored material in the National Archives to illuminate the labour difficulties that accompanied Ardmore Studios' initial attempts to establish itself as an international production facility as the Irish economy was opened to international trade in the 1960s. The conflict produced the only prolonged official industrial dispute in the history of Ireland's film industry. It called into question the viability of Ardmore, a privately owned facility established with significant State support in 1958.³ Arguably, the dispute provided a valuable learning experience for producers, film workers, and State officials alike in the shared goal of establishing Ireland as a viable production hub for mobile international film production, and thus an active node in the international division of cultural labour, as theorised by Toby Miller et al.⁴ That these events took place in the early 1960s demonstrates the international film industry's early adoption of a globalised production model, some decades before the 1980s-era technological and (de)regulatory developments often associated with the globalisation framework. It also illustrates the Irish State's role in encouraging labour 'flexibility' – an important precondition for foreign direct investment in an industry as labour intensive as film and television production. The narrative emerging over the course of this article ultimately begs the following, provocative question: Did the Irish State place Ardmore Studios into financial receivership to break the power of a militant trade union?

Background

*The depressing thing about the 1950s was not just that Ireland was doing badly as that its neighbours were doing far better. Free trade was seen as a chance to catch up with modernity.*⁵

The late 1950s and 1960s were years of significant change in Irish social, economic and political development, as the Eamon de Valera era of economic nationalism and protected industrial development gave way to an era of modernisation when Sean Lemass assumed the office of Taoiseach in 1959. The transition to free trade envisioned by Lemass's economic advisor T. K. Whitaker in his *Programme for Economic Expansion* (PEE) required State initiatives in a number of areas. Formal tripartite (i.e. State, employer and labour) bodies were created to oversee reforms in pay determination and industrial relations.⁶ Trade union involvement was seen as essential in the

mission to prepare for free trade and set a new agenda for industrial policy. Lemass needed productivity increases, and hoped for pay restraint as a *quid pro quo* for union inclusion in the decision making process.

Pay restraint would be a tall order, however. The Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU) had been agitating for a living wage of £500 per year since at least 1957, a target still some way off in 1960, when 60 percent of industrial workers earned less than £10 per week.⁷ The prevailing system of pay determination had been the 'wage round', a system of periodic pay increases begun in 1946. Despite these established processes and other Lemass reforms, the 1960s would see unprecedented levels of industrial action by Irish workers.

Although the film industry has been marked, on the surface at least, by its industrial relations stability, it would not be immune to industrial unrest during the 'decade of upheaval' that was the 1960s.⁸ Ardmore, opened in spring 1958, became the focus of significant attention by Irish and British trade unions, as the studio struggled to establish a place for itself in the firmament of an increasingly globalising film production system. The opening of the studios was an event itself connected to the ambitions of Lemass. As Industry and Commerce minister, Lemass's interests encompassed film production, despite the scepticism of his colleagues that such an industry could ever be economically viable.⁹ In the years prior to the implementation of the PEE, Ardmore Studios had been built by Louis Elliman, MD of the Rank Organisation's Irish operations, and the film producer Emmet Dalton, the former Free State general under Michael Collins.¹⁰ Opening for business in spring 1958, it would later emerge that the studio complex had been financed largely from public funds, to the extent that it could arguably be considered a semi-State operation.¹¹

It might be deduced that the Irish State, newly energised by the PEE and the desire to modernise the Irish economy through foreign direct investment, saw in Ardmore an opportunity to capture a slice of the inward investment that might be available from mobile international film production. The establishment of Ardmore Studios can therefore be considered a statement of industrial intent, and as such it was accompanied, as was typical during the era, by the formal recognition of the relevant unions. To contextualise the organisation of filmmaking on a more formal basis, and indeed the increasing formalisation of labour-management relations that Ardmore's existence enabled, I begin with a brief look at union organising in the Irish film industry prior to Ardmore's existence, noting how Irish Actors' Equity in particular was able to leverage its position as a supplier of crowd artists (extras) to build a more commanding presence as a representative of acting labour. In the remainder of the article, I examine in detail the escalating labour difficulties that came to a head on the set of the British film *Of Human Bondage* in 1963. The events leading up to and following the strike illustrate how various labour, capital, and State bodies, on both sides of the Irish Sea, reacted and interacted in response to the outsourcing of British production to Ireland. The conflict pitted emerging Irish film institutions against their much longer-established British rivals. The struggle sheds light on a central concern of Irish labour history, given our historic unemployment problem: the question of access to the available work. It also illustrates the intricate interplay of labour, capital and State interests in brokering a solution to Ardmore's emerging labour issues.

Trade unions and Irish film: beginnings

The origins and early years of Irish filmmaking have been the subject of considerable scholarship in recent decades.¹² The often remarkable achievements of early drama and documentary filmmakers working in the 1930s and 1940s might have framed an interesting pre-industrial preamble to the analysis here presented. For practical reasons, however, I have chosen for a starting point the establishment of Ardmore Studios in the late 1950s, because it was not until this point that the ITGWU and other unions began to organise film production workers, as an extension of union activities in the film distribution and exhibition sectors.

This is not to imply that the period prior to Ardmore's establishment is not of interest from a labour history viewpoint. As Rockett has documented, a small number of Irish-themed British and US features had been shot in Ireland over the previous decades, as well as a number of non-Irish set dramas like *Henry V* (1944), filmed in Wicklow, and *Moby Dick* (1956) made in Youghal, Co. Cork. While there are some interesting stories of native participation in these projects, it remains that Irish involvement in most films made here was peripheral at best.¹³ One area of success, however, was the supply of minor actors and screen extras, so it is perhaps not surprising that Irish Actors' Equity was likely the first Irish trade union to organise and gain recognition in the emerging film industry. In contrast to the short supply of Irish-based film technicians and craft workers, there was a substantial amount of professional acting talent available at the Abbey and Gate Theatres. Unlike their off-screen colleagues, therefore, local players, whether featured actors or background crowd artists, enjoyed something of an advantage in securing film work, not least because there were obvious creative and economic justifications for their use in dramatic films set in Ireland. Equity had managed to secure union recognition and a closed shop agreement at the Gate Theatre after a 1949 strike.¹⁴ Although it would be another 15 years before Equity extended its jurisdiction to the Abbey Theatre in 1964, the union had more success in the evolving film industry.¹⁵

From the 1940s on, Equity made regularly updated labour agreements with the British Film Producers Association (BFPA) to cover terms and conditions for actor employment on incoming UK films.¹⁶ Aware that Irish actors travelling to the US for film work were required to join the Screen Actors Guild (SAG) at its full membership fee, Equity general secretary Dermot Doolan saw an opportunity for reciprocation when John Ford arrived in Cong in 1951 to make *The Quiet Man*. Doolan insisted that Ford's non-Irish cast, including John Wayne, Ward Bond and Victor McLaglan, pay a foreign member fee of £250 (Irish-born cast members like Maureen O'Hara and Barry Fitzgerald would only have to pay the regular £10 fee).¹⁷ Although Ford was reportedly furious, his studio, Republic Pictures, instructed him to pay the fee, perhaps fearing reprisals from SAG, with whom Equity enjoyed cordial relations.¹⁸ Thus Equity became firmly established as a film union early on, partly due to its own globalised relations within the international labour movement, its relationship with SAG demonstrating the benefits of such labour internationalism.¹⁹

Equity, then, was in a position of considerable strength by December 1957, when Ardmore Studios placed its Irish Times recruitment adverts. As the studio prepared to open, Equity came together with the other general and craft unions to agree on jurisdiction matters and to work towards a general labour agreement covering pay and work conditions at Ardmore.²⁰ While the jurisdiction question was perhaps easily answered for crafts grades, many of whom were already members of established craft unions, the representation of technicians and 'creative' grades was not so clear. Equity itself considered setting up a technicians section, before it ceded this remit to the ITGWU.²¹ As Ardmore's opening day approached, then, filmmaking in Ireland prepared to become enmeshed in the colourful history and culture of the trade union movement.

Developing the Irish film workforce

According to Ardmore co-founder Louis Elliman, the studio's arrival provided an opportunity to repatriate Irish film workers resident in Britain. While the wages on offer were lower than those in Britain's far more extensive film industry, the cost of living differential would partly make up for this: Elliman reminded potential employees that 'fifty pounds a week in Ireland is better than the same sum in England'.²² In 1958, fifty pounds a week, earned anywhere at all, was a considerable sum – more than five times the ITGWU's 'living wage' target of £500 per year.²³ If this figure accurately reflects the wages on offer, its generosity also underlines the scarcity of qualified Irish-resident film workers, who would necessarily, in the short term at least, have to be attracted from

abroad. According to material later filed with the Department of Industry and Commerce, Ardmore management hoped to address the labour scarcity through a long-term process of skills transfer.

It was always the intention of Ardmore to train Irish personnel under experienced technicians from England or elsewhere so that ultimately Ardmore would be in a position to supply all the necessary crews for the production of Pictures.²⁴

In the first years of Ardmore's operation, a reasonable amount of skills transfer did indeed take place, especially during the production of the studio's first major theatrical film project, *Shake Hands with the Devil*, a US treatment of the Irish War of Independence starring James Cagney.²⁵ During this and other early productions, native skill levels progressed to the point where the studio could provide sufficiently experienced local crafts labour (e.g. plasterers, painters, electricians). In addition, a small number of the more technical film-specific grades had been trained. Ardmore could offer incoming producers a local clapper/loader, focus puller, grip, sound mixer, boom swinger, and sound camera operator, further reducing the amount of essential technicians the production company would need to import.²⁶ To hire locally would save the production company the substantial 'all-in allowance' payable – in addition to wages and travel costs – to travelling personnel, under the terms of a special 1961 agreement between British producers and unions.²⁷ Normally, following negotiations between incoming production companies and British unions, any suitably qualified local personnel might be hired.²⁸

Despite this promising start, Ardmore Studios did not become a major employer of Irish film technicians in this era.²⁹ State intervention in the British film industry, in the form of the so-called Eady levy, would have a profound impact on the Irish studio company. Ardmore opened just months after the levy was established to partly fund the production of indigenous British films. Such films were legislatively supported by the 1927 Cinematograph Film Act, which required distributors to programme a minimum 'quota' of UK films.³⁰ The original legislation limited quota status to films made within the Commonwealth, but by 1960, in a producer-friendly move, Ireland and Irish labour were effectively categorised as British under the legislation.³¹ Ardmore's appeal to British producers was thus enhanced, but this did not necessarily bode well for Irish film workers. The studio's Eady/quota status saw it occupy a somewhat liminal position – neither British nor foreign – in the eyes of the British filmmaking establishment. There would be severe implications for employment, and Ardmore's skills-transfer training strategy.

Ardmore's favourable quota status was further enhanced by the establishment of the Irish Film Finance Corporation (IFFC) in 1960. As a subsidiary of the semi-State Industrial Credit Corporation, the IFFC provided 'end money' to Irish (i.e. Ardmore-based) productions with a distribution guarantee in place, effectively freezing out native producers.³² The availability of what amounted to a soft loan from the IFFC provided an additional incentive to British producers, who otherwise might not have had a compelling reason to shoot their films in Ireland, even for Irish-themed projects.³³ As shall emerge below, such developments would not go uncontested by British film unions. In turn, British labour resistance would be countered to varying degrees by the Irish unions. We now turn to that simmering conflict, as growing levels of British filmmaking at Ardmore saw the studios become increasingly embroiled in international labour politics. The difficulties that emerged set the early tone for Ireland's involvement in the emerging international division of film labour – a setback that represents by some distance the most significant industrial action ever taken on film sets in Ireland.

Electrical storm: ETU vs. ETUI 1961-1962

The conflict that would come to a head on the set of *On Human Bondage* in 1963 was of considerable concern to the Irish State, given its role in the financing of the Ardmore operation. The State's

interest is evident from the involvement of prominent government officials and civil servants in the effort to diffuse the growing employer-union tensions. In general, the literature on Irish film production labour, to the extent that it exists at all, has tended to characterise industrial relations during these formative early years as 'a restrictive agreement between Ardmore management and the British film technicians' union ACTT', whereby Ardmore would service British productions in return for the exclusive employment of ACTT members.³⁴ This is undoubtedly true to the extent that it refers to film workers who could not easily be sourced locally. And while the lack of a systematic film-worker training system created a 'vacuum' filled mainly with imported British labour,³⁵ one film grade – electricians – had resisted that trend from Ardmore's earliest days. The resulting precedent provided a reasonably robust platform from which Irish film workers, in the electrical grades at least, might defend the loss of employment to their British counterparts.

On a film set, electricians are responsible for the set-up and general handling of electrical plant and apparatus, including power generators and lighting equipment. At Ardmore, a group of electricians had trained under an experienced gaffer, Thomas Chapman, imported from England for that purpose.³⁶ These workers were usually referred to the studios by the Electrical Trades Union (Ireland) (ETUI) on secondment from their regular employment in general industry.³⁷ They had built up substantial experience and expertise under Chapman's tutelage, and accordingly, a 'seniority list' of film electricians had been established, from which Ardmore's client producers would draw for electrical crew.

[Ardmore] wanted an assurance of a supply of electricians, and the original list then became known as the seniority list... By 1962 the men on the seniority list would have become specialised in film work, and had been complimented by producers.³⁸

These comments are from High Court testimony by ETUI General Secretary George Lynch in 1964, towards the end of the two-year dispute described below. The dispute brought into sharp focus the question of whether runaway filmmaking in Ireland – and perhaps other forms of foreign direct investment – might lead to long-term, quality employment for Irish workers. The tensions would escalate over the course of a number of British quota films booked into Ardmore Studios from late 1961.

Term of Trial, The Very Edge and The Ballad of the Running Man (1961-62)

In September 1961, the British Film Producers Association (BFPA) and the Federation of British Film Makers (FBFM) met with the three British film worker unions ACTT, NATKE, and the ETU.³⁹ The primary purpose of the meeting was to devise a labour agreement covering pictures made at Ardmore Studios by BFPA and FBFM member companies.⁴⁰ Despite (or perhaps because of) the Films Act (1960) treatment of Irish studios, the meeting agreed that while 'Ardmore Studios is not a foreign location', it nevertheless could not 'be regarded on the same basis as work in the UK'.⁴¹ In recognition of this unusual status, union members working in Ireland would be entitled to a number of special provisions, including straight-time pay for layover weekends and generous (£22 10s) weekly living expenses. While the agreement did not require British producers to hire British workers, it required that British unions be notified of films offshoring to Ardmore, 'to allow for any joint prior consultation that may be felt to be necessary'.⁴² This fairly loose arrangement marked a departure from previous policy, whereby Ardmore crews were finalised during *ad hoc* meetings involving producers, unions, and studio management from both countries. Such arrangements had allowed for varying levels of Irish crew participation, and a degree of skills transfer, as outlined above.⁴³

The somewhat unstable nature of this arrangement became apparent during pre-production work for *Term of Trial*, a film brought to Ardmore by a British subsidiary of Warner Brothers. In April

1962, Ardmore and the ETUI made separate complaints to the Department of Industry and Commerce, claiming the film's producer was 'forced' by British unions to employ seven crew who might otherwise have been hired locally.⁴⁴ Ardmore, worried about the threat to its business model, asked the Department of Industry and Commerce to intervene with the British Board of Trade, while the ETUI requested a similar intervention over the threat to Irish jobs.⁴⁵ The union claimed to have a labour agreement with Ardmore prioritising the employment of its 'seniority list' of twenty-one Irish electricians. The union would go on strike over this principle, and had so informed its British counterpart, the ETU.⁴⁶

While the State officials weighed up their options, Ardmore got in touch again, worried that another film, *The Very Edge*, due to shoot in June 1962, might be lost. This time, the British unions increased the pressure, seeking fifteen British crew, all grades otherwise available locally.⁴⁷ Following several labour-management meetings, the British unions reduced this demand to three, but the Irish unions held their ground and refused even these token levels of British employment.⁴⁸ Despite the tension, production appears to have proceeded, and both films were completed as planned. The uncertainty over these arrangements carried over to Ardmore's next quota booking, a Columbia production called *The Ballad of the Running Man*, due to arrive in September 1962 following location work in Spain.⁴⁹ British unions wanted the production company to bring its entire location crew – full camera and sound units, several crafts, and nine electricians. The ETUI again objected, and Ardmore worried about its viability.⁵⁰ The Department of Industry and Commerce, which had been copied on all relevant correspondence, seemed reluctant to intervene:

We have made it clear to Ardmore Studios that we are ready to give any help we can if asked. It is to be presumed that they will come to us if they cannot reach agreement with the unions.⁵¹

That situation soon transpired, after extensive negotiations, some of which took place at Government offices, proved futile.⁵² At one such meeting, attended by the rival electrical unions, the ETU insisted again on half the electrical jobs, based on the principle that the film qualified for British subsidy. When the ETUI refused to accept this principle, the tone of the discussion appeared to deteriorate. The ETU accusing the Irish union of trying to 'filch British quota moneys but to keep the British labour out'.⁵³ Eventually, the ETU left the table. Chairing the meeting, A. Kennan, an official of the Department, told the ETUI they were being unreasonable and the Minister would not be sympathetic.⁵⁴

By now, word of the difficulties had reached the Irish media, and The Irish Times ran several stories covering the various efforts to resolve the difficulties.⁵⁵ The newspaper coverage was broadly accurate in its summary of the essential issues behind the inter-union difficulties, namely the ETUI's claim to have an arrangement with Ardmore 'precluding the engagement of ETU members'.⁵⁶ The newspapers were as yet unaware of the Department's participation in efforts to resolve the dispute, an involvement that would not emerge for almost two years.⁵⁷ In September, at a meeting of British producers and unions, ETU official Bert Batchelor alleged that some films were going to Ireland for purely financial reasons. Despite his castigation of producers, however, Batchelor clearly considered the current difficulty to be with the ETUI, who would 'not have any British electricians working there at all', even after three sets of meetings between the two unions.

We were quite prepared to reach some form of accommodation, but since the attitude of the Irish union is what it is... we want to give you notice that we are going to use every possible means in our power to prevent any further production of films at Ardmore Studios because they will not reach any reasonable accommodation with us.⁵⁸

Although the meeting was reminded that, as far as Eady regulations were concerned, 'Irish labour counted as British labour', Batchelor vowed to mobilise 'as much resistance as we can muster' against the offshoring of British films to Ardmore.⁵⁹

Nevertheless, *The Running Man* went ahead as scheduled with Irish electricians employed. Nine British electricians had travelled to Ireland to work on the film, but were told by Columbia not to report to the studio, remaining idle (and presumably paid) until recalled to the UK a week later.⁶⁰ After the ETU withdrew its members, it stepped up its war of words against Ardmore, and Irish labour in general. It told its branches to refuse membership to Irish workers – a considerable snub to the huge numbers of Irish living and working in Britain following the mass emigration of the 1950s. It threatened to 'disrupt' the activities of British producers doing business in 'Southern Ireland'. It warned producers that its members would not handle equipment bound for Ardmore.⁶¹ The threatened reprisals prompted Elliman and another Ardmore director, Cornelius McGrath, to arrange a meeting with the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Jack Lynch, having apparently discussed the situation with the Taoiseach.⁶²

The situation was made all the more urgent because the next film booked into the studios, an adaptation of the Somerset Maugham novel *Of Human Bondage*, would be the Studios' biggest project to date. Ardmore management feared the ETU would effectively shut down the studios unless the ETUI compromised, reflecting a clear shift of blame towards the Irish union. They asked the Minister to intervene directly with the ETUI, which he agreed to do, but only as a last resort. If *Bondage* producer Sheldon Reynolds sought to withdraw from his contract, they would come back to the Minister. If not, the State would take a back seat and 'matters would simply have to be allowed to take their course'.⁶³

Coming to a head: *Of Human Bondage*, Ardmore and the ETUI

In December 1962, news of the prestigious *Bondage* project had reached the newspapers. US company Seven Arts Productions would make the film at Ardmore Studios through its UK subsidiary.⁶⁴ As was by now perhaps inevitable, labour difficulties immediately emerged.

Three English trades unions led by the E.T.U. put their guns to the production company's head. The English unions demanded that a minimum of 85 of their members should be taken to Ireland and employed there. The production company compromised on 35 English technicians, which they believe to be a more than generous concession, but the English unions have refused to accept.⁶⁵

While the framing of this Irish Times report – demanding, intransigent unions pressurising a compromising, generously conceding production company – is revealing, perhaps more significant is the placing of the blame not with the film unions in general, but rather with the *English* unions. This would change over the course of the dispute. The production company's first response was to threaten to move production to Hollywood, claiming the British unions were trying to 'close down Ardmore' with 'exorbitant' demands that would escalate costs by \$100,000.⁶⁶

Seven Arts' immediate concern seemed less concerned with overall crewing numbers than on the numbers of UK workers it was being asked to send to Ireland, which would increase its costs under the terms of the 1961 producer-union agreement.⁶⁷

[Seven Arts Executive Producer] Mr. Patterson said that the unions were demanding that a total of 70 people, on the technical side, should be drawn from Britain. This would mean a living allowance of £25 for each, plus £5 pocket money and first-class air fares each way on top of salaries. There were certain technicians from Britain who were absolutely necessary, but there was absolutely no need to bring labourers, carpenters and electricians in such numbers.⁶⁸

Seemingly sympathising with Irish labour, Patterson claimed that 'the Irish did not build Ardmore for the benefit of the British unions', and counter-proposed a British crew of twenty-nine. The standoff continued with the ETU insisting on fifty British electricians alone. Patterson seemed to be treating the demands seriously, allowing that the company was looking to 'prune the costs

sufficiently without interfering with the quality of the film'.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, reflecting the growing uncertainty, lead actress Kim Novak's travel plans were put on hold.

On 11 January 1963, Cornelius McGrath called to the Department and asked that the matter be taken up again with the UK Board of Trade.⁷⁰ On the same day, in a seemingly related move, Seven Arts complained to the Irish Embassy in London about the British unions' 'exorbitant demands':

Apparently the unions were making them employ three times the number of people actually needed and would not allow any Irish labour at all to be employed at Ardmore.⁷¹

The Minister again decided against any intervention.⁷² Seven Arts threatened to move its entire slate of British productions to Hollywood.⁷³ The British unions, meanwhile, claimed that they just wanted a 'reasonable participation in the labour content' of *Bondage*.⁷⁴ Over the following days, more discussions were held in London between the production company, the British unions, and an Irish union delegation including the ETUI.⁷⁵ These talks, the fifth occasion on which the British and Irish electrical unions had come together, appeared to produce a breakthrough, and it was announced on January 18 that production would go ahead.⁷⁶ Four days later, however, set-building was put on hold when the ETUI Executive committee refused to ratify the proposals.⁷⁷ The about-turn led to tension with the other film unions, who feared the loss of the production:

The usual union view seems to be that the film industry which gives permanent employment to 180 people and casual employment to many more is too valuable to be allowed to be endangered because of an intransigent demand by any one union.⁷⁸

These fears seemed well founded. In *Kine Weekly*, the ETU stated that 'We will do our utmost to see that the picture is made in [Britain] or not at all'.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, Seven Arts, abandoned its support of the Irish labour position, declaring it had 'no complaints about the English unions', clearly laying the blame at the door of the ETUI.⁸⁰ Thus the *Bondage* dispute, initially blamed on British union intransigence, was now attributed to the Irish ETU, which had allegedly reneged on a multilateral agreement reached in London. Aware of this not-so-subtle shift in emphasis, the Irish union claimed no desire for friction with its British counterpart, citing again the historical precedent for its actions:

Since 1958, this union has supplied electricians to the studios for all films made, without any difficulty... As employment at the studios is purely casual ... it is the intention to use [the seniority list] in the hope that regular employment will eventually operate.⁸¹

A strike injunction

While the ETUI had a direct interest in disrupting Ardmore productions that ignored this precedent, it could not necessarily count on the support of the other unions, representing trades and other craft workers whose right to work on incoming films was not in any real dispute. The ETUI did not appear to be in good standing with the other unions. It had withdrawn from the Ardmore Studio Group in 1962 and had also been expelled from the Irish Congress of Trades Unions over allegations of poaching members from other unions.⁸² It must nevertheless have come as a surprise to the ETUI when it was announced on January 30th that the dispute had been resolved. Production on the film would go ahead, the agreed nine Irish electricians (i.e. 50 percent of the electrical crew) supplied not by the ETUI but another union in the Studio Group, the Irish Engineering, Industrial and Electrical Trade Union (IEIETU).⁸³ To add insult to injury, ICTU had directed its affiliated unions and trade councils to cease all cooperation with the ETUI.⁸⁴

At this point, the ETUI impediment having been removed from the production, contacts between the Department and the Studios ceased, at least until the lengthy production lull that was to follow *Bondage*. By mid-February 1963, eighty Studio Group union members were doing prep work on the film. The Irish electricians were to be joined by nine British counterparts when shooting

commenced.⁸⁵ The ETUI reaction was to declare a strike, on the grounds that Ardmore had reneged on an offer to hire its members. A picket was duly placed on the studio on February 25th. Ardmore's counterargument was that the union's insistence on supplying all 18 electricians had negated the original offer. The studio was granted a series of injunctions curtailing the picket, and *Bondage* was completed more or less on schedule in June 1963.⁸⁶ The following month, the case recommenced in the High Court. On 30th July, the ETUI appeared to emerge victorious, as Justice Frederick Budd ruled that it had been entitled to picket. The Justice was 'in no doubt whatever of the existence of the seniority list which operated from 1958 and became crystallised around December 1961, with 20 names on it'.⁸⁷

Ardmore Studios: a strategic receivership?

While *Of Human Bondage* had survived the dispute, it now looked like Ardmore might not. No further films had been booked in to the facility, a situation blamed by management on the 'uncertainty of the labour situation'.⁸⁸ By the time the High Court ruled in the ETU's favour, the studio's forty to fifty permanent and temporary staff, including 'craftsmen, technicians, canteen staff and clerical workers' had already received notice of their imminent lay-off, with 'little hope of any immediate solution'.⁸⁹ ICTU Secretary Leo Crawford sought discussions with Industry and Commerce on the future of the studios, precipitating more meetings at the Department.⁹⁰ At one of these, the unions affirmed that they would continue to direct members to pass the reinstated ETUI picket, although it was noted that individual union members (including some incoming British union members) might not obey this directive.⁹¹ It was essential, therefore, to renegotiate with the ETUI. Louis Elliman claimed that if a guarantee of labour stability could be given to incoming producers, Ardmore could reopen with no shortage of incoming contracts.⁹² He appeared pessimistic though: the studio was losing money, had acquired a reputation for labour trouble, and his instinct was 'to pack it in'.⁹³ Despite the recent High Court ruling, Elliman claimed he would have nothing to do with ETUI if it insisted on its 'supposed' rights under the seniority agreement.⁹⁴ Another Ardmore director, William Sandys, then made a radical proposal:

the solution to the whole problem of the ETUI and the seniority agreement might be for the company to go into liquidation and then set up a new company which could enter into fresh agreements.⁹⁵

The Sandys proposal might be described as a strategic dissolution, to nullify not only the company's existing union agreements, but also the High Court ruling that served to reinforce them. In effect, entering receivership allowed Ardmore to function as the new company that Sandys had proposed, freeing the studio from its obligations to labour by nullifying its union agreements. Seven weeks later, the proposal effectively became a reality when Ardmore's major creditor – the Industrial Credit Corporation – called in its loans and placed the Studios in receivership, with Sandys himself appointed as receiver.⁹⁶

Ballad in Blue, the ETUI, and the Ardmore receiver

The final chapter in the ETUI's battle with Ardmore then played out, as Sandys made new agreements with the twelve technical and crafts unions in the Studio Group, freezing out the ETUI. A few months later, the studios hosted a Ray Charles vehicle called *Ballad in Blue*. In the spirit of his new agreement with the Studio Group, Sandys had claimed it would be a breach to employ ETUI members, and electricians were hired once more from the IEIETU. Frozen out, the ETUI mounted another picket at the studio gates. Despite the previous year's High Court ruling in favour of the ETUI, the Studio Group advised its members to 'remain at work, even if this entails passing a picket'.⁹⁷

Sandys applied for yet another injunction, arguing that he – in his capacity as receiver – was not subject to prior Ardmore union agreements.⁹⁸ This amounted to an attempt to negate the Justice Budd ruling due to the studio's new circumstances. There were two issues to be determined by the court:

Did the picketers or the Union... genuinely believe, on rational grounds, that Ardmore Studios, in the existing circumstances, was bound by agreement to employ only electricians from the Seniority list; and, Whether, as a matter of law, any agreement, existing prior to the date of his appointment, in relation to the employment of labour, could be held to bind the receiver?⁹⁹

With an injunction in place, the union was powerless to prevent the completion of *Ballad in Blue* with the IEIETU electricians. A final judgment was delivered several months later, when Justice Richard McLoughlin dealt the ETUI a critical blow. He ruled that the seniority list, 'even if it existed as an agreement on the date of the appointment of the receiver' was not binding on Sandys.¹⁰⁰ Thus the ETUI's right to picket was comprehensively overturned, and it appears that the union did not engage in any further disputes with Ardmore Studios, in any of its successive states of ownership.¹⁰¹ Indeed the ETUI's influence on filmmaking in Ireland appears to have gone into decline following the events described above. The union continued to represent electricians in RTÉ, where it was involved in a number of high-profile disputes over the following decades.¹⁰² In the film industry, however, its rival union IEIETU held on to its dominant position representing electrical workers. Having amalgamated with the National Engineering Union in 1966 to form the National Engineering and Electrical Trade Union (NEETU),¹⁰³ it was involved in a skirmish during which it picketed the Dunquin set of *Ryan's Daughter*.¹⁰⁴ Eventually, the ETUI merged with NEETU in 2001 to form the Technical, Electrical, & Engineering Union (TEEU).¹⁰⁵ In its current incarnation, the union continues to represent electrical workers in both the film and television industries.

Conclusion

Writing a few years after these events, Irish filmmaker Louis Marcus claimed that the electrical dispute clearly demonstrated 'the irrelevance of Ardmore Studios' to the development of indigenous filmmaking. The studio, which had 'failed to intervene on the electricians behalf, and eventually acted against them', had revealed its alignment with the interests of its UK client producers.¹⁰⁶ That no Irish 'cameramen, sound recordists, or other Irish film technicians' had been available to add weight to the electricians' protest served to underline the extent to which Ardmore was merely an extension of the British industry, making Eady-subsidised films with British labour.

While the above account does not contradict the general thrust of this 'Ardmore irrelevance' thesis, it adds an additional layer of nuance to the argument, foregrounding fine levels of interaction between labour, management, and especially the Department of Industry and Commerce. This State involvement was only hinted at in the contemporary media coverage, in occasional veiled references to pressure from 'high quarters' to resolve the dispute.¹⁰⁷ The additional layer allows us to move away from an essentially bureaucratic analysis of the dispute, in which the production process, and access to film work at Ardmore, is seen to be conditioned by structural market forces. In this view, Ardmore Studios accedes to the needs of British client producers (especially in relation to their agreements with British unions) in order to survive as a production facility serving the international market. Alternatively, we might now view the incident in terms of the political and economic power relations at play, with Ardmore film workers at the centre of an interplay of forces involving labour, mobile international film capital and the Irish and British States. From this perspective, we might make some observations.

Firstly, these events foreshadow Ireland's current position as an established 'runaway' production hub within the commodity cultural production system facilitated by an international division of

cultural labour (NIDL). As theorised by Toby Miller, this system is a constituent element of late-stage, globalised capitalism, with the State employed to undermine the advances made by organised labour in the post-war period.¹⁰⁸ It is notable that the era under analysis – the early 1960s – predates by some two decades the technological developments, geopolitical change, and neoliberal market deregulation often associated with the globalisation process – just as Equity's cooperative relationship with SAG, so fruitful in boosting the Irish union's organising effectiveness during the filming of *The Quiet Man*, long predates the ICT developments that make such 'labour internationalism' commonplace today.¹⁰⁹ In Miller's NIDL thesis, a number of factors contribute to a location's attractiveness to mobile Hollywood capital. Given the labour intensity of the film production process, the availability of cost-effective, flexible labour is arguably the most important of these. The account above suggests that some Irish labour was not yet sufficiently flexible for the optimal capture of mobile production. However State cooperation with mobile capital, a prerequisite feature of globalisation, and others, might be employed to remove that obstacle to capital flow.¹¹⁰

The crucial involvement of the Irish State in the electrical dispute – although ostensibly informal, neutral, and devoid of any statutory basis for actual intervention – is evidence of such a cooperation. A striking feature of the account presented here is the evidence that Ardmore's 1963 receivership was strategic, to release the Studio from its existing labour agreements. That the receivership was effected by the semi-State Industrial Credit Corporation further supports the argument that it was plausibly orchestrated by the State. If so, 'State power' has clearly been applied to 'crush organised labour',¹¹¹ or at least one section of organised labour seen to stand in the way of Ireland's prototypical embrace of foreign direct investment, and the prospects presented by globalised capitalism for native business interests. The incidents illustrate the Irish State's anxiety to embrace the investment opportunities – if not yet the longer term employment prospects for native workers – that might result from an outward-looking economy.

Third, claims for the exclusion of Irish electricians – the one category of native film technician to gain a modest foothold at Ardmore – have been somewhat overstated. On the *Of Human Bondage* and *Ballad in Blue* sets, the proposed Irish electricians were replaced in the main by British electricians (as implied in the literature) but by members of another Irish electricians union. To the older story of excluded Irish film technicians, then, is added a labourist subplot of fragile solidarity. The ETUI's weak relations with other unions are evident from the Studio Group's willingness to facilitate Ardmore management and the British ETU, supplying electricians from its own ranks and passing the inevitable ETUI picket. It is also clear that Irish labour solidarity was severely undermined by the much more powerful British unions, united in their own struggle to resist mobile capital and retain a share of employment on runaway British production. The considerable labour unrest engendered by the entry of Ardmore Studios and Irish labour into the UK production nexus was ultimately absorbed and neutralised through the prioritisation of 'status group' interests within the Studio Group – a 'class in itself', perhaps, in contrast to the more militant ETUI's 'class for itself'. Ultimately, the IEIETU and the rest of the Studio Group, through their marginalisation of the ETUI, acted as a labour aristocracy of sorts, to preserve the status quo that had produced a presumably acceptable amount of film employment for their members. A more long-term political strategy, of the sort that might create an Irish film industry based mainly on the employment of native workers, would have to wait. The lessons learned during these early industrial skirmishes would contribute to the later, more formal orientation of Irish film and television production policy towards the capture of foreign investment motivated by financial subsidy and a global division of labour, cultural or otherwise. In the meantime, however, overseas productions continued to arrive. The ITGWU estimated that feature film and advertising production at Ardmore studios provided over two million pounds in wages and other expenditures in 1967, and more than twelve million the following year.¹¹²

Most of these wages, however, still went to British workers and would not be spent in the Irish economy. Throughout the 1960s, Irish unions would press ahead with their attempts to maximise Irish employment at Ardmore. The studios had been bought out of receivership in 1966 by a UK consortium, Film Studios of Ireland Ltd. A 'comprehensive agreement' to govern 'all film production in Ireland' was signed by Ardmore management and the various film unions, now styled the Irish Film Production Group of Unions (IFPGU)¹¹³ in 1967.¹¹⁴ It appears, however, that the crewing provisions of this agreement related mainly to craft and general grades rather than technician and creative grades.¹¹⁵ Even at this level, incoming productions would continue to skirt the rules, necessitating talks between Irish and British unions in 1968, during which the British unions undertook to advise British producers of their obligations under the new agreement.¹¹⁶

Difficulties faced by Irish film technicians in securing employment on Irish-based productions continued. The issue would be decisively addressed by film workers in the following decade, when film workers leveraged their position within Ireland's largest trade union, the ITGWU, to secure employment in the growing industry for television advertising production. As that development flowed directly to the establishment of Telefís Éireann, and indeed the successful organisation of television workers along with their film industry brethren – it can also trace its roots to the 'decade of upheaval'.

Notes

- 1 *Irish Times*, 21 December 1957, p. 12.
- 2 *Irish Times*, 14 March 1958, p.6.
- 3 Kevin Rockett, 'History, Politics and Irish cinema', in K. Rockett, L. Gibbons, and J. Hill, *Cinema and Ireland*. (Syntacuse, 1988).
- 4 Toby Miller, Nitin Govil, John McMurria., Richard Maxwell, and Ting Wang, *Global Hollywood 2* (London 2005).
- 5 Emmet O'Connor, *A Labour History of Ireland* (Dublin 2011), p. 218.
- 6 O'Connor, *A Labour History of Ireland*, p. 221.
- 7 *ibid*, p. 223; ITGWU, *Annual Report 1957* (Dublin 1958), p. 97; ITGWU, *Annual Report 1958* (Dublin 1959), pp. 80-81. The corresponding figure in Britain was eight percent.
- 8 Charles McCarthy, *The Decade of Upheaval: Irish Trade Unions in the Nineteen Sixties* (Dublin 1973).
- 9 Roddy Flynn, 'A Semi-State in All But Name? Sean Lemass's film policy', in B. Girvin and G. Murphy (eds), *The Lemass Era: Politics and Society in the Ireland of Sean Lemass* (Dublin 2005).
- 10 Rockett, 'History, Politics and Irish Cinema', p. 98; *Irish Times*, 27 November 2014.
- 11 e.g. *The Irish Times*, 4 August 1967, p.12; Marcus 1967; Flynn, 'A Semi-State in All But Name?'
- 12 e.g. Rockett, 'History, Politics and Irish Cinema'; Ruth Barton, *Irish National Cinema* (London 2004).
- 13 e.g. Dióg O'Connell and Roddy Flynn, 'John Huston and an Irish film Industry', in T. Tracy and R. Flynn (eds), *John Huston: Essays on a Restless Director* (London 2010).
- 14 Francis Devine (ed), *Acting for the Actors: Dermot Doolan and the Organisation of Irish Actors and Performing Artists, 1947-1985*, (Dublin, 1997), p. 13.
- 15 *ibid*, p 17.
- 16 Early examples included *Another Shore* (1948) and *Saints and Sinners* (1949).
- 17 *ibid*, p 19.
- 18 Personal interview with Dermot Doolan, retired Irish Actors' Equity official, 20 Nov, 2014.
- 19 Vincent Mosco, 'The Political Economy of Labor', in J. Wasko, G. Murdock, and H. Sousa (eds), *The Handbook of Political Economy of Communications*, (Chichester 2011), p. 363.
- 20 UCD Archives, Irish Actors' Equity Collection, TU12/7, Meeting Minutes, 18 October 1957; Personal interview with Dermot Doolan, retired Irish Actors' Equity official, 20 Nov, 2014.
- 21 UCD Archives, Irish Actors' Equity Collection, TU12/7, Meeting Minutes, 10 January 1958; Meeting Minutes 17 January 1958.
- 22 *The Irish Times*, 14 March 1958, p.6, However in 1963, ITGWU Dublin 7 Branch members in 1963 enjoyed wages closer to £12 per week (*Liberty*, July 1963).
- 23 ITGWU, *Annual Report 1957*, p. 51; *Annual Report 1959*, pp. 80-81.
- 24 National Archives (NA), 2001/50/124, Dept. of Industry and Commerce papers, Ardmore Studios (Irl.) Ltd., Bray reps regarding labour difficulties, Memorandum to Department of Industry and Commerce covering the apparent pressure by British unions on producers to bring excessive staffs to Ardmore, c. 30 April 1963.

- 25 *ibid*.
- 26 *ibid*.
- 27 NA 2001/50/124, Francis to Batchelor, 8 December 1961.
- 28 NA 2001/50/124, Ardmore to Dept. of Industry and Commerce, 30 April 1962.
- 29 Louis Marcus, 'The Irrelevance of Ardmore Studios', *The Irish Times*, 28 March 1967, p. 8; Rockett, 'History, Politics and Irish Cinema', pp. 100-101.
- 30 John Hill, 'Government Policy and the British Film Industry 1979-1990', in *European Journal of Communication*, 8 (1993), pp. 203-224.
- 31 See Section 17 (2) of the Films Act, 1960. Curiously, the Departmental files and indeed the newspaper record seem to suggest that this 'Britishness' of Irish labour and locations was not fully understood, despite the clarity (and one would assume the reasonable availability) of the text of the Act. Throughout the events described here, the contention that Eady subsidy privileged the participation of British union labour does not seem to have been challenged when it might have been appropriate to do so.
- 32 Rockett, 'History, Politics and Irish Cinema', p. 101; Louis Marcus, 'The Irish Film Finance Corporation', *The Irish Times*, 29 March 1967; Flynn, 'A Semi-State in All but Name', pp. 187-189.
- 33 Little of the £385,000 in production loans advanced by the IFFC was repaid.
- 34 Rockett, 'History, Politics and Irish Cinema', p. 100.
- 35 Marcus, 'The Irish Film Finance Corporation'.
- 36 NA 2001/50/124, Ardmore to Dept. of Industry and Commerce, 30 April 1962.
- 37 NA 2001/50/124, Meeting re Ardmore Studios: labour difficulties, 16 September 1963.
- 38 *Irish Independent*, 29 July 1964, p.9.
- 39 Although the ETUI had originated from the British ETU, the two unions were no longer connected. See Sarah Ward-Perkins (ed), *Select Guide to Trade Union Records in Dublin* (Dublin 1996), p. 198.
- 40 NA 2001/50/124, Francis to Batchelor, 8 December 1961.
- 41 *ibid*.
- 42 *ibid*.
- 43 NA 2001/50/124, Ardmore to Dept. of Industry and Commerce, 30 April 1962.
- 44 NA 2001/50/124, Lynch to Lynch, 9 April 1962, Ardmore to Dept. of Industry and Commerce, 30 April 1962.
- 45 NA 2001/50/124, Memo to Dept. of External Affairs, 26 May 1962, Lynch to Lynch 9 April 1962.
- 46 NA 2001/50/124, Meeting re Ardmore labour difficulties, 10 May.
- 47 NA 2001/50/124, Meehan to Tobin, 1 June 1962.
- 48 NA 2001/50/124, Kelly to Meehan, 4 June 1962, Batchelor to Stross, 8 June 1962.
- 49 NA 2001/50/124, Collins to Kennan, 17 July 1962.
- 50 NA 2001/50/124, Collins to Crawford, 13 August 1962.
- 51 NA 2001/50/124, Kennan Memorandum, 15 August 1962.
- 52 NA 2001/50/124, Meeting re Ardmore labour difficulties, 6 September 1962.
- 53 *ibid*.
- 54 *ibid*.
- 55 e.g. *The Irish Times*, 8, 10, 13 September, 5 October 1962.
- 56 *The Irish Times*, 8 September 1962.
- 57 e.g. *The Irish Times*, 30 July, 7 October 1964.
- 59 *ibid*. Thus the Department should have been aware from mid-September 1962, if it had not already been, of the status of Irish labour under the Act.
- 60 NA 2001/50/124, Aide memoire for meeting between Department of Industry and Commerce Dublin and representatives of Ardmore Studios (Ireland) Limited, 3 October 1962.
- 61 *Kine Weekly*, cited in *Irish Times*, 5 October 1962.
- 62 NA 2001/50/124, Extract re Ardmore update, 2 October 1962
- 63 NA 2001/50/124, Kennan memorandum, 5 October 1962.
- 64 *Irish Times*, 18 December 1962.
- 65 *Irish Times*, 11 January 1963. These numbers are contradicted in another article on page 9 of the same issue.
- 66 *Irish Times*, 11 January 1963, pp. 1, 8, 9. *The Times*, aware of Ardmore's role in Irish industrial policy, pointed out that the loss of the film to Hollywood would result in a 'big drop in ... hard currency exports'.
- 67 NA 2001/50/124, Francis to Batchelor, 8 December 1961.
- 68 *Irish Times*, 11 January 1963. The cited expense payments are at odds with the amounts stated in the agreement, suggesting either a reporting error, management exaggeration, or a union request for increased expenses.
- 69 *ibid*.
- 71 NA 2001/50/124, Irish Embassy to Dept. of External Affairs, 11 January 1963.
- 72 NA 2001/50/124, Kennan memorandum, 11 January 1963.
- 73 *The Irish Times*, 15 January 1963.
- 74 *ibid*.

- 75 *The Irish Times*, 18, 25 January.
- 76 *The Irish Times*, 19, January, 22 January 1963.
- 77 *The Irish Times*, 22 January, 19 February 1963.
- 78 *The Irish Times*, 23 January 1963.
- 79 cited *Irish Times*, 25 January 1963.
- 80 *ibid.*
- 81 *The Irish Times*, 26 January 1963.
- 82 *The Irish Times*, 8 February 1963.
- 83 The IEIETU would claim a few weeks later that some (25 percent) of the electricians at work on the film were ETUI members, suggesting that not all the Irish electricians had been supplied by the IEIETU (*Irish Times*, 19 February 1963). It is possible that some or all of these were fulltime Ardmore employees, as the studio apparently employed three full-time electricians (NA 2001/50/124, Meeting re Ardmore Studios: labour difficulties, 10 May 1962). It is unclear how much film experience the IEIETU electricians had, but presumably significantly less than the ETUI members on the seniority list.
- 84 *The Irish Times*, 30 January 1963.
- 85 *The Irish Times*, 19 February 1963.
- 86 *The Irish Times*, 26 February 1963; *Irish Independent*, 12 July 1963.
- 87 *The Irish Times*, 31 July 1963.
- 88 NA 2001/50/124, Report of 23 August Meeting, 26 August 1963.
- 89 *Irish Independent*, 12 July 1963.
- 90 NA 2001/50/124, Crawford to Lynch, 7 August 1963.
- 91 NA 2001/50/124, Report of 23 August Meeting, 26 August 1963.
- 92 NA 2001/50/124, Meeting re Ardmore Studios: labour difficulties, 16 September 1963.
- 93 *ibid.*
- 94 *ibid.*
- 95 *ibid.*
- 96 *The Irish Times*, 18 January 1963.
- 97 *The Irish Times*, 10 June 1964.
- 98 *The Irish Times*, 19 June 1964.
- 99 *ibid.*
- 100 *The Irish Times*, 7 October 1964.
- 101 To date, Ardmore Studios has had eight different owners, and five periods during it which it was controlled by receivers and liquidators. Its current owners, Ardmore Studios International, have been the most successful, operating the studios since 1990.
- 102 e.g. *The Irish Times*, 3 May 1976, 4 December 1986.
- 103 John Smethurst and Peter Carter, *Historical Directory of Trade Unions*, Vol. 6 (Farnham, 2009), p. 215.
- 104 *The Irish Times*, 25 March 1969.
- 105 Smethurst and Carter, *Historical Directory of Trade Unions* pp. 214, 215.
- 106 Louis 1967, 'The irrelevance of Ardmore Studios, *The Irish Times*, 28 March 1967, p. 8.
- 107 e.g. *The Irish Times*, 25 January 1963.
- 108 Miller, *Global Hollywood 2*, pp. 121-2.
- 109 Mosco, *Political Economy of Labor*, p. 363).
- 110 Michael Chanan, *Labour Power in the British Film Industry* (London, 1976), p. 54.
- 111 David Harvey, *The Enigma of Capital* (London, 2010), p. 14.
- 112 ITGWU 1968: 78, 1969: 82)
- 113 The IFPGU umbrella group was similar to the earlier Studio Group of Unions. The new monicker perhaps reflects labour's desire that film production agreements would apply to on-location production as well as studio production, as the latter declined in importance with the advent of lighter, more mobile production equipment.
- 114 ITGWU, *Annual Report 1967* (Dublin, 1968), p. 78; ITGWU, *Annual Report 1968* (Dublin, 1969), p. 81.
- 115 UCD Archives, Irish Actors' Equity Collection, TU12/35, Loughrey to McEvoy, 28 October 1970.
- 116 ITGWU, *Annual Report 1968*, p. 82.

To Fling Defiance into the Teeth of the Master Class': The *International Socialist Review*, 'Larkinism' and the Dublin Lockout

John Newsinger

'A spectre is haunting all Europe! Parliaments are debating how to fight it. Kings and emperors are concerned with its menacing significance. The capitalist class is arming to protect itself against it. The spectre is what the daily papers fearfully call "Larkinism"' - Caroline Nelson, *International Socialist Review*, December 1913

The *International Socialist Review* (ISR) was launched with some 800 subscribers by the socialist publisher Charles Kerr in July 1900. A year's subscription cost \$1. By April the following year the number of subscribers had risen to 3,500. By the end of 1904 and the start of 1905, its monthly circulation was around 6,000.¹ In this, its first phase, the ISR was a primarily theoretical journal, indeed it proclaimed itself to be a 'Monthly Journal of International Socialist Thought'. It was concerned to teach Marxism to the US labour movement and oriented itself on the Debs wing of the Socialist Party of America (SPA). According to Paul Buhle, in its early years the ISR published 'virtually every famed European Socialist thinker...more theory than all other US Socialist publications combined'.² The result was, if the truth be told, a dry, somewhat pedestrian publication whose temper is perhaps captured by the four part series on the 'Cooperative Movement in Belgium' that began in October 1901, something that was hardly going to set the world alight. Working class struggle was not of much interest to the ISR at this time.

This began to change in the course of 1908. At this time, the ISR began a transformation into an activists' magazine, chronicling the class struggle in the United States and abroad. By June 1910, its monthly circulation had risen to 27,000 and the following year was to pass 40,000.³ This second phase saw it increasingly identifying with revolutionary industrial unionism, moving close to the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) with the Wobbly leader, 'Big' Bill Haywood, actually joining its editorial board in October 1911. A crucial moment seems to have been the Pressed Steel Car Company strike in McKees Rocks in 1909, where the IWW played a decisive role. This was a brutal, bloody hard-fought dispute, even by American standards, where the victory of a largely immigrant workforce, that spoke sixteen different languages, over the ruthless anti-union Steel Trust was seen, mistakenly as it turned out, as presaging a decisive shift in the balance of class forces in the US.⁴ Indeed, Louis Duche, actually argued in the pages of the ISR that in his view this great triumph for class solidarity with its toll of a dozen dead and many more injured would inspire the workers of the world to 'turn their eyes to America as the opening scene of the last struggle with the master class'. Kerr and his comrades saw revolutionary industrial unionism as the way to break the power of the US capitalist class with the political wing of the movement, the SPA, relegated to a subsidiary role. The American working class was going to give a lead to the whole international workers' movement. The issue of the ISR that celebrated 'Victory at McKees Rocks'⁵, also published an article, 'Ballots, Bullets, or -', by a certain James Connolly.

Here Connolly argued the case for 'Industrial Unionism' as the 'economic manifestation of Socialism'. It was, he believed, certain that the capitalist class would either not allow or not accept a Socialist electoral victory in the USA. To respond to this denial of democracy by an armed uprising