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ARCHIVES OF WORKING-CLASS LIFE

**THE LABOUR MOVEMENT, WORKING CLASS CULTURES AND
CONFLICT IN NORTHERN IRELAND SINCE 1945**

A Department of Foreign Affairs Reconciliation Fund supported scoping study, in collaboration between Queen's University Belfast and Trademark (ICTU) Belfast.



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Introduction and Acknowledgements

This project is the result of a collaboration between the Institute for Collaborative Research in the Humanities at Queen's University Belfast and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions' research, training and anti-sectarian/anti-sectarian unit, Trademark, supported by funding from the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA). The project entailed a series of 'Queen's in the Community' events on working-class history, held in communities throughout Belfast. It also supported a conference, on trade unionism and the future of Northern Ireland, at Lusty Beg in Fermanagh in the winter of 2015. But the most substantive piece of work involved a collaboration between the two authors of the present report, Dr Seán Byers, a Visiting Researcher at Queen's and author of *Seán Murray: Marxist-Leninist & Irish Socialist Republican* (Irish Academic Press, 2015) and Dr Michael Pierse, then a Research Fellow at the Institute for Collaborative Research in the Humanities at Queen's, and author of *Writing Ireland's Working Class: Dublin after O'Casey* (Palgrave, 2011). The report aimed to complete a scoping study of largely untapped and potentially important archives of working-class life, with the aim of identifying the kinds of items that could form part of a future museum/public humanities project on 'people's history' (such as that at Manchester's People's History Museum). In seeking funding from the DFA's Reconciliation Fund, Dr Pierse had argued that this project could identify significant archival resources that had the potential to enrich scholarly and public knowledge about working-class history across the sectarian divide in Belfast and beyond. We believe that the project has been successful in that regard.

*'Indeed there are substantial grounds for the argument that social class rather than ethno-religious affiliation should be the principal author of political belief and practice in Northern Ireland. Socio-economic status certainly has rather greater bearing than ethno-religious distinction upon the distribution of essential life chances within the six counties. Given the nature of the inequalities within contemporary Northern Irish society one would not have to be a raving reductionist to anticipate that social class might constitute the most important source of political identity in the province.'*¹

- Colin Coulter

This report is dedicated to the memory of trade unionist, Trademark staff member and CPI activist Joe Law, who died on 28 September 2016, having given a long career to the labour movement and to anti-sectarian work in the community.

LITERATURE REVIEW OF INDUSTRIAL, POLITICAL AND PERSONAL ARCHIVES

Seán Byers

PREAMBLE

In his meticulous survey of the literature on the 'Troubles', John Whyte contends that 'in proportion to size, Northern Ireland is the most heavily researched area on earth'.ⁱ Yet, while general histories of the conflict continue to proliferate, labour and class have been consigned to a mere footnote. The incontrovertible reality that social class does not constitute the most important source of political identity in Northern Ireland is evident from the popularity of ethnonational accounts of the state since its formation and during the Troubles in particular. Yet unidimensional readings dismiss the influence of material conditions and social class, arguing that such forces are tangential to our understanding of the causes and nature of conflict in Northern Ireland.ⁱⁱ By extension, the representations (songs, stories, images) and independent representative bodies (trade unions, sports clubs, community organisations) of working-class life are deemed to hold minor significance in shaping and reflecting the political culture of the six counties.

Against this, a number of authors have argued that the substance of life in Northern Ireland is rather more complex than ethnonational interpretations would suggest. It is clear, for example, that class has a greater bearing than ethnoreligious identity or nationality upon people's life chances within the six counties. Northern Ireland suffers from high levels of inequality, giving rise to class-based disparities in income, educational attainment, employment opportunities, access to housing, health indicators and life expectancy. Social attitude surveys also indicate that people from working-class backgrounds are critically aware of the significance of socio-economic status and the ways in which it shapes their lives.ⁱⁱⁱ They have a strong appreciation of their mutual material interests with people from different ethnoreligious communities and are likely to express kinship with those from similar socio-economic origins. Cultural tastes and expressions, too, are products of shared experience and demonstrate a loose sense of collective identity in the face of ethno-national antagonisms.

In short, socio-economic status carries greater material significance than the emotionally charged symbolism of nation and *ethnie* that have motivated people to kill. But that is not to say these two forms of identity can be easily separated. There is no doubt that the Troubles impacted mainly on working-class areas in a number of ways. Agents of the conflict – state forces and paramilitaries – came

overwhelmingly from traditional working-class occupations or from the ranks of the unemployed, while socio-economic status determined whether or not people were likely to be injured or killed as a result of politically motivated violence.^{iv} Consequently, working-class organisations, trade unions in particular, found it impossible to stand outside the conflict. The period of unrest known as the Troubles coincided with deindustrialisation, a transformation of the global economy and radical, disruptive, changes in the nature of work. A whole generation of trade union activists were presented with challenges that were commonplace in the UK and Western Europe and at the same time particular to Northern Ireland. Not only were these individuals tasked with negotiating the erosion of traditional industries, employment opportunities and forms of collective organisation on behalf of the members they represented, but they had to do so in the face of inter-communal tension and sectarian violence that regularly spilled over into the workplace.

Despite this, the efforts of trade union activists have, to a disproportionate extent, fallen through the cracks of history. To their credit, historians of the Communist Party of Ireland (CPI), Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP) and Workers' Party have 'rescue[d] from an undeserved obscurity some redoubtable working-class activists and their frequently heroic struggles'.^v Others have sought to challenge the notion of a monolithic Unionist bloc in 1921-1972 and highlight the duality of class tension and sectarianism within Ulster Protestant politics.^{vi} These contributions are welcome additions to a body of literature which is replete with the type of simplistic ethnonational interpretations discussed above. But where trade unionism since 1945 forms the main subject of discussion, the movement has been maligned for:

- allowing trade union bodies such as NIC-ICTU to be co-opted into, and neutered by, the policymaking institutions of the British state;^{vii}
- complying with and in some instances actively supporting the political manoeuvres of British/Ulster loyalism;^{viii} and, conversely,
- adopting a pro-republican stance during the civil rights struggle and on major political questions thereafter.^{ix}

Much work remains to be done to uncover the independent existence of the British and Irish working class, not just in politics, but also in culture, sport, the workplace and intellectual life.^x What follows is a review of archives held at various locations, relating to trade unionism and the neglected role of trade unionists in Northern Ireland since 1945 (and, in the following section, to working-class life and culture

more generally). Given the research time afforded to this project, the scope of this survey is inevitably limited. However, it does incorporate a wide range of largely uncatalogued and often completely overlooked material, which illuminates opportunities for future curatorial, scholarly and public engagement opportunities across a range of disciplinary boundaries.

ARCHIVES

Linen Hall Library

Northern Ireland Political Collection (NIPC)

One of the few fully catalogued collections in the Linen Hall Library's holdings, the eclectic NIPC contains more than 100 relevant documents including publications, leaflets, posters and other ephemera relating to the activities of trade union bodies and trade unionists in Northern Ireland during the Troubles.

Key among the documents contained in the NIPC is the *Joint Memorandum on Citizens' Rights in Northern Ireland* (P665), a seminal document produced by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and Northern Ireland Labour Party and submitted to Northern Ireland Prime Minister Terence O'Neill in 1967. This document is central to the history of the civil rights struggle of the 1960s, though it is yet to be situated in the context of the temporally longer struggle for civil and political liberties undertaken by successive generations of labour activists in both parts of Ireland.

Other items of interest include documents relating to the activities of Belfast Trades Council, which has a rich history of opposing sectarianism and violence in the city and across Northern Ireland.^{xi} Following the outbreak of the Troubles in August 1969, Belfast Trades Council set up a distress fund to help to victims of those disturbances. The pamphlet (P1616) listing contributions to the fund and detailing its distribution to families is just one of a number of historically significant documents that provide an insight into the efforts of Belfast trade unionists throughout the conflict. The NIPC also contains a number of Belfast Trades Council annual reports, copies of *Council News*, the Trades Council bulletin, posters from 1984/85 expressing solidarity with the striking miners in Britain, and a proposal for the establishment of a 'Museum of tolerance' for Belfast in 1998 (P14017).

The activities of less well-established trade union bodies, including Craigavon Trades Council, also feature in the NIPC. In the 1980s, Craigavon Trades Council published a *Craigavon Activist* and *Craigavon*

Gazette, two short-lived monthly periodicals which provided updates on Trades Council campaigns and commentary on local instances of violence and sectarianism. These irregular periodicals are both held in the NIPC and available on microfiche. Similarly, the NIPC holds a manifesto of the South Belfast Labour Association (P4890), formed in 1991, and copies of the South Belfast Constituency Labour Party's *South Belfast Labour News* from 1992. These sources provide unique insights into local events and campaigns of wider significance in the story of the Troubles.

The conflict and extended peace process that emerged from it has witnessed a number of attempts to establish British Labour Party presence in Northern Ireland. These efforts are documented in Aaron Edwards' history of the Northern Ireland Labour Party^{xiii} and have continued to the present day. Notable among the groups to have undertaken this task is the Campaign for Labour Representation, a number of whose publications and discussion documents have been donated to the NIPC. One example is the 1992 pamphlet *Defending the Indefensible: Labour's Ban on Northern Ireland Membership* (P9361), which argues against the Labour Party's relationship with the SDLP as a valid reason for excluding members and constituency associations in the region. Lesser known organisations, such as the Lurgan-based Community and Labour League – a short-lived coalition of trade unionists, political activists and community workers associated with the British Labour Party – continued this work into 1998 with the publication of *Northern Ireland urgently needs its own Labour Party* (P8534), a discussion document outlining the role need for, and role of, a Labour Party in post-conflict Northern Ireland. This small but dedicated milieu of activists succeeded in having the ban on Labour membership overturned in 2003, but have yet to secure party approval to field candidates in local and regional elections.

The Labour and Trade Union Group was established around 1974 as an outlet for supporters of the Militant tendency (Revolutionary Socialist League) in Northern Ireland. Active within the NILP until its expulsion in 1977, the Labour and Trade Union Group eventually became part of Militant Labour (Ireland) in the early 1990s and has been operating as the Socialist Party since 1996. Despite their small membership and failure to make any electoral inroads in Northern Ireland, these groups have maintained a public profile and influenced left politics through relentless campaigning and by bringing their diagnosis and prescriptions to discussions of the national question, key events in post-war Northern Ireland, the role of the trade union movement, and the conflict more broadly. Many of the books, pamphlets, articles and policy statements published on behalf of this movement were drafted by Peter

Hadden, NIPSA member, founder of the Labour and Trade Union Group and a prominent Marxist intellectual until his death in 2010.^{xiii} Notable pamphlets in the NIPC include:

- *Northern Ireland, For Workers' Unity: A reply to the Workers' Association Pamphlet 'What's wrong with Ulster trade unionism?'* (c. 1975) (P744)
- *Divide and Rule: Labour and the Partition of Ireland* (1980) (P1961)
- *Tory Cuts: Common Misery, Common Struggle* (1980) (P743)
- 'For workers' unity and socialism' – Policy statement (1993) (P7156)
- *Northern Ireland: Will there be a settlement?* (1993) (P7292)
- *Beyond the Troubles? Northern Ireland's Past and Future – A Socialist Analysis* (1994) (P6006)
- *Troubled Times: The National Question in Ireland* (1995) (P6900)
- *Towards Division Not Peace: Can the working class unite to build a real peace process?* (c. 2002)

In addition to these pamphlets, Hadden edited a collection (P4259) of articles on Northern Ireland from the *Militant Irish Monthly* and *Militant* (London), 1968-1983. Published in 1984, this collection offers a British and Irish far left perspective on civil rights, the outbreak of the Troubles, paramilitary and state violence, the Ulster Workers' Council strike of 1974, and the hunger strikes of 1981.

Copies of *Militant Labour* and the *Militant Labour Members' Bulletin* from 1993 both carry details of Militant campaigns and profiles of activists in the Belfast area that year. Other items of interest relating to this political tradition is a document produced by Ballymena Young Socialists entitled *Perform your own street theatre* (c. 1981) (P6481), including a play: 'The Dole Queue'. With its origins in the *Tory Cuts: Common Misery, Common Struggle* pamphlet mentioned above, this was a creative expression of young working-class resistance to Tory cuts to public services, factory closures, privatisation and youth unemployment in DUP leader Ian Paisley's constituency. There is also evidence of a Labour Movement Against Fascism group – a front organisation – active in the mid-1980s (Posters PPO2771).

Given the volume of literature produced and the level of political activity undertaken by the Labour and Trade Union Group, it is fair to say that this political tradition and Hadden's contribution to theory have not been given sufficient attention beyond far left activist circles.

Finally, it is interesting to note attempts by the republican leadership to draw support from the trade union movement. To this end, Sinn Féin established a Trade Union Department to liaise with trade union bodies and trade union activists during the second hunger strikes. *Trade Unions and the Irish Revolution*

– *A Republican View* (November 1981) (P984) set out the party's arguments for a closer working relationship with the trade union movement, presenting the social and national struggles as interdependent. The subject of Provisional IRA and Sinn Féin involvement with the trade union movement is something that has not been satisfactorily explored, particularly as prominent republicans such as Brian Keenan, one-time member of the IRA Army Council, were also active in trade union politics prior to and during their participation in the 'armed struggle'.^{xiv}

Periodicals

The Linen Hall Library's collection of obscure and short-lived newspapers, produced by trade union bodies and radical left groups, is rivalled only by the National Library of Ireland's holdings and contains more that is of direct relevance to the working class and the labour movement in Northern Ireland.

Notable amongst the periodicals held at the Linen Hall Library is a full run of *Unity* (January 1966 – December 1992) and irregular holdings of the *Irish Workers' Voice* (March 1969 – November 1988), newspapers of the Communist Party of Ireland (CPI)'s northern and southern sections respectively. *Unity* in particular is an invaluable source of information on the Troubles, its impact on the working class, and the response of organised labour to violence and sectarianism, with a focus on CPI campaigns and the role of communists who held influential positions within the trade union movement. It also contains irregular copies of *Forward* (1971 -1986), published by the Connolly Youth Movement (see below for a discussion of the CYM).

Equally significant is the Library's holdings of the *Northern People* (October 1980 – November 1990), published by the Workers' Party/Republican Clubs (Oct 1980 - Nov 1990) in the North; and the *Free Citizen* (later *Unfree Citizen*, subsequently the *Socialist Republic*), the People's Democracy newspaper (August 1971 – January 1978). These latter intersected with, and was eventually superseded by *The Worker* (February – March 1972) and *Socialist Worker* (August 1984 – December 1992), produced by the Socialist Workers' Movement. Meanwhile, its irregular holdings of *Militant (Irish Monthly)* (May 1972 – November/December 1992) offer additional commentary from the other main radical left tradition on the island.

Aside from the communist and two main Trotskyist strains of political thought, the Irish left has spawned a number of smaller groups, all claiming to represent the true principles of Marxism. The emergence of these organisations often marked a splintering of larger political formations. Indeed, it could be argued

that nowhere is the phrase ‘the narcissism of small differences’ more appropriate than in discussions of the fragmented Irish left.^{xv} The collection at the Linen Hall Library contains periodicals that illuminate the activities of these organisations and the fractious relationships between them:

- *Class Struggle* (June 1977 – February 1992), published by the Irish Workers’ Group.
- Irregular holdings of *The Communist* (B&ICO Belfast, April 1967 – February 1986), and *(Communist) Comment* (B&ICO Dublin, September 1969 – March 1983).
- *Hands Off Ireland* (December 1976 – April 1980), produced by the London-based Revolutionary Communist Group and focusing almost exclusively on the campaign for British withdrawal.
- *Red Patriot/Voice of Revolution/Marxist-Leninist Weekly* (Aug 1969 – March 1991) – Newspaper of the small but active Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist), which emerged as a strong proponent of Maoism before breaking with Chinese communism in favour of closely following the political thought of Albanian leader Enver Hoxha.
- *Workers’ Solidarity* (November 1984 – Winter 1992/93) – Bi-monthly Irish anarchist-communist newspaper, which has been published by the Workers’ Solidarity Movement since its foundation.
- *Workers’ Weekly* (April 1972 - July 1988) and *Northern Star* (July 1988 – December 1992), published by the Workers’ Association, an offshoot of the B&ICO.

The availability of these periodicals opens up the possibilities to undertake a broader exploration of the left in (Northern) Ireland since 1945. One tentative step in this direction would be to produce a collection of essays on far left organisations (i.e. the range of organisations beyond the social-democratic tradition insofar as it exists in Ireland), thus building on recent groundbreaking work by scholars of the British far left.^{xvi}

Belfast Trades Council records

Belfast Trades Council Annual Reports (1969, 1973-1979, 1985-89)

British & Irish Communist Organisation (B&ICO)

A small but prolific and influential Marxist group led by the enigmatic Brendan Clifford, the B&ICO (also, the Irish Communist Organisation; the Workers’ Association) produced a bigger corpus of literature than the Militant tradition and indeed enough to rival major political parties. This uncatalogued collection of approximately 200 documents includes lists of B&ICO publications for purchase; press releases; circulars; a number of exchanges with People’s Democracy; and Strike Bulletins of the Ulster Workers’ Council (/Workers’ Association), published during the May 1974 loyalist stoppage in opposition to the

Sunningdale Agreement.^{xvii} It was during this crisis that the Workers' Association advocated the formation of an Ulster or Northern Ireland Trade Union Congress. The collection also contains a number of draft documents articulating what would become the 'two nations' theory of the Northern Ireland problem, which relied heavily on Stalin's definition of 'nation' and endorsed the Ulster Unionist claim to self-determination. Consequently, this thesis gained popularity with Unionists and 'revisionist' historians.^{xviii}

The B&ICO has undergone a number of radical ideological shifts, from its Catholic defence work in the late 1960s, to a 'two nationalist' position in the 1970s, and to support for traditional Irish nationalism by the 1990s – a position that Clifford's group, the Aubane Historical Society, maintains to this day. There are various documents in this collection which help to chart these ideological shifts and form the basis of an outline history of B&ICO. These include:

- 'A call for the unity of the Belfast workers: A statement to all Belfast workers from a Workers' Defence Unit in the Falls Area' (23 August 1969) – Details the ICO's early involvement in the defence of Catholic areas in Belfast from attack. It dubs the B Specials, UVF and other loyalist groups as fascist and criticises the role of the British Army.
- 'Why a Workers' Defence Force is needed' (1 October 1969) – Reiterates the arguments presented in the above document, portraying the British Army as the defenders of capitalist interests and the enforcers of 'new Unionism'.
- 'The "May Day March Committee" and the Irish Communist Organisation' (17 April 1971) – Statement dealing with a dispute around the organisation of the May Day parade that year and trade union support for the Ulster 71 festival aimed at projecting a positive image of Northern Ireland during a period of turmoil.
- 'Internment & the working class' (15 August 1971) – Following the introduction of internment without trial, the ICO immediately called for an end to the practice but tied this to official recognition of the right of Ulster Protestants to remain within the UK.
- *No surrender to the IRA* (1974) – A series of short pamphlets produced by the Workers' Association criticising the IRA's armed campaign and expressing solidarity with the forces opposing it.

- *The IRA hunger strike: Humanitarian?* (May 1981) – A highly critical pamphlet rejecting appeals for humanitarian sympathy for the hunger strikers on the grounds that their actions created victims.

The extent to which the B&ICO was a workers' or labour organisation is up for debate. However, there is no doubting the considerable influence that the organisation had on working-class politics and culture through its interventions at key junctures, not to mention the impact its theoretical contributions had on students of the Northern Ireland problem.

Communist Party of Ireland (including Connolly Youth Movement)

The second CPI was founded in 1933 and reconstituted in 1970 following a north-south split during the Second World War. The Connolly Youth Movement (CYM) is affiliated to the CPI but retains independent structures and a large degree of autonomy for initiating campaigns. The CYM was founded in 1963 by a group of young activists inspired by CPI (Irish Workers' Party) agitation on the housing crisis in Dublin. Notable past members of the CYM members include Niall Farrell, the Galway based anti-war campaigner, Declan Bree, the former Labour Party TD and long-serving independent councillor in Sligo, and Madge Davidson, the deceased civil rights activist.

The CPI has been the subject of three general histories,^{xix} although we await a definitive history of the party covering the three decades of the Troubles and the post-1998 era. The items contained in this box have the potential to plug gaps in the Seán Nolan/Geoffrey Palmer Collection held at Dublin City Library & Archive (DCLA, see below), help elucidate the evolution of communist politics in Northern Ireland, and therefore contribute substantially to a history of the CPI and the labour movement from 1968 to the present day:

- A Communist Party (Northern Ireland) executive committee press statement (17 August 1969) in response to the eruption of sectarian violence in Belfast. It places the blame at the door of the Unionist administration – an agent of British imperialism – for the 'loss of life, the destruction of homes, business premises, public services and employment', and 'declares full support for the defensive action taken by the working class people of the Falls and Ardoyne area in Belfast'. Also sets out a list of immediate reforms to include the full implementation of the civil rights demands, the disarming of the UVF and the further development of Citizens' Defence Corps.
- 'Free the internees' – Poster for a CPI public meeting, 29 November 1971, demanding the unconditional release of internees and an end to internment.

- 'Stop the Tory killings, withdraw the Paras at once, confine the remaining troops to barracks' – Resolution passed by the CPI national congress, November 1971. A response to the killing of eleven civilians by the Parachute Regiment in Ballymurphy, it states that: 'The Tories and their Unionist friends at Stormont are responsible for the violence in Northern Ireland. Their whole policy is one of violent repression.' It also proposes a series of measures to facilitate the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland and an agreement for Irish reunification.
- *Appeal to Unionist Supporters* (May 1986) – An overture to Protestant working-class supporters of the main Unionist parties, warning of the potentially dire economic consequences of the Anglo-Irish Agreement (1985) collapsing.
- A CPI (northern area committee) press statement (11 February 1996) condemning the IRA for breach of its ceasefire with the Canary Wharf bombing. Indeed, it appears that one of the defining features of the CPI's role during the conflict was its consistent opposition to violence, from whichever source it originated.

These form a small proportion of the conflict-related documents contained in the CPI collection, added to which are ephemera from the 1973 Assembly and 1975 Constitutional Convention; CPI publications, campaign literature relating to the Common Market, EEC membership and a range of bread and butter issues; material from the Betty Sinclair Forum and the James Connolly Education Trust; and details of public meetings and talks hosted by the CPI West Belfast branch in the 1980s and 1990s.

Particularly active in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the CYM organised campaigns on issues ranging from bus fares and public transport ownership, revolutionary movements in Chile and Nicaragua, to the impact of EEC membership on the Irish economy. Not surprisingly, the CYM expended a great deal of energy campaigning against Tory cuts and youth unemployment in the 1980s, and there is evidence that these efforts intersected with the activities of the Young Socialists group affiliated to Militant. One surviving document from these campaigns, 'No Future' (7 February 1982), outlines the case for reverse in public spending cuts, an expansion of public ownership of industries and the introduction of a 35-hour working week, in addition to new grants for 16-19 year olds in full-time education and a demand for 'work, not dole'. Added to this is a series of posters relating to various CYM campaigns and material from Declan Bree's general election campaign (c. 1980). As regards the Northern Ireland problem, the collection contains documents which are heavily critical of British imperialism and the harassment of young people in Belfast by the British Army and local security forces. One publication entitled '30 Jan 72'

(January 1977), produced to mark the fifth anniversary of Bloody Sunday, provides a historical backdrop to the foundation of the 'artificial statelet' of Northern Ireland. Whilst holding that the 'current British policy of direct rule is designed to ensure the continued domination of the six counties', it endorses the original reformist solutions of the NICRA and proposes the establishment of a local assembly with wide legislative and economic powers, along with support for the ICTU's 'Better Life for All' campaign. The diverse range of documents held here, combined with state archives and the DCLA Nolan/Palmer Collection, present the foundations for a history of the CYM's contribution to labour politics and working-class youth culture in Northern Ireland.

H-Block/Hunger Strike Boxes 3-6

In the historiography of the Troubles, Stuart Ross has gone the furthest in addressing the role played by sections of the labour movement during the campaign against the criminalisation of political prisoners, which culminated in the two republican hunger strikes of 1980 and 1981.^{xx} Whilst his primary focus is on the activities of the Relatives Action Committee, Smash H-Blocks, and the National H-Block/Armagh Committee, this by extension involves an examination of the contribution of People's Democracy, notable labour activists such as Bernadette McAliskey, Fergus O'Hare (INTO), Betty Sinclair (Belfast Trades Council) and Matt Merrigan (general secretary of the ATWGU), and lesser known groups such as the Trade Union Campaign Against Repression (TUCAR), an alliance of left republican and socialist trade unionists concerned with the curtailment of civil liberties on both sides of the border. Ross makes it clear that the campaign against criminalisation was much broader than the Provisional republican leadership would suggest, and his book is essential for an understanding of the politics of the hunger strikes in a wider context.

This vast collection contains much of the material utilised in Ross's study, and much more that would allow a fuller exploration of the role of trade bodies and individual trade union activists during the period in question. Items of interest include:

- Documents from the two conferences (1978 and 1979) that led to the formation of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee.
- Documents relating to the activities of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee in 1980 and 1981, including minutes of meetings, circulars, membership lists, and details of organisational structures. Contained within these documents is information which sheds light on trade union

involvement with the campaign. Paddy Logue and Fergus O'Hare are among the considerable number of prominent trade unionists involved.

- Documents produced by the Irish Workers' Group (IWG), a small Trotskyist organisation with links to the republican movement, outlining its proposals for a united front that encourages strike action in support of political status. The IWG made repeated calls for an escalation of activities and organised lobbying actions at ICTU conferences.
- An exhaustive list of the organisations and individuals supporting the campaign and the five demands, including various trade union bodies across Britain and Ireland.
- Material from the 'Trade Union Campaign on H-Block' (1980) launched by Belfast trade unionists at a public meeting in early 1980. The campaign endorsed political status and agitated for an inquiry into the treatment of prisoners.
- Documents from a National H-Block/Armagh Committee trade union conference, 16 November 1980. Among the motions submitted is a call for a general strike by a nascent Belfast Trade Union Sub-Committee.
- A series of People's Democracy statements on the hunger strikes.
- Documents relating to the activities of the National H-Block movement's Trade Union Sub-Committee, and a Belfast offshoot, which were increasingly active in early 1981. These documents contain details of campaigns, meetings, lobbying activities and membership. There is evidence of the Trade Union Sub-Committee organising a series of stoppages and days of action in support of the hunger strikers, for example on 10 December 1980 and again on 15 April 1981.
- Leaflets produced by the Dublin Trade Union H-Block Group, calling for industrial action to save the lives of the remaining hunger strikers.
- A 'Corporation Workers Against H-Block/Armagh' leaflet (1981).

Clearly, the opportunity now presents itself to expand on Stuart Ross's work, unveil the full extent of trade union intervention during the hunger strikes, and examine the impact those interventions had on the internal dynamics of the labour movement in Northern Ireland.

Irish Congress of Trade Unions (includes Counteract)

Given that the ICTU represents some 800,000 workers on the island of Ireland, including 220,000 in Northern Ireland, the absence of a comprehensive history of its role during the Troubles represents a major lacuna in the literature. Andy Boyd's *Have the Trade Unions Failed the North?* (1984) represented

the last attempt at a general history of this kind, though it is a polemical work written with the use of only a fraction of the sources now available. More recently, Emmet O'Connor has given some attention to the 'northern crisis' within the context of a wider survey of labour in Ireland since 1824.^{xxi} This box contains a number of seminal documents in the history of Irish trade unionism that shine a spotlight on the responses of ICTU and its affiliates to violence, sectarianism and discrimination and the trade union movement's contribution to the peace process. The bulk of this collection and the collection discussed below (Trade Unionism Boxes 1-4) have yet to be fully utilised in a definitive history of trade unionism and working class life in Northern Ireland since 1945:

- Motions to the ICTU Northern Ireland conference, 8 March 1967.
- NIC-ICTU *Annual Report 1966/1967*, which details the work of the NIC-NILP Joint Liaison Committee on citizens' rights and other pressing issues.
- NIC-ICTU *Annual Report 1968/1969* – discusses 1969 general election and citizens' rights, amongst other things.
- Statement (7 October 1968) issued by Stephen McGonagle, chairman of NIC-ICTU, in response to infamous scenes of violence that had met the NICRA march in Derry on 5 October.
- NIC-ICTU statement (18 August 1969) in response to the outbreak of violence in Belfast. It calls for the urgent implementation of reforms and, in contrast to a number of left groups, praises the role of British troops in helping maintain a level of peace.
- 'An appeal to reason' – A statement issued (17 May 1974) by the NIC-ICTU rejecting UWC claims to be a trade union body.
- NIC-ICTU supplementary reports on the 'Better Life for All' (1976) campaign, to be considered by ICTU annual conferences, 12 May 1976 and 11 May 1976.
- Report of a meeting of the 'Better Life for All' campaign council, 29 August 1976.
- Documents from 1977 relating to Craigavon Trades Council and Newry Trades Council activity around the 'Better Life for All' campaign.
- A Belfast Trades Council statement (28 April 1977) condemning the Ulster Unionist Action Council (UUAC) strike, spearheaded by Ian Paisley and supported by the UWC, which had been responsible for organising first loyalist workers' strike of 1974.
- NIC-ICTU 'Memorandum on the recent UUAC political stoppage' (1977).
- ICTU poster and 'Statement of Principles' for its 'Peace, Work and Progress' campaign (1993).

- Mid-Ulster Trades Council press release in support of ICTU rallies in Belfast and Derry for ‘Peace, Work and Progress’, 3 November 1993.
- Confederation of Shipbuilding & Engineering Unions leaflet supporting the rallies for Peace, Work and Progress, 3 November 1993. This is highly significant in light of the high proportion of Protestant and indeed loyalist workers in the shipyards.
- NIC-ICTU ‘Declaration for Community Day’, 18 November 1993 – a mobilisation of workers and communities to call for an immediate and permanent cessation of violence.
- Programme for a Peace Seminar hosted by Derry Trades Council (25 June 1994).
- NIC-ICTU ‘Programme for the Release of Prisoners’ discussion document (October 1995).
- NIC-ICTU ‘Policing in Northern Ireland’ discussion document (October 1995).

In addition, this collection contains material relating to the work of Counteract, the anti-intimidation unit of ICTU established in 1990 on the basis of a proposal by Belfast Trades Council. Involved in mediation, research and anti-sectarian education, Counteract’s work in the 1990s and early 2000s features in a small selection of leaflets, workshop packs and publications contained in this box. Counteract was succeeded by Trademark Belfast in 2006, which continues to operate as an expanded anti-sectarian unit of ICTU.^{xxii}

People’s Democracy Boxes 1-4

A socialist political organisation established by students and labour activists at Queen’s University Belfast in October 1968, primarily in response to the infamous RUC and loyalist attacks on a NICRA march in Derry that month. People’s Democracy (PD) drew inspiration from the student protests of May 1968 in Paris and the American civil rights movement. Prominent members included Bernadette Devlin (McAliskey), Eamonn McCann, Michael Farrell, QUB law lecturer and human rights activist Kevin Boyle, and Fergus O’Hare and John McAnulty, both of whom won seats on Belfast City Council at the time of the hunger strikes.

Initially supportive of NICRA’s five aims, the organisation became increasingly radicalised, viewing the northern state as irreformable and advocating the establishment of a thirty-two county socialist republic. This trajectory, combined with its participation in the campaign against criminalisation and the H-Block/Armagh movement, drew the PD into the orbit of Provisional republicanism, leading to an emphasis on the ‘anti-imperialist’ nature of the IRA’s armed struggle and tactical cooperation with Sinn Féin in elections.

The late Bob Purdie, a lifelong left activist, and Paul Arthur, a former member, are among those who have examined the early history and politics of the PD.^{xxiii} These studies remain the most comprehensive and valuable accounts of the PD's role during the civil rights struggle and the early stages of the Troubles. Matt Collins, meanwhile, has undertaken a reappraisal of the PD over a longer period, from its foundation in 1968 to its eventual expiration in 1991, by which point the Socialist Workers' Movement (later the Socialist Workers' Party) had established itself as the main inheritor of the PD's radical tradition.^{xxiv} The PD collection at Linen Hall Library is unrivalled on the island of Ireland. It includes:

- Press releases and letters to members/supporters in the early stages of the civil rights struggles.
- 'An open letter to all church representatives of Northern Ireland' (1968) – An appeal to Church leaders to support the demands of the civil rights movement.
- A series of circulars to members and supporters in advance of the PD's fateful Burntollet march attacked by loyalists and members of the B Specials, 4 January 1969. One circular states that: 'In the event of the march being attacked or faced with a hostile crowd or police cordon marchers are reminded that the P.D. is committed to a policy of non-violence and marchers are asked under these circumstances to conduct themselves with the maximum possible restraint and calmness.'
- An early PD manifesto (February 1969).
- Minutes of meetings of the PD central committee throughout 1970.
- Conference reports; correspondence between PD members and with other left/republican organisations, including debates with the B&ICO.
- 'Workers Civil Rights' leaflet (1970) on the use of repressive against organised labour in the North, for example the Trade Disputes Act, Special Powers' Act, Emergency Powers Act, and Public Order Act.
- A series of 'Why we are marching' leaflets relating to local marches organised by the PD in 1970, aimed at drawing attention to economic problems in rural areas such as South Down and Fermanagh.
- A reading list for PD members (November 1970).
- Programme of the inaugural People's Festival Red Fortnight launched by the PD (1-15 May 1971).
- 'Riots - The truth: Ballymurphy under siege' (c. 1971) – An account of riots in Ballymurphy, based on information from PD members living in the area.
- 'Join PD and fight the Special Powers' poster (1971).

- A rare 'Resistance Calendar' (1977), featuring iconic photos from the civil rights struggle and subsequent PD campaigns.
- Ephemera from campaigns against membership of the EEC and the Single European Act.
- Discussion document produced by the PD in advance of an H-Block open conference, 21 October 1979.
- A defiant press statement (16 January 1981) on the UFF's attempted assassination of Bernadette McAliskey and her husband Michael.
- Election literature from the early 1980s encouraging members and supporters to lend their vote to Sinn Féin. One leaflet reads: '...you can decide which side you are on - the side of imperialism or on the side of freedom and independence'.
- Local council and Assembly election literature for John McAnulty and Fergus O'Hare.
- An election poster with the slogan 'Dump Gerry Fitt the Brit' from the 1980s.
- 'A strategy for victory' (10 May 1981) – Issued in the aftermath of the death of Bobby Sands, it calls for an escalation of mass action to secure the prisoners' five demands and save the lives of the remaining three hunger strikers.
- 'Health workers all out for 12%!' circular supporting a one-day stoppage by health service unions (c. 1984).
- Statements and details of actions supporting the striking miners in Britain, 1984/85.
- Posters and leaflets from a campaign to protect the livelihoods of Lough Neagh fishermen.
- Programme and proceedings of a '68 Commemoration Conference in Coalisland, 7 February 1988. Bernadette McAliskey and Michael Farrell

This is a brief cross-section of the available records. Used in combination with those held at the National Library of Ireland, this collection holds the key to a general history of the PD.

Trade Unionism Boxes 1-4

These boxes contain hundreds of items relating to ICTU and a wide range of trade union bodies in Britain and Ireland, addressing some of the key events and issues that confronted the labour movement during the conflict. The following list is indicative of what is contained within these boxes.

Trade Unionism Box 1

- A speech by Brendan Harkin, general secretary of the Public Service Alliance, to the QUB Irish Association at QUB (14 September 1972) entitled 'Political Possibilities for the People of Northern Ireland'.
- Back issues of *Combat* magazine, 1974-1978/79. Produced by the UVF, it contains articles on the relationship between loyalist workers and the official trade union movement.
- Leaflet outlining the principles of ICTU's 'Better Life for All' campaign (1976).
- Fermanagh Trades Council Annual Report (March 1982), including a reflection on the hunger strikes from trade unionists in Bobby Sands' constituency.
- Documents relating to the activities of Trade Unionists for Irish Unity and Independence, a lobby group set up in 1984 by Dublin-based republican trade unionists such as Anne Speed and Matt Merrigan.
- Mid-Ulster Trades Council poster advertising the 'Stop the Killings' strike against the wave of sectarian murders in the area, 9 March 1989. It is clear that this formed a central of a wider trade union mobilisation to bring an end to paramilitary violence.
- A Belfast Trades Council motion condemning the Sean Graham bookmakers' shooting carried out by the UDA (February 1992).
- A rare typescript statement from John Mitchell, general secretary of the Irish Union of Distributive Workers and Clerks, regarding disciplinary proceedings launched against him for meeting with Gerry Adams (n.d.).

Trade Unionism Box 2

- Committee of Trade Unionists Opposed to Internment poster, announcing demonstration at Parnell Square, Dublin (c. 1971).
- Lever arch folder belonging to K. Aiken, chair of Ballymena Trades Council. The folder includes minutes, motions, correspondence and press cuttings relating to Ballymena Trades Council from its establishment in 1980 to 1983.
- Ephemera and press clippings relating to the miners' strike in Nottingham, 1984/85, including details of fundraising efforts in Ballymena and elsewhere.
- Statement by the NIPSA branch in Derry Social Security Office expressing solidarity with the DHSS workers who had walked out of work in Lisburn after the UDA had issued death threat against Catholic workers in the office (1986).

- Derry Trades Council leaflet expressing support for Dessie Ellis, an IRA prisoner on hunger strike in protest against his extradition from Portlaoise prison to Britain (October 1990).
- 'Oppose the murder gangs: Support the right to work free from the fear of death and intimidation' – A Belfast Trades Council leaflet for a public protest against violence and workplace intimidation, 1 November 1991.
- *Investing in Peace* (1994), an interim programme for reconstruction launched by ICTU.
- Letter from Andy Snoddy, Belfast Trades Council secretary, to affiliates and supporters (15 September 1995). The letter announces the commencement of 'Building Peace – Making Progress', a series of seminars aimed at building on the delicate peace achieved by the 1994 ceasefires.
- Press release and programme for a Unison conference, 'Partnership and the Risk for Peace', 27 June 1997.

Trade Unionism Box 3

- Dublin Council of Trade Unions letter informing affiliates and supporters of a collection for the families of those recently interned in Northern Ireland (October 1971).
- *Ireland: A Trade Union Concern* (1992) – A publication aimed at mobilising the British trade union movement towards a political settlement in Ireland, namely a united and independent Irish republic. Published by the Trade Union Network on Ireland, a coalition of trade unionists sponsored by the public services union NALGO and sympathetic to republican analyses of the Northern Ireland problem.
- ICTU leaflet for major 'The Right to Live, The Right to Work' rally in Belfast, , 4 February 1992.
- 'Deadly Discrimination' leaflet (March 1992) on workplace discrimination against Catholics, published by the Trade Union and Labour Ireland Network.

Trade Unionism Box 4

- *ICTU Programme for Peace, Employment and Reconstruction* (1972).
- A folder of NIC-ICTU and Northern Ireland Office (NIO) bulletins and press releases relating to the trade union movement's contribution to the peace process, 1995-2002. Includes, for example, a 2002 statement by the then Northern Ireland Secretary John Reid echoing Tony Blair's positive comments regarding the trade union movement's efforts in bringing an end to paramilitary violence.

This box also contains a selection of newspaper clippings relating to trade union debates and interventions in the later stages of the conflict, as the peace process gained momentum. These articles cover:

- Details of a 1991 ICTU conference which rejected a motion advocating talks with paramilitaries.
- A dispute within the Manufacturing, Science and Finance (MSF) union, in which Shorts workers threatened to withhold their dues in protest at the passing of a 'Troops out' motion at an MSF conference (1991).
- ICTU rallies in protest at the shooting of Pearse McKenna, a T&G shop steward, by the UFF (October 1991); and the Teebane bombing carried out by the IRA and resulting in the deaths of eight construction workers (January 1992).
- A Mid-Ulster Trades Council protest coinciding with the Downing Street Declaration, February 1993.
- Unison debating a 'Troops out' motion at its 1994 conference.
- ICTU's repeated calls for an end to violence in the lead up to the 1994 ceasefires.

Unite the Union (Ireland) archives

Following a series of meetings with Jimmy Kelly, Unite (Ireland) regional secretary, it was agreed that the project would assume responsibility for retrieving the union's entire archive from Transport House, its former headquarters in the centre of Belfast. On the verge of suffering extensive dereliction and being lost forever, the full archive has been rescued and is now in storage, in a secure office space. Comprising approximately 100 storage boxes and dating back to the 1920s, the archive includes: minute books, membership rolls and conference reports; the records and correspondence of successive regional secretaries and full-time officials; education and campaign materials; collections of rare pamphlets and books; and the private papers of prominent trade unionists such as Betty Sinclair and Malachy Gray. It also contains campaign ephemera, a small number of banners, badges, framed posters and pictures, and display boards from an exhibition on the 200th anniversary of the Belfast Dock Strike (1907).

Many of the documents and items retrieved are in need of remedial conservation work before they will be deemed fit for public consumption. It will also be necessary to properly catalogue and archive the collection in accordance with industry standards, thus preparing it for researchers, lay trade union members and communities to access. Because the archive is a vital component of the heritage of Unite and the labour movement in Northern Ireland, this body of work has been incorporated into a multi-

million pound capital development project aimed at redeveloping and restoring Transport House to former prominence, including the establishment of a working class museum, archive and interpretive centre. To this end, Dr Seán Byers has been appointed to the project steering committee and will continue to be centrally involved in all aspects of the Transport House project in its development phase.

Aaron Edwards Private Papers

A small collection of Northern Ireland Labour Party pamphlets, policy statements, internal discussion documents, membership details and interview notes donated by Dr Aaron Edwards, author of a 2009 general history of the party. Contains signposts to other private collections and potential oral history interview subjects.

Connolly Association: Online archive of Irish Freedom and the Irish Democrat (1939-2000)^{xxv}

The Connolly Club emerged out of the ashes of the London branch of the Republican Congress 1938. Its successor, the Connolly Association, aspired to provide a left republican outlet for Irish workers in Britain. Under the stewardship of the British communist Desmond Greaves, the Connolly Association played an active role in anti-partition and civil rights agitation from the late 1940s until his death in 1988. Indeed, Greaves is often credited with articulating the arguments that would underpin the activities of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. This open access online archive of Connolly Association newspapers will contain much that is relevant to Irish working class life in Britain, including the Irish as trade unionists and socialists in Britain; the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland; and the effect of the Troubles on Irish working-class communities in Britain.

Derry City Council, Heritage and Museum Service

Derry Trades Council Archive

A relatively small collection, though one which covers one of the most turbulent periods in the city's rich history. Includes irregular minute books (1964-1992) covering the civil rights movement, three decades of violent conflict, and the Derry Trades Council's response to those dramatic events.

Dublin City Library & Archive

Communist Party of Ireland Seán Nolan/Geoffrey Palmer Collection

Thousands of papers, photographs, journals and letters relating to the CPI were transferred into the care of Dublin City Library & Archive in August 2011, and have been itemised in a catalogue available upon request. Comprising approximately sixty boxes, this collection contains real potential to shed further light on crucial periods in the chronology of the conflict, from the perspective of a political party, tra

unions and trade unionists, a diverse range of community organisations, and individuals who were close in time and place to the events under discussion. For example, Boxes 55 & 56 contain the diaries of Betty Sinclair spanning the period June 1968 – January 1981, which provide new insights into the dynamics of the civil rights movement and the internal workings of the CPI, not to mention the various other struggles Sinclair was involved with in the later stages of her career. Other items of interest include minutes of CPI national executive committee meetings from the 1980s; correspondence between party members; and with supporters and sister parties; and a series of rare posters relating to Nicaragua, Chile, the ‘Free Nelson Mandela’ campaign, the Birmingham Six, the campaign against the use of plastic bullets in Northern Ireland, and the history and culture of the Soviet Union (Box OS 3 & Folder OS). Interestingly, the collection also contains letters, statements and CPI memoranda dealing with the party’s relationship with the Provisional and Official wings of the republican movement.

Despite its southern focus, this collection has to be regarded as the main archive source for students of the CPI. It is complemented by the holdings of the Linen Hall Library and the Seán Murray Papers at PRONI, both of which contain more that is of direct relevance to the working class in Northern Ireland.

Irish Labour History Museum

National Union of Sheet Metal Workers, Coppersmiths, Heating and Domestic Engineers, Belfast Branch

One of the trade unions with a strong presence in Harland & Wolff shipyards. Collection includes correspondence with Andy Barr, a prominent communist trade unionist whose efforts to oppose violence and combat sectarianism have received limited scholarly attention.^{xxvi}

Northern Ireland Labour Party

A small collection of ephemera relating to the NILP between 1968 and 1987. Includes election literature, NILP journals, and a rare annual report of the Newtownabbey and Carrickfergus Trades Council (1981).

Shay Cody Deposit

Lifelong trade union activist and current general secretary of IMPACT, Shay Cody accumulated material during his research on the history of Dublin Council of Trade Unions (DCTU).^{xxvii} Notable are DCTU annual reports for 1969, 1970 and 1971, which provide an important southern trade union perspective on the outbreak of the Troubles.

Francis Devine Deposit

- Irish Labour History Society minutes, records etc. (1980-1994).

- Audio recordings of interviews with Andy Barr, Jack Macgougan, Betty Sinclair and Matt Merrigan.

John Goodwillie Deposit

A unique collection of minutes, conference reports, policy statements, publications and internal discussion documents relating to various Trotskyist groups operating in Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s. Also includes material on the Trade Union Campaign Against Repression and trade union involvement in the H Blocks campaigns opposing the criminalisation of those imprisoned for politically motivated offences.

National Library of Ireland

MSS 44,025 - 44,310 – Sean O’Mahony Papers

Papers collected by Sean O’Mahony relating to Irish history, with an emphasis on the Troubles era and including papers deposited by Mike Milotte relating to labour and left-wing movements and individuals active during the conflict. Contains newspaper articles on Irish communism, mainly relating to Michael O’Riordan of the Communist Party of Ireland (MS44,095/1); articles on Charlie and George Gilmore (MS44,130/5); newspaper articles on Bernadette McAliskey (née Devlin) with related documents including speeches and letters (MS44,199/1-2); and a series of papers related to People’s Democracy (see also above, under Linen Hall Library), a leftist organisation centrally involved in civil rights agitation in the late 1960s and early 1970s (MS44,269/1-5).

Trade union journals/periodicals

Association of Secondary Teachers, Ireland (ASTI)

Secondary Teacher (1961-)

Federated Workers’ Union of Ireland (WUI)

Bulletin (1957-1965)

Irish Congress of Trade Unions (Irish Trade Union Congress)

Trade Union Information (1949-1981)

Irish Transport and General Workers’ Union (ITGWU)

Liberty (1949-1984)

Liberty News (1984-present)

Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI)

CAB/9/C – Ministry of Labour/Health and Social Services ‘C’ Files (1921-1973)

Records of the Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Health and Social Services, addressing various subjects related to employment, unemployment, work benefits and compensation, and industrial relations. The collection contains papers dealing with a number of industrial disputes in the post-war era and the Unionist government’s fractious relationship with the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (CAB/9/C/62).

D1050 (Fond) – Trade union records

Records of various trade unions operating in Ireland, from the late nineteenth century to the 1980s. Collection includes papers relating to the Public Service Alliance (1050/9), the Ulster Farmers’ Union (D1050/13), the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers (1050/17), the Post Office Engineering Union (D1050/19), and the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers (D1050/20), in addition to ICTU minute books and conference reports from the 1950s and 1960s.

D1050/6 – Belfast and District Trades’ Council (1899-1983)

Established in 1881 against a backdrop of sectarian violence, Belfast Trades Council has consistently been one of the most active trade union bodies in Northern Ireland. Active members included Betty Sinclair and others centrally involved in the civil rights movement. The BTC archive contains much that is relevant to sectarianism and conflict in Northern Ireland, including trade union efforts to combat divisions in the workplace and communities of Belfast and further afield. It includes minute books, annual reports (1948-81), over 100 items of correspondence (1946-1983) and membership roll books. The Trades Council has received limited attention in its own right and awaits a comprehensive history detailing its role in Northern Ireland from 1945 to the present day.^{xxviii}

MIC193/6-8 (Microfilm) – Minute books and Executive minutes of Belfast and District Trades’ Council (1941-65)

The addition of BTC minutes to microfilm ensures that these records are more widely available and readily accessible to researchers interested in its activities during and in the aftermath of the Second World War.

D2161 – Seán Murray/Communist Party of Ireland Papers (c. 1930-67)

Private papers of Seán Murray, general secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland; latterly chairman and national organiser of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland. Archive includes Circulars (D2162/A) detailing correspondence between the party and its members/supporters. D/2162/B holds newspaper

cuttings concerning socialist and communist politics and trade unionism in Ireland during the period 1943-66.^{xxix}

D2704 – Northern Ireland Labour Party Papers (1941-72)

Approximately 20,000 documents relating to the NILP, including minutes, reports, correspondence, annual conference reports and other conference material, policy statements, election manifestos, membership lists, press releases and publications. Many involved with the NILP were, of course, active trade unionists – lay representatives, shop stewards and officials – from 1945 and into the Troubles era.^{xxx}

D3233 – Vivian Simpson Papers (1942-76)

Private papers of Vivian Simpson, elected Stormont MP for Oldpark in 1953 and subsequently leader of the NILP at Stormont. Approximately 2,500 documents dealing mainly with the political activities of the NILP. The bulk of these documents focus on the internal dealings of the NILP, although there a number which could contribute to a wider understanding of the civil rights movement, the outbreak of the Troubles and the issue of internment, for example (D3233/2). Others address Simpson's personal interventions as Irish Congress of Trade Unions liaison (D3233/5) and his attempts to secure compensation for Ulster Transport Authority (UTA) employees in 1968 (D3233/6).

D3254 (Closed) – Bernadette McAliskey Papers (1970s)

Civil rights and People's Democracy activist; MP and founder member of the Irish Republican Socialist party. Collection contains some papers concerning her involvement with the IRSP in the 1970s.

D3702 – Sam Napier Papers (1923-1969)

Private papers of Sam Napier, member and secretary of the NILP. Includes documents relating to internal party matters, Napier's writings on economic and political issues, and his correspondence with prominent political figures including those active on the left. Also includes his papers on North-South trade union rapprochement (D/3702/D, 1944-56) that saw the establishment of a Northern Ireland Committee and the eventual unification of the trade union movement under the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

D3699 – Jack Macgougan Papers (1938-82)

Protestant trade unionist; member of the executive of the ITUC; ITUC president on two occasions (1957-58 and 1963-64); later a member of the British TUC general council; Irish Labour Party activist and parliamentary candidate for South Down. An important resource for those interested in the activities of

the labour movement in the post-war era, the material includes a number of documents relating to major trade union conferences and the workings of the ITUC in the early years of the Troubles.

D3909 – Paddy Devlin Papers (1930-78)

Private papers of Paddy Devlin, republican activist; trade unionist; founder of the SDLP; Stormont MP for the Falls Road; served as Minister of Health and Social Services in the 1974 power-sharing administration; spent his later years as Belfast organiser for the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.^{xxxii}

D3957 – Records of the National Union of Public Employees (1976-89)

Records of the NUPE, a British-based union that represented public sector workers, health workers in particular. Bulk of archives deal with internal administrative matters, however material relating to the North and West Belfast Branch (D3957/D), the Ambulance Branch (D3957/E) and the ICTU (D/3957) cover a central period of the Troubles from the perspective of local NUPE members. In addition, the files on equal opportunities (D3957/H) and fair employment (D3957/I) could provide an insight into how the issues of sectarianism and discrimination had an impact on the union.

D4089 – Harry Midgley Papers (1929-57)

Personal and political papers of Harry Midgley, long-serving leader of the NILP; founder of the Commonwealth Labour Party; later Minister of Public Security in the Stormont war-time government; following his defection to the Unionist Party, Minister of Labour in 1949 and Minister of Education in 1950. Although he died in 1957, his papers include documents addressing relations between the labour movement and Stormont government during and in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War.^{xxxii}

FEC (Fond) – Records of the Fair Employment Commission (Limited access)

Established as the Fair Employment Agency under the Fair Employment Act (1976), the Fair Employment Commission was handed a strengthened remit under the second Fair Employment Act (1989). Dealing with workplace discrimination and harassment in Northern Ireland, the Fair Employment Commission dealt directly with trade unions and had trade unionists among its members. This collection includes documents which have the potential to shed great light on the impact of violence and sectarianism on trade unions in Northern Ireland. FEC/1 consists of the minutes of the Agency and Commission's meetings during the years, 1976-1999. FEC/2 contains the first annual report of the Fair Employment Commission. Research papers and investigations commissioned and carried out by the Agency and

Commission (1977-1994), are contained in FEC/3. These include investigations into the practices of numerous Northern Ireland firms (FEC/3/2).

London Metropolitan University

Trades Union Congress Library

Founded in 1922, the Trades Union Congress Library brought together collections relating to the activities of the British TUC, the overarching decision-making body for the British trade union movement established in 1868. The TUC Library contains a full run of Congress annual reports, which include motions and debates relating to key events and issues arising during the Troubles. A number of boxes deal specifically with trade unions in Northern Ireland (HD 6669), others with economic conditions (HC 257.I) industrial relations (HD 5547-8) in Northern Ireland. In addition, there is material relating to Northern Ireland dispersed across the vast range of British trade union subject files.

***SIPTU collection – Irish Labour History Museum; Liberty Hall; SIPTU College*^{xxxiii}**

Records of the Services Industrial Professional and Technical Union (SIPTU), established in 1990 with the merger of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU) and the Federated Workers' Union of Ireland. The collection includes ITGWU annual reports (1918-1985), SIPTU annual reports (1990-present), reports of the Congress of Irish Unions (1945-1950, 1953-1956), reports of the Provisional United Trade Union Organisation (1955-1958), Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) annual reports (1959-present), the *Trade Union Information* journal published by the Irish Trade Union Congress (1949-1959) and later the ICTU (1962-1981), and a range of trade union publications including *Liberty* (1954-1984) and *Liberty News* (1985-present).

University of Warwick Library

Trades Union Congress Archive

Archive of the British TUC. A number of British-based unions have a long-standing presence in Ireland and are affiliated to the TUC. Consequently, the archive contains documents related to the activities of those unions and the TUC in Ireland in the post-war era (1945-1970). The files relating specifically to Northern Ireland are small in number (941.5/1-16), but address crucial issues concerning relationships between British and Irish workers, on the one hand, and British and Irish unions, on the other. Other items of interest include:

- files dealing with every aspect of the General Council's work (20/1-29.91/13);

- files on Congress including minutes (11.1/1-2) and resolutions (14.5/1-3);
- a series on major British industries (600s), including the staple industries of Northern Ireland;
- a short series on the British Commonwealth (932.52/6-937/2);
- a series on the work of the International Committee (901/1-12); and
- a series on pressure groups such as the National Council for Civil Liberties (860/3), one of the first organisations to draw attention to civil rights abuses in Northern Ireland.

SCOPING STUDY: CULTURE AND WORKING-CLASS LIFE IN BELFAST

Michael Pierse

PREAMBLE

Culture in working-class life has attracted relatively little academic attention in Ireland, in spite of the many cultural artefacts that chart working-class experience. No thoroughgoing scholarly study has thus far addressed, as a corpus, the enormous body of poetry, drama, fiction, song, memoir and film that depicts the lives of working-class people in the north of Ireland throughout the twentieth century, or indeed the broader culture of working-class life outside these forms. The present study begins to attend to this significant gap in the literature by exploring various archives of working-class life in the six counties, through its manifestation in various forms of cultural production.

As Moira J. Maguire recently lamented, ‘issues of class are markedly absent from twentieth-century Irish historiography’. Indeed, ‘much of twentieth-century Irish history seems to assume that social class distinctions did not exist’.^{xxxiv} In Britain, by contrast, working-class history and culture have received considerable (if not enough) attention in the academy, with many courses on proletarian literature and Cultural Studies, and the formal recognition of centres such as the Working Class Movement Library in Manchester, which holds thousands of books and pamphlets pertaining to working-class life. But in Northern Ireland, as in the Republic, cultural scholarship of various hues has failed to attend in any comprehensive manner to issues of class; as one sociological study stated, more generally, the issue of class here ‘remains under-explored’.^{xxxv}

Within the sociological and political field, scholars such as Patterson (1980), Moxon-Browne (1983), Jenkins (1983), McNamee and Lovett (1987), Coulter (1994), Hayes and McAllister (1995), Breen (2000) and Bew et al (2002) have explored the role of class in shaping identity and community in Northern Ireland.^{xxxvi} Within the broad field of Irish Studies, meanwhile, scholars such as Sugden (1993), Atkinson and Atkinson (1993), Bairner (1997), Pettit (2000) and Maguire (2006) have focused some attention on specific aspects of class in Northern Irish culture, literature and film.^{xxxvii} My own monograph, *Writing Ireland’s Working Class: Dublin after O’Casey* (London: Palgrave, 2011), attended to issues of class in Irish literature in Dublin, and my forthcoming edited collection, *A Cambridge History of Irish Working-Class Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2016) does likewise in a broader Irish context.^{xxxviii} However, despite much excellent work on themes such as postcolonial and conflict studies in its literature and film, scholars examining the tumultuous cultural history of Northern Irish life in the last century have not yet fully explored the importance of class as a cultural phenomenon. Without such systematic explorations, our understanding of the lived experience of many communities is lacking, and key commonalities of experience across the sectarian divide are undervalued in social and cultural histories. This scoping study suggests some of the material that ought to be considered in addressing that lacuna in a necessarily limited context.

Even in a region such as Northern Ireland, which has attracted a phenomenal level of academic sociological and political interest, such interventions on class are few, to the extent that one survey of political attitudes could note, on the verge of the historic signing of the Good Friday Agreement, that ‘much of the discussion about the role of class [in Northern Ireland] still relies heavily on anecdotal evidence which, while important and suggestive, may not paint a generally representative picture, and does not easily allow for the consideration of how class position relates to other factors which might influence attitudes.’^{xxxix} Yet, as one 1990s study in the sociology of sport found, ‘social class is still a powerful delineator of popular culture in Northern Ireland’.^{xl} It is interesting to note also that when one landmark (if at times flawed) study of national attitudes was conducted in 1968 – at a seminal period in Northern Irish political life – both Catholics and Protestants were well aware of class divisions at home that mirrored those in Britain; moreover, 39 per cent of respondents in both communities felt they had more in common with those of the same class across the divide than they did with co-religionists of a different class.^{xli} In 1930, Pádraic Colum could write that ‘it is the workmen, and especially those who regard themselves as an elite amongst the workmen – the shipbuilders – who give its character to Belfast [...] more than any other city I have ever been in, Belfast is a city of workmen’.^{xlii} And even at the other end of the recent conflict, on the verge of the second IRA ceasefire of the 1990s, researcher Michael Hall could write, regarding separate and unconnected community forums conducted in Protestant and Catholic working-class communities in Belfast:

If you could have obscured the murals which decorated gable walls not far from each of the two venues and blocked out certain ‘identifying’ words while each participant was speaking, then the two Think Tanks could easily have appeared as one and the same. Indeed, I never really felt as if I was attending meetings of people from two *separate* communities, but people from the *same* community, who by circumstances of history had found themselves estranged from one another. I am convinced that history will ultimately resolve that estrangement.^{xliii}

While it is arguable that postcolonial theory – the standard bearer for theoretical approaches to cultural production in the North – tends to underscore that estrangement (and in many circumstances this qualification is as important as it is complex), Hall’s hope for its resolution is clearly invested in the realisation of shared class interests. Part of the process of developing a more nuanced and considered understanding of community in the North is a rigorous exploration of how class has been felt as a register of shared experience. If one often finds in British and Irish literature, as Mary M. McGlynn argues, a ‘working-class reinterpretation of national identity’, then where, but a contested political sphere such as the six counties, could this reinterpretation be more relevant and revealing?^{xliv} While, socially and spatially, the stratification (in particular) of working-class communities along sectarian lines has made efforts, like Hall’s, to bridge the divide problematic on many levels, in the cultural sphere – in fiction, plays, poetry, song, television and film – narratives of working-class life have been playing an important role in expressing commonalities of classed experience that may have been obscured – or indeed ignored, even avoided – in the strictly political sphere.^{xlv} Thomas Carnduff seemed to think so: his identity as a worker was integral to his sense of belonging when he wrote, in

'Shipyard Songs', of the working men of Belfast, 'Her sinew, marrow and bone, / By the graft of our brain and muscle / We fashioned for her a throne'.^{xlvi}

However, in the North, efforts to represent or build class consciousness often faltered on sectarian tensions, many of them in the shipyards Carnduff wrote of: the ill-fated Northern Ireland Labour Party, which was deserted in droves by Catholic voters after it declared in favour of unionism in the 1940s, is a case-in-point. Yet it is all the more questionable that the working-class aspect of Northern culture has failed to attract significant scholarly inquiry when, as Gerald Dawe has argued, 'Belfast is unique in Ireland and has much more in common with Liverpool or Glasgow since the pattern of its streets as much as the commercial nature of the city centred on the industrial heartland; little else'.^{xlvii} Historically, this was a city of rich class consciousness, albeit often inflected by sectarian allegiances, where 'each district had its own factory and customs linked to the work-practices of that factory; its own destiny, and well-being, tied irrevocably to that factory'.^{xlviii}

If class is, as Lawrence Driscoll recently put it, 'a troubling subterranean and repressed element in contemporary literature, theory, and culture', this scoping study aims to address this concern, in a northern Irish context, by recommending a process of scholarly excavation and analysis of neglected artefacts of working-class life; what is presented here is only a snapshot of what is available in working towards that process.^{xlix} This study aims to contribute to the enrichment of scholarship and knowledge exchange between the university and community groups by reclaiming lost narratives; it aims to challenge the discursive process by which class has become the 'poor relation' in theorising Northern Ireland.

Linen Hall Library

A significant amount of the allotted time for this project was spent in the Linen Hall Library (LHL) archives, which contain a wealth of material – much of it currently uncatalogued – which the Library is keen to make more readily available through cataloguing and digitisation. We have already been successful in securing some AHRC funding to work from late 2016 with the LHL to develop an exhibition to coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of the Civil Rights Movement and we have discussed with Library management the prospect of extending this collaboration to more scholarly and curatorial work on the archives below through an AHRC grant application currently under consideration. It should also be noted that QUB is collaborating with the local Irish language community to highlight at an upcoming February 2016 event a perhaps more overlooked element of working-class cultural activity here – the revival of the Irish language in Belfast (a very bottom-up movement largely centred in a working-class area of West Belfast) – and that the LHL has both staff expertise and donated material (from Bríd Ní Seidhin collection) in this regard. St Mary's University College is now host to the recently launched Cartlann na Gaeilge, which provides a wealth of material for scholars and students interested in exploring this grassroots community endeavour.

The LHL has made significant strides towards the cataloguing and curation of a great wealth of material donated to the Library over many years. For example, the work of John Boyd is readily accessible through their 'A Guide to the John Boyd Collection', and a visual feast of theatre history locally is available through the Library's Digital Theatre Archive:

<http://www.digitaltheatrearchive.com/archives>

However, the Library has much more in storage that is less readily available to the general public and currently only partially catalogued and very thinly digitised; this is of course a matter of resources and points to opportunities for further substantive work, not least in collaboration with the university and, through methodologies of co-creation and crowdsourcing, we would suggest, with the local community too.¹ What follows is a partial exploration of possibilities in this regard:

Aisling Ghéar box (archive – uncatalogued)

Aisling Ghéar 'was established to develop top quality Irish language drama in Belfast and throughout the country' and 'grew out of Aisteoirí Aon Dráma who [...] have been producing plays in Irish in Belfast for the past decade'.^{li} This material charts its development through various original visual and textual and provides an opportunity to highlight the work of the Irish language community in West Belfast. AG is established in September 1997 as the only professional Irish-language theatre troupe in the six counties. It grew out of Aisteoirí Aon Dráma, which was founded in 1996. *Republica* (Aodh Ó Dohmnaill) was their first play.

This archive contains the programme from *Bás Taisneach Ainrialai* (Dario Fo's *Morte Accidentale di Anarchicho*/Accidental Death of an Anarchist), which outlines some of the rationale for the work of the group; for example, in regard to Fo's play: 'It is not so much the way it mocks the hypocrisies, the lies,

that are organised so grossly and blatantly by the constituted organs of the state and by the functionaries who serve them; it has been above all the way it deals with social democracy and it's [sic] crocodile tears the indignation which can be relieved by a little burp in the form of – a scandal; a burp which liberates itself precisely through the scandal that explodes when it is discovered that massacres, giant frauds and murders are undertaken by the organs of power ... with his spirit suitably decongested, the good democratic citizen shouts: "Long live this bastard shit society" because at least it always wipes its bum with soft perfumed paper and when it burps it has the good manners to put it's [sic] hand in front of its mouth".^{lii} The Fo play is localised and repoliticised, and provides an important insight into the politics of a local working-class community translated through European drama and subsequently the Irish language: Act I, Scene I commences

on the second floor of a Belfast Police Headquarters where Inspector MacCroim interrogates a lunatic who claims to be a Professor of Psychology at Queen's University. Although freed the Lunatic returns to the officer later and 'discovers' a file on the Anarchist Case – a railway employee and anarchist who had fallen to his death from the fourth floor window of the station. In the course of this discovery, the Lunatic (now pretending to be Inspector MacCroim!) takes a telephone call from Inspector-Out-the-Window and is informed that the inquest on the anarchist is being reopened. Seizing his chance, the Lunatic 'borrows' MacCroim's hat and coat and decides to impersonate Judge Cruacloch who has been sent to reopen the inquest. However Mac Croim returns and recognises his coat and hat, the Lunatic receives a punch on the nose from Inspector Out-the-Window before being thrown out of the office again.^{liii}

Gearóid Ó Cairealláin is the translator. Director Mary Ryan is credited with directing both *Republica* (Lyric) and *An Seomra Feitheamh* (Waterfront) for Aisling Ghéar 'as part of the Community Arts Forum'. She also directed theatre workshops at Merchant's Quay Drugs Centre: 'Recently complete *Junkies* a play about the drugs problem in Dublin'.^{liv} The extent to which the play team is embedded in the community is illustrated, for example, in the twin role of Seán Mac Seáin as an actor (playing a policeman) who also 'lends his skills as a master joiner to the work of Aisling Ghéar'.^{lv} One of the other actors, Máire Andrews, who plays the journalist, played Treasa in their production of Brendan Behan's *The Hostage* and 'has been involved in Irish language drama in Belfast since Aisteoirí Aon Dráma's first production in the mid-eighties'.^{lvi}

The library also holds posters from productions of Eugene Ionesco's *Amédée, nó an tslí le fáil réitithe de* (1999), dir. Bríd Ó Gallachóir, and *In Ainm an Rí* ('Aisling Ghéar's stunning new play about the King of Rock and Roll', from Sept and Oct, no year, in Cultúrlann McAdam Ó Fiach) by Gearóid Ó Cairealláin le Gearóid Mac Siacais, Gearóidín Nic Giolla Catháin, Nóinín Uí Chléirigh, Conchubar Ó Liatháin and Seán Ó Muireagáin. (In the press release related to this play: 'centres around a young, bored housewife whose only escape from the dullness of life on her sprawling, soulless West Belfast housing

estate is to fantasise about the King, and a fortnight of bliss in Memphis, Tennessee ... if only her husband could win the great Elvis Impersonation Contest'.)

A programme for *Scáil an Ghunnadóra* (2000-2001?), dir. by Nollaig Mag Aoidh (notably, the set is by 'Grúpa Ealaine Radacaí'), a 'leagan nua Gaeilge' of O'Casey's *The Shadow of a Gunman*. Again, there is a localisation: 'Gan amhras, is compántas tuaiseartach é Aisling Ghéar agus, cé gur ag plé le cloch mhór as paidrín na litríochta náisiúnta atáimid le *Scáil an Gunnadóra*, tugaimid ár léargas féin go dtí an saothar seo, leargas a eascraíonn as an taithí atá again mar dhream a d'fhás aníos faoi scáth gunnaí sna Sé Chontae. Faoi scáth neamart institiúide na Sé Chontae a d'fhás an compántas seo fosta, macasamhail gach tionscnamh ealaíon Gaeilge eile ó thuaidh.'^{lvii}

- Press cutting also here from North Belfast News, Gearóid Ó Cairealláin, 'Putting History on the Stage', *NBN* 14/10/2000, p. 9. re the rehearsal of Peter Sheridan's *Diary of a Hunger Strike* at Cutúrlann Macadam Ó Fiach. Two former prisoners, Gearóid Mac Aoid and Daithí Mac Ádhaimh, take the leading roles. Ó Cairealláin nonetheless remarks that 'what is really strange is the sense of how little of our recent past has been told in theatre or on film'.
- Poster for translation of *Shirley Valentine*, again translated by Ó Cairealláin, with an English version at Saturday performance (27-30 Sept 2000)
- Programme for *Cliar* music tour.
- 1999 – fliers for *Lá Fhéile Mhíchíl* by Eoghan Ó Tuairisc (12-22 May 1999) and numerous other plays in Irish
- *Leaba Dhiarmada* by Pádraig Ó Snodaigh (February, no year)
- *Lia Creidimh (Faith Healer – Friel)*, another play, is also mentioned in a press release.
- Biddy Jenkinson's *Ó Rajerum* (1999), with simultaneous translation (Róisín Ní Sheanáin is the name signed at the end of press releases/letters)
- Biddy Jenkinson's *Mise, Subhó agus Maccó*: tragchoméidí as an choiteann fair triúr bhacach ar imeallbhord an Tíogar Cheiltigh' (press release, 'Drama Gaeilge don Bhliain Úr!' (again directed by Gearóid Ó Cairealláin).
- Yeats's *Caitlín Ní Uallacháin* and Lady Gregory's *Éirí na Gealaí* (1998; commemorating 1798).
- *An Burgléir Béasach* (another Dario Fo translation), programme: 'pléann Fo le téama tábhachtach mar atá an pósadh, an dílseacht phósta, an caidreamh taobh amuigh den pósadh agus an bhunceist mhorálta – díreach cé chomh olc atá buirgléir ionraic i gcomparáid le scaifte bréagach cam a deir rud amháin dá chéile agus a dhéanann a mhalairt glan?'^{lviii}
- A standard page on several of the programmes asks 'Ar mhaith leat dul ar an ardán?' re a 'scéim oiliúna amharclainne'.^{lix}
- Programme for 'Dhá Dhráma le Harold Pinter'; Irish translations of *One for the Road (Deoch an Dorais* trans. Seán Mac Aindrea) and *The Dumb Waiter (Balbhán* trans. Gearóid Ó Cairealláin); p. 5 quotes Pinter speaking about his motivation re *One for the Road* (the torture of leftists in Turkey).

- Aisling Ghéar have also adapted and performed Beckett (*Godot* and *Happy Days*).

In subsequent discussions with Aisling Ghéar it has been confirmed that the still extant group has copies of various plays, or would have contacts through which copies might be obtained. Together with the material deposited in the LHL, this provides substantial scope for further analysis in terms of grassroots cultural activity and the Irish language movement.

Amateur Drama box (uncatalogued)

This box contains various items of ephemera and accounts of drama groups in local communities going back to the pre-WWII period.

- 'Porstewart Drama Group Committee Meeting Minute Book, 1946-1951'
- 'Porstewart Drama Group Committee Meeting Minute Book, 1951-1953'
- Seamus McGuigan, *An Ill Spent Life*, 48 pp. 26 February 1990.; donated to the Linen Hall by Emma Courtney (his niece), Marketing Manager at the Lyric, with an accompanying letter dated 2 Sept 2004. McGuigan lived on Balfour Street and provides a fascinating account of the amateur dramatic movement 'pre and post World War II' at St Patrick's Community Hall, Newtownards. Sample excerpts:

'The period being the late twenties, the dramatic society was at the peak of its popularity, with its main opposition, the films, still silent, and therefore not so attractive as the live stage, where the players could be heard speaking the lines, and when you could recognise one or more of the players as personal friends, the local cinemas were coming a poor second. On play nights the queue would be well down Ann Street before the doors opened, and shortly after they did open, every seat would be full, including a fairly large gallery, and, people would be standing around the walls, and even sitting precariously at the window ledges [...] an era which was never really to return when the talkies took over.'^{lx}

[...]

'Before leaving the early years I'll have to mention the time I nearly made my first stage appearance. It must have been when I was five or six years old, and one of my first visits to the hall with my mother. I remember my father was being taken off to jail, something which happened to him quite a lot in the plays of that period, and I suppose I got used to it later. But on this occasion I thought his captors were using more force than necessary, and I made strenuous efforts to get on stage to rescue him, before being pacified and taken back to my seat.'^{lxi}

The account provides information on experiences of unemployment, poverty and how amateur drama was a source of parish income and gave some part-time work and opportunity for locals. Overall, it provides some interesting insights into popular culture in working-class life e.g. the 'desecration' of theatre during WWII so as to make space for a dance hall, as 'dancing was having a boom time, which I suppose was only natural with people trying to forget the war'; variety shows, the growth of their

popularity in the war years, 'while the Group Theatre was also thriving, with plays such as *Right Again Barnum* and *Boyd's Shop*, attracting full houses'; the nature of contemporary variety - opera, yodelling, comedy, lightning sketches – 'Silvio, a magical harpist with a great foreign accent, but who I learned later came from the Shankill Road'; the type of people involved – Dubliner Jimmy Whelan, 'who was a woodworking machinist in Doggart's coffin factory', Brendan Murray, 'a mechanic in Harry McGivern's garage.'^{lxii} There are also some references to Joseph Tomelty and his involvement in encouraging local drama groups through the Group Theatre Drama Festival held annually in Belfast.^{lxiii} Additionally, there are mentions of productions by St. Peter's company from West Belfast, presenting *Still Running* by J.J. McKeown, and Tomelty's *Right Again Barnum*, which is hugely popular with big audiences, 'perhaps the brightest period for drama in all my experience'.^{lxiv} Plays mentioned include *Mungo's Mansion* (also called *Galway Handicap*), *The Rale McCoy*, *The Monkey's Paw*, *What the Doctor Ordered*, *Roadside*, *The Widow Man*, *Peg O My Heart*, *The White Sheep of the Family*, *Wedding Fever* and many others. Again there are fascinating insights here into working-class cultural activity and consumption right through till the 1980s – not least the chronology of productions provided – which will inform future work in this regard. This account merits digitisation and could be of significant use to researchers.

Box: The Wedding: A Community Play (uncatalogued)

Martin Lynch and Marie Jones *The Wedding: A Community Play*, devised and scripted by Marie Jones, Martin Lynch and the Company (produced and performed as part of the Belfast Festival at Queen's; Nov. 1999); script at Linen Hall Library is uncatalogued. This play illustrates sectarian tensions in working-class communities and might be partially or fully digitised (with authorial approval) alongside the existing video-taped documentary about its production (already available online via Vimeo, and held on VHS by the LHL).

The play text provides insights into two families' struggles with a so-called 'mixed marriage' e.g.

Geordie: He's a bar manager, he makes good money, that's proper ... studying to be a teacher isn't he? ... all Darren was ever gonna be, was what he started out as ... a postman.

Jeannie He was a protestant postman ... that's the difference ... the kids would have been protestant kids.^{lxv}

[...]

Tillie That's you all over Sylvia, damnin people like Trevor at every cut and turn, then as soon as ye need something, you're at their doors ... can't have it every way.

Sylvia Aren't the other side the same with the I.R.A.?

Tillie Sure what would you know about the other side, sure you never go further than Dundonald.^{lxvi}

Some pages are missing (13 and 58), though playwright Martin Lynch has copies of all of his plays. The box also contains the video documentary 'Our Wedding Video' (dir. Gerard Stratton', 53 mins), and another folder has lots of press cuttings and reviews, plus the programme, which lists the enormous cast. Overall, this provides a snapshot of working-class communities using a very bold and experimental theatre to grapple with issues of sectarian prejudice during a formative stage of the Peace Process. The play is a case study in this regard, and the material outlined above could be digitised, partially re-enacted and narrated, as part of the scholarly and curatorial project envisaged by this project.

Dubbeljoint Box 1, also uncatalogued (JustUs Community Theatre and Dubbeljoint)

- *Binlids* (written by Christine Poland, Brenda Murphy, Danny Morrisson and Jake MacSiacáis) folder:
- Has flyers for 6 August performance (no year), dir. Pam Brighton. It should also be noted at this point that PI Pierse has met with Brighton's son, Ned Cohen, and discussed the possibility of further work on the family archive of her work, which Cohen currently holds. This is an important potential family archive resource for further work in this project.
- The play provides local perspectives on the events that followed the introduction of internment in 1971 and a community's struggles as the conflict unfolded:
 - 'Set during the introduction of internment in August 1971 and the turbulent 17 years which followed, the play traces the history of those years – how a community learned to protect itself and survive. *Bin Lids* is also a celebration of the beginnings of Féile an Phobail, the West Belfast Community Festival, which grew out of the years of turmoil. The 10th anniversary of Féile seems the right time and place to remember and celebrate a community which, despite the attacks and demonization, has lived to tell its story.'^{lxvii}
- Previous productions at Féile, with Dubbeljoint working with the festival since 1992, include *The Government Inspector*, *A Night in November*, *Women on the Verge of HRT* and *Stones in His Pockets*.
- 'JustUs is a new company formed by the women who created *Just a Prisoner's Wife* for which Dubbeljoint and JustUs won the first Belfast City Council award for Best Arts Partnership.'
- A particularly extensive Program for this play is also here: this program is for the version based in New York and ought to be digitised. The front cover features two photos fading into each other, one of British soldiers wielding guns, the other of Belfast women wielding bin lids. The play is subtitled 'A Drama of West Belfast Resistance' and it was staged at the Angel Orensanz Foundation Center for the Arts. The Programme contains a good deal of contemporary political commentary e.g.
 - 'To say that for the past thirty years West Belfast has endured a great deal of trauma would be an understatement. With countless individuals imprisoned or murdered by the government, and slandered by the media, and with children dying amidst the struggle. West Belfast became a community laden with sadness and anger: sadness for

the many losses, and anger for the misrepresentation of both those who had been lost and who survived. *Bin Lids* is the story of how West Belfast has survived and prospered, in the face of this sadness and anger.'

- This is excellent material for digitisation, including 'The Binlids Songs' pp. 30-32, 'A Few Scenes from the Play', photos by Mal McCann, pp. 33-39 and the glossary of terms and events (terms like 'Hen Patrols'), pp. 40-41.
- Also in this box:
- Programme for the Dubbeljoint production of Terry Eagleton's *The White, the Gold and the Gangrene* (1993); cast: James Connolly – Jim Twaddale; McDaid – Dan Gordon; Mather – David Gorry; Dir. Pam Brighton; Production by Alison Mc Ardle.
- Programme for 'Hang all the Harpers', a musical by Shane Connaughton and Marie Jones, directed again by Pam Brighton; again Dubbeljoint – relatively big programme, seems well funded, ads by Amnesty International etc.
- Programme for *Eddie Bottom's Dream* (1996) by Marie Jones, Dir. Pam Brighton:
 - 'Dubbeljoint Productions was formed in 1991 by Pam Brighton, Marie Jones and Mark Lambert to create plays that would be of interest throughout the whole country and to make that work as widely available to as many people as possible. All of Dubbeljoint's last three productions: *The Government Inspector*, *A Night in November* and *Women on the Verge of HRT* have all toured extensively throughout Ireland, all of them playing to capacity audiences. All three plays opened at the West Belfast Festival and the company owes a great deal to the support, enthusiasm and criticism of that community.'^{lxviii}
- 'Company Biography' on p. 2 and 'Company Chronology' on p. 3 (Come back to this box and read these next day, HBP/PG)

Further Dubbeljoint Boxes

Leaflets for Pam Brighton Directed, Marie Jones written/adaptation of Gogol's classic comedy *The Government Inspector* (set design Robert Ballagh, music by Neil Martin); billed as 'An ADULT comedy':

'The Government Inspector is a riotously funny but hard headed look at provincial corruption. The town council desperately tries to clean up its act before the arrival of a government official. Marie Jones' hilarious new version is set in Ireland just before the First World War. Cattle-rustling, sexual despair, laundered taxes, empty warehouses and over-flowing abbatoirs create an explosive comic mix. There is a distinct whiff of treason in the air as rumours are rife about a red line that is to be drawn across the country';

Opens 1-6 August at Rupert Stanley College on the Whiterock Road, Belfast 'as part of the West Belfast Festival', travelling onwards to the Playhouse, Derry, The Courtyard Theatre, Netownabbey,

The Queen's Hall, Hollywood, and other venues in Armagh, Sligo and Galway and eventually the Tricycle Theatre in London.

- Programme for Eugene O'Neill's *A Moon for the Misbegotten* has DubbelJoint biography and timeline.
- Leaflets for *Women on the Verge of HRT* etc., including:
- *The Mother of all the Behans*, adapted from Brian Behan's book by Peter Sheridan, with additional material by Rosaleen Linehan, and starring Eillen Pollock as Kathleen; played 4-6 August in West Belfast Festival
- Pearse Elliott's *A Mother's Heart*, dir. Pam Brighton; '*A Mother's Heart* received its world premiere in Belfast Institute of Further and Higher Education on February 24th 1998'.

Some further information on Elliott's work here suggests another avenue of potential research e.g. radio drama *The Seduction and Demise of Joseph Loughran; A State Macabre* (1997); TV drama *Chronicles of the Insecure; A Rap at the Door*, 'three monologues based on a family in West Belfast whose mother has been abducted, killed and buried in a secret grave' (1999); *Wooly Faces*, 90 minute comedy screenplay based on 'job seekers allowance' (BBC NI); *The Beast of Jobad* (45 min screenplay about the war); films: *Valhalla* and *One in a Million* (need to contact Pearse re personal archive).

- Includes bios of Rosena Brown, Anne-Marie Meenan and playwright Brenda Murphy.
- Programme for *Stones in His Pockets*, which plays 7-10 August at Féile
- Folder re *Women on the Verge of HRT*; programmes have lots of press cuttings and commentary on themes of ageing, beauty, ageism. Press release: 'Anna and Vera are two forty-somethings from Belfast who have made the pilgrimage to Daniel O'Donnell's "at home" in Donegal to pay homage to their icon. Vera is a divorcee determined to have her say before middle age renders her invisible. Anna finds relief from the emptiness of a loveless marriage with the dreams created for her in Daniel's ballads. Both are poised on the verge of change. Peering over the verge they explore, with comic clarity and occasional song, the fears of women in their forties.'
- Folder for *Stones in his Pockets*, Tivoli, Dublin, Programme (1996 Dublin Theatre Festival), and leaflet for West Belfast Festival: 'Two thirty-somethings aimless and unemployed, their heads full of notions of grandeur and glamour, get work as extras on a big American movie being shot on the west coast of Ireland. Suddenly close to the world they idealise, they are forced to look at their own dreams again and wonder who really controls that most private part of ourselves.'
- Folder for *The Government Inspector* contains programmes from Belfast Opera House performance and London Tricycle.
- Next box, in folder marked 'Forced upon us/Bin Lids press articles' is the programme for a JustUs comedy, *Murphy's Law* (2001), directed by Dan Gordon; on the front page JustUs produces a mission statement that goes, 'JustUs exists to empower the community to tell their own story, in their own words, through the medium of the dramatic arts'. *Murphy's Law* is first

solo production (rest in collaboration with DubbelJoint); the play is about Ballymurphy and again we see the emphasis on historiography and translation – on tackling aberrant histories and recounting unheard stories of a working-class community; 'In 1970 war came to a small Belfast community. Ballymurphy has since been at the centre of Irish conflict, playing a vital role in the developments of the past thirty years.' This is obviously ideal material for our project. Quote from Fr Des Wilson: 'The situation was dire – but we laughed so often we surprised ourselves. This play will help explain why.'

- Press cuttings here, for example Toby Harnden, "Arts council funds play that jokes at IRA killings", *Telegraph*, 03/04/01, illustrate too the controversial nature of such work.
- Also: Ed McCann, "See you in court: Dubbeljoint's defiant message to Arts Council "censors" as RUC play packs them in", *Andersonstown News* (7 August 1999), p. 1
- Lots of commentary here, including some very interesting issues in terms of class and cultural production (from *Andersonstown News* editorial on same date):
- 'But the real judges of what is and isn't art are not based in the South Belfast ghetto sipping G & Ts and salivating over the latest obscure work of art. They are based on our streets and in our homes. We will judge what is art and what is rubbish. And we will deliver our verdict with our feet. If we think the latest Arts Council-funded exhibition of a tank filled with urine or a row of Tyrone brick is rubbish, we'll stay at home and watch the footie or head off to the pub for a pint. But if an art exhibition or a theatrical work, a passionate song or an inspired poem, catches our imagination, then we'll be in the front row for every performance. What we will never do – what we must not do – is allow the Arts Council glitterati to do our thinking for us.^{1xix}
- A copy of the play is available here.
- There is a wealth of material here (flyers, posters, letters, opinion pieces, reviews etc., including from the US) in terms of the conflict that arose between this community, arts bodies, practitioners and politicians over the production of this play, and a good deal of this might be digitised as a case study in conflict, class and the importance of theatre in the unfolding Peace Process. (Commentaries from Malachi O'Doherty, Damian Smyth, Eoin Ó Broin, Padraig Mac Dabhaid, Pól Ó Muirí, Ben Webster, Amelia Gentleman).
- Press release re *Working-Class Heroes* (DubbelJoint) by Brenda Murphy: 'In a world where the "bull rules" *Working Class Heroes* is a welcoming lift to those who feel their voice is unheard, their presence ignored and their rights denied [...] The piece is set in the early 1930s and includes the Outdoor Relief Riots and their results. In October 1932 the Outdoor Relief workers in Belfast went on strike.' I have contacted Murphy and discussed the possibility of obtaining scripts for this and other plays. She is keen to work with projects of this kind.
- The press release contains a good deal of information and might be digitised too: 'Working-Class Heroes premiered in the West Belfast Festival, Féile an Phobail, last August and such was the demand that it ran for another week.' Produced 'in collaboration with the unions', it is 'a

timely undertaking with their emphasis on sectarianism and its devastating detrimental consequences for working-class people’.

- ‘Times were hard and desperate measures were often forced on the beleaguered people. An examples of the desperation came in the reply of a man charged with breaking the windows of Anderson and McAuley’s shop in Belfast City Centre, he said: “I broke the window because I was hungry. Jail is the only place where I can get food”.’

This work is echoed in the Dr Olwyn Purdue/Martin Lynch/Green Shoot project, ‘1932: the People of Gallagher Street’ (ongoing), and the potential crossover provides further possible room for collaborative archiving and digitisation. (This cross-community project from 2015-2016 has facilitated groups of young people in research the period; Piirse attended a 2016 rehearsed reading of a short series of sketches they produced along with the presentation of their research, and the work is valuable in terms of charting cross-community collaboration in labour struggle.)

- The Brian Moore play, *Black Taxi*, is mentioned here in a review from the *Irish News* (a further loose end); other reviews available here, including Jane Coyle’s from *The Irish Times* (11 September 2003, p. 29), in which she writes of it as ‘an inspiring story of ordinary people empowering themselves towards extraordinary achievements, establishing an organisation, which has taken on semi-mythical symbolism in history books, tour guides and academic dissertations’. This has obvious potential in terms of charting the rise of a local, co-operative, bottom-up initiative that emerged from the conflict and that illustrates again the scope for further potential research.
- Press release re *A Cold House* by Laurence McKeown and Brian Campbell; other documents here too. PI Piirse contacted McKeown as part of the work of this project and some of his work is available through himself or possibly Campbell’s family. Other work by Campbell and McKeown was published in *An Glór Gafa*, copies of which (autumn 1989 – August 1999) are available in the Linen Hall’s Political Collection.

Community Arts box

- Lots of fliers here for community festivals, including Féile an Phobail, Camlough Festival etc., which can help chart the development of community arts and yields good material for digitisation. *Lay Up Your Ends* Notes/Joe Nugent, West Belfast Historical Society (also Joe’s Notes – all of these are written on the folder) contains ‘Children’s Street Rhymes’ e.g.

‘Dotsie-dotsie, miss the rope, you’re outie-o,
If you’d been, where I’d have been,
You wouldn’t have been put outie-o,
All the money’s scarce, people out of workie-o,
Dotsie, miss the rope, you’re outie-o.’

Again, these ought to be made available.

- Letters from Joe Nugent (no date) mention a poem about 'the York St-Great & Little Patrick Street area also ... (unreadable) St and the Barrack Wall'.
- Letter from official re *Lay Up Your Ends* and notes here by Marie Jones, plus hand-written programme material etc. 'Martin Lynch & a co of 5 actresses create their own work' (all of this, in the Community Arts folder, should clearly be catalogued).
- A large folder: 'Carol Scanlan, 'The Hamster Wheel', Community Care Research':
- Féile an Earraigh programme 2004, Community Arts forum confidential evaluation doc 1999, report from 1997 incl. foreward from Tom Magill; pics from Martin Lynch plays *Dockers* and *Crack Up* and from Christina Reid's *Tea in a China Cup*. 1995/1996 Féile programmes are here; UTV documents here with handwritten personal narratives from Ballybeen Women's Group, are interesting in terms of charting working-class experience e.g. one woman, whose husband works in Sirocco Works, writes regarding her experiences of poverty, providing excellent testimony regarding social conditions, poverty, and everyday working-class experience.
- Programme also here for play, *Connor's Story*, community play in New Lodge by drama group Dock Ward – product of 'nine months of heated debate, of improvisation, of questioning'. Written by Patrick McCoey and directed by Gerri Moriarty (and supported by Arts Council, BCC, CRC, Ni Voluntary Trust); this is another piece we might seek to locate down the line.
- There is lots more besides in this box, which is currently a very mixed assortment of various pieces of ephemera, accounts etc.

Christina Reid Boxes

My Name, Shall I Tell You My Name

- Lots of press cuttings re *My Name, Shall I Tell You My Name*
- Press cuttings about *Did you hear the one about the Irishman?'* Peggy Butcher's review in *Time Out* (21/28 Oct 1987, n.p.) speaks of how the 'audience is caught between a desire to laugh at some of the well-delivered jokes (Richard's Howard's timing is impeccable) and a recognition that to do so is to collaborate in the oppression'.
- Val Arnold Foster review of the Radio 4 play in 'Plays for Today', 19 March 1988, *The Guardian*, n.p. *The Belle of Belfast City* – David Nowlan review (np.n.d.) of the Lyric Theatre version writes of how it 'conjures the conflicts of east Belfast, the nostalgia or Northern urban Protestantism, and the social breakdown of a once secure community'.

All of this points to the importance of Reid's archive in charting Belfast working-class life.

- Many cuttings here. Many explain Reid's biography and the genesis of the plays and are very useful, though their digitisation would present obvious problems in terms of copyright agreements etc.

- More important are the manuscripts (none of this is digitally catalogued) of *My Name, Shall I Tell You My Name*, in various forms including BBC radio play version from November 1987. Original flyers for this play too. Also here is a CD of Christina Reid's 2005 Lyric FM play production, *Sex and the Single Granny* (difficulty playing on a PC; file may be corrupted).

Christina Reid – Joyriders

- Original props in box, including Union Jack socks and Ulster Says No badges/scarf; all of these could be scanned and form part of a digital exhibition.
- Yew Theatre Company Press Release (Attymass, Ballina, Co Mayo, n.d.): 'Set in a Youth Training Centre in the Springfield Road area of Belfast, it portrays a new generation of Belfast people who have grown up without hope.'
- Various reviews here.
- Well preserved 'Demolish Divis Now' poster, printed by Unity Press; pics of children playing in Scotch Street and Baker Street, under the heading 'This was a Community!'; pictures of the boarded up flats, graffitied walls and general urban decay of Divis under the heading 'This is a Disaster!'; 'Demolish Divis Now!'. The poster for Brecht Baut Theatre production (24-26 June 1991) of the play has a picture of more than a dozen abandoned and burnt-out wrecks of cars with the legend: GOD SAVE ULSTER! The Queen! The POPE!! US! This folder holds lots of posters (some large) from the various tours of the play (esp. in Germany) which would be good as part of an exhibition. There are many reviews of readings of the play (in Boston, at the Playwrights Theatre; Irish Echo, 23-29 June 1993). Two impressive German language programmes, plus a miniature *Sun* from 24 March (intro of direct rule), American programmes, lots of administrative details retained.
- Controversy in 1996 when 'more than 80 parents signed a petition demanding its withdrawal' as a key English GCSE project text at a school in Devon (see Alun Rees and Joe Saumarez Smith, 'GCSE text that is a lesson in obscenity', *The Express* (22 November 1996), p. 5
- The significant success of this play evident from volume of tours and reviews and there is a host of further Reid material; all of this ought to be catalogued and some of it could be digitised as part of the envisaged project.

Box: 'Did You Hear the One ...? Christina Reid' (not in online catalogue)

- Includes 1983 letter from Literary Agent Giles Gordon re 'Wasteland' (sic? Should be 'Wasteground?'), various other correspondences regarding *The King of the Castle*, including a re-write of Eileen's mother's speech (1986) from *The King of the Castle*, Royal National Theatre contract (played as part of its BT National Connections 'celebration of youth theatre; 9 March 1998); copy of Michael Herbert article on Reid, 'Across the Great Divide (*The Irish Post*, Sept 1990, n.p.); photocopied press clippings and programme from *Did you hear the one about the Irishman?* In these and in the Ulster Television news release (10 December 1980) regarding the award she won for writing it, Reid is repeatedly referred to as a 'Holywood housewife'.

- Also in the box is a cassette copy of the Royal British Legion 1994 release, 'Songs that Won the War'; the 1-hour TV script of *Did you hear the one about the Irishman?*, letters from the BBC, Prime Productions (rejection letter from Stephen Butcher, 16 July 1984), fliers from the New Zealand and Kings Head (London) productions, various other correspondence, a Welsh language translated script of *The King of the Castle* (trans. Manon Eames); script of *Did you hear the one about the Irishman?* one-act stage play and memorabilia, photos etc. from both plays.
- Some good commentary here for our purposes, for example: 'People [in England] seem to think that all the Protestants are rich and all the Catholics are poor. But there is a massive Protestant working class who were a totally loyal workforce because they were always told that, if they went on strike, they would let the nationalists in. It's a perfect example of divide and rule. So you had this loyalist workforce who worked in appalling conditions in the mills and foundries for bad wages.'
- Published copy of 'Wasteground' in *Honey* magazine, pp. 82-84, December 1983, with illustration by Kevin Grey (could be digitised)
- Copy of short story 'Wasteground' (version recorded with reader Kate Binchy, prod. Alfred Bradley, BBC London, 12 Dec 1984; 14pp), which later became the play *The King of the Castle*.

Joe Tomelty (box) marked: 'Joe Tomelty B/TOME Photographs/Correspondence/Misc 6 Folios'

- This is not digitally catalogued and includes pictures, flyers, programs etc.
- Original copy of *April in Assagh* Ulster Group Theatre working script. Badly needs to be digitised (in poor repair/frayed). There is a faded copy of another play (again, a working copy), not sure which play. Copy of article from 1970s: Billy Simpson, 'Tomelty at sixty-five' (n.d.)
- *Mugs and Money; Happy Ever After* (1954) – photo from this here
- Programme here for *Is the Priest at Home* (1954) revival (1990) by Theatre Ulster
- Lots of original letters here (from Ernest Blythe and Winnifred Bannister, for instance, including handwritten originals), travel permit card etc. All very good for an exhibition.
- Lots of photos of Tomelty here, well preserved and useful for the envisaged project.

Box: Various Plays Inc. Lynch, Martin, Carnduff, Sam Thompson, Graham Reid'

- Again, this is not digitally catalogued and ought to be properly collated and made available digitally. (While it precedes the scope of this project, it is nonetheless of note) Thomas Carnduff, *Songs of an Out-Of-Work* (Belfast: The Quota Press, 1932), original copy inscribed:

'This copy, To my T.U. Delegate Bob Getgood

Thomas Carnduff

11/5/32'

(Robert Getgood was a well-known politician and trade unionist)

- In same box: programme for Sam Thompson's *The Evangelist*.
- Article: Mary Tohill, 'Theatre of Conflict', *Belfast Review*, Spring 1983, pp. 20-1), includes some commentary on Martin Lynch. 'Now himself a fully-fledged dramatist, he is writing plays about the working-class, for the working-class. He would see little point in writing if he wasn't doing this.'
- Articles also here re Graham Reid (e.g. Ann Purdy, "'Jack of All Trades" now Top Playwright', *Irish News and Belfast Morning News*, 5 March 1981, no page; Lynda Henderson, 'The Violent Curriculum of Graham Reid', *Fortnight*, June 1983, p. 21)

- Sub-Folder marked 'Sam Thompson' contains:
 - Photograph of *Over the Bridge* actors
 - Programme for *The Evangelist* at the Grand Opera House
 - Press cutting photocopy: J.C. 'First night of "Over the Bridge" at Empire Theatre, *Belfast Newsletter* (27 January 1960), p. 6
 - Various study notes re Sam Thompson (photocopies from books, newspapers etc.)

All of this might be combined with the material below in the Belfast Central Library, or copied over.

- Sub-Folder marked 'Thomas Carnduff 1886-1956 – His Life, Writings and Times – Man and Poet of the People; includes clippings of photocopied poems and photocopy of T.P. Eliot, 'Thomas Carnduff and the Young Citizen Volunteers of Ireland', photocopied handwritten piece;
- Photocopy of poster 'Down by the Docksides' event in 1993 May Day Festival.
- Photocopy of original Independent Loyal Orange Institution letter (11 December 1939) in which Carnduff is asked to attend at a meeting at which he will be questioned over having been 'present on a Sunday evening in St Peter's R.C. Hall where a performance was given'.
- Carnduff bibliography: 'A Bibliography of the Life and Times of Thomas Carnduff and His Published Writings' by Harry Irwin (1991)
- Four photocopied (each different) versions of Denis Smyth's 'Lives of Working Class writers and poets: Poet of the People, Thomas Carnduff 1886-1956, From Shipyard Poet to Playwright/Poet' (North Belfast History Workshop and the Portlight Press Project n.d.)
- Photocopy of advertisement for John McGrath's (director) rehearsed readings (Tinderbox Theatre Company) of 'The Writings of Thomas Carnduff' (24 March, n.d.)
- Various handwritten notes on Carnduff's work; no author.
- Farset Press press release for Martin Lynch's Dockers (July or early August 1982)
- Envelope containing type-written draft of John Gray's *Thomas Carnduff - A Belfast Man: A Brief Study of his Life, Times and Literary Works* (1986)
- Again, this is another folder in which various material that ought to be separated and catalogued is somewhat jumbled; again, this points to the urgency of a project that would support the Linen Hall in this endeavour.

Stewart Parker Boxes – uncatalogued online

This donation mainly relates to the production of *High Pop: Stewart Parker's Irish Times column*, edited by G. Dawe (published by Lagan Press 2008) and *Dramatis Personae: Stewart Parker's Literary Writings* edited by G. Dawe, Marta Johnston and Clare Wallace (published by Literaria Pragensis 2008).

- **Box One (Relating to 'Dramatis Personae', ed. G. Dawe)**
 - Working Copies of 'Dramatis Personae & Other writings',**
 - edited by Gerald Dawe and Maria Johnston. Section of 'Dramatis Personae', heavily annotated by G. Dawe with handwritten notes.
 - **Scripts**
 - Television script for 'Lost Belongings' (scripts and introduction), 1987
 - **Press Clippings**
 - 'Guiding spirit back to centre stage' Jane Coyle 26/6/04
 - **Articles / Columns by Stewart Parker, including:**
 - **Press Clippings 1970-1976:** 'Buntus Belfast', 'The Tribe and Thompson', 'School for Revolution', 'An Ulster Volunteer', 'Joyce's "Exiles"', 'Belfast's women: a superior brand of dynamite', 'Me and Jim'
 - **Prepared versions of Parker's writings for 'Dramatis Personae', ed. Dawe and Johnston:** 'Lost Belongings: Introduction', 'State of Play', 'Introduction to Plays'; material omitted from 'Dramatis Personae': 'Smaller than life', 'Jazzing it Up', 'Exhilarations', W. B. Yeats' 'The Hour Glass'
 - Also, Introduction to Sam Thompson's *Over the Bridge* 'Dramatis Personae: A John Malone Memorial Lecture', 'Cockney Rock' (annotated), 'Latter Day Cowboys - Read's Second Album'
 - Intro. To *Lost Belongings*, "Me & Jim", "Buntus Belfast"; further press clippings about and by Stewart Parker and the full television script of *Lost Belongings* (which is listed in the Library catalogue)
 - Miscellaneous press clippings

Stewart Parker Box 2: "High Pop" Ed. Dawe and Johnston

- Folder of annotated Stewart Parker "High Pop" columns (eds. Gerald Dawe and Maria Johnston),
- Folder of "High Pop and other writings", June 2006 (also edited by Dawe and Johnston)
- A small folder of TCD and NLI microfiche printout order forms re Parker's work.
- Miscellaneous copies of Parker's journalism.
- Lists with dates of publication for Parker's Irish Times columns

BOX 3 (same collection)

- Copies of Original 'High Pop' Column in Irish Times (1970 - 1976)
- Telegram (with envelope) to Stewart Parker from 'Julia' 1st Jan 1970.
- Undated note from Stewart Parker (addressee unidentified)
- Stage notes written on back of First National Ithaca bank receipt.
- 'Green Room, 68' (spring edition) events brochure by Minnesota Theatre Company, hand written address on back of Arthur Ballet, Office of Advanced Drama Research. 'Guthrie '68: Tyrone Guthrie Theatre / Sixth Season 1968 Brochure.
- Dramatis Personae — A John Malone Memorial Lecture by Stewart Parker (given on 5th June 1986 at Queen's University, Belfast.) Inscribed 'for Gerry Dawe good luck to the work' Davey H (?) (19/10/95).
- Also photocopy of above.
- Miscellaneous press clippings (1966-1974)
- Publication list from an instructor in Northern Arizona University with handwriting: "Dear Gerry, Here's the list of my publications ... Marilyn".
- Stewart Parker memorial card with appreciation by Keith Dewhurst and list of productions
- Driving licence of James Stewart Parker 13 Sept 1974 - 12 Sept 1977.
- Advertisement in Fortnight for 'The Stewart Parker Trust'
- Copy of Stewart Parker supplement 'Valuing the Individual Moment' with *Fortnight* 278.
- (all courtesy of Dawe – who itemised boxes, mostly as above)
- Contains other ephemera etc., original handwritten notes from Parker and photos
- List of Marilyn Richtarik publications on Parker
- Original copy of Parker's John Malone lecture "Dramatis Personae" (John Malone Memorial Committee, 1986)
- Another of Parker's works that might be digitised, or partially so, is *The Iceberg*, which is available in *The Honest Ulsterman* 50 (Winter, 1975), pp. 4-65 (held in Queen's University McClay Library)

Springhill Community Archive

The Springhill Community Archive is a significant source of largely untapped (in terms of scholarship, exhibitions etc.) resources in the cultural history of working-class life here. There is a significant amount of material, which has been cared for with great meticulousness. This is an exciting find from the project and one that suggests great opportunities in terms of future research. (Table below is courtesy of Ciarán Cahill of Springhill Community House.)

Theatre			
ID	Date	Document type	Description
1		Document	Poster 123 Series of talks
2		Document	Programme AD-Hoc Theatre Group 94
3		Document	Postre Ad-Hoc Theatre Group Presents Youre Not going to like this
4		Document	Spotlight Ballymurphy project house killegar

Theatre			
ID	Date	Document type	Description
5		Document	Raised Eyebrow Theatre co
6		Document	Saint guilty jury project
7	05/03/1985	News paper clipping	An Irish Womans Diary
8		Document	Poster The Peoples Theatre
9		Letter	To Mairtin From Pat McGlade 21st anniversary
10		Document	Ticket for the Peoples Theatre Present Skit-Show
11		Document	Youre not goin to like this a Revue
12	02/02/1989	Letter	From the BBC To Des Wilson
13	20/06/1992	News paper clipping	Andersontown News Mala Poist A glimpse of reality
14	05/02/1993	Letter	From UCG To Father Wilson
15		Document	Belfast Community Theatre Tour 1989
16		Document	We didnt have a lovely time the day we went to Belfast
17		Document	Running Order
18		Document	Scripts at 123
19		Document	AD-Hoc Theatre Group Youre not goin to like this part 3 running order for cast
20		Script	The Investigative Interviewer
21		Letter	Group Theatre Letter TO Belfast City Council
22		Document	Your not going to like this By Desmond Wilson
23	27/03/1996	Document	West Belfast Traders Association
24		poster	Come N Grumble peoples forum
25	04/04/1976	Document	Come N Grumble Ballymurphy Committee Centre
26	05/08/1974	Document	Trip To Limburg
27	05/09/1976	Document	Come N Grumble Ballymurphy Community Centre
28	04/07/1976	Document	Come N Grumble Conference of Community Groups
29	14/11/1971	Document	A taste of Music and Story
30		Document	A get away from it all .. No.6
31	12/08/1984	Document	Independent Inquiry into Events of Sunday
32		Document	Poster Then + Now
33		Document	Events in Conway Mill
34		Document	123 Series 2 Easter Resurrection Time
35	10/11/1981	Letter	From GLC To The Springhill Project
36	27/10/1983	Letter	To Father Des from North Belfast Workshop
37	04/10/1983	Letter	To Friends from Ierland Komitee
38	21/09/1983	Letter	To Springhill Community House from Ian Fisher

Theatre

ID	Date	Document type	Description
39		Document	Press Conference Conway Street Mill
40		Document	Public Inquiry into Unemployment
41		Document	Is sé bhliain no mar shin o chuir muid an abair
42	16/03/1983	Letter	From Springhill To Public Inquiry into unemployment
43	12/04/1983	Letter	Dear Des from House of Lords
44		Document	Springhill Community House Press Conference the Old Mill
45		Document	The organisers of the 9/10 of March Inquiry in to unemployment
46		Document	Group Name Occupation Address
47		Document	Names
48		Document	Come N Grumble conference of Committee Group
49		Document	Poster of AD-Hoc Theratre Groupop
50		Document	Programme
51		Document	Proddy O'Teague The Golden Pot
52		Document	Ticket for The Holy Show
53		Document	Ticket for Blood of the Diamond Stone
54	07/10/1986	Document	Ticket for Golden Oldies Disco
55		Document	Ticket for 20 Years of the Peoples Theatre
56		News paper clipping	Picture of Ballymurphy Peoples' Theatre
57		Document	Ad-Hoc Theatre Group
58		Document	Opening God Bless England
59		Document	Script
60		Document	Programme for Your Not Going To Like This Part 3
61		Document	Double Joint Theatre Company Celebrating 10 Years in West Belfast
62		Document	Programme for Cinderella Too
63		Document	Dates of Different Things
64	13/06/1999	Document	Programme of Celebrations of Des 50th Ordination
65		Document	If i was Private
66		Document	Advice Centre
67		Document	Programme for Ad Hoc Theatre Group Your Not Going to Like This part 2
68		Document	Ticket for Your Not going to like this part 2
69		Document	Poster for 123 Series of Talks
70		Document	Sunday Night at the Mill
71	04/01/1976	Document	Flyer for Come n Grumble Peoples Forum
72	01/02/1976	Letter	To the Secretary Of the BTA
73		Document	Programme for the Mockers and the Scoffers Show

Theatre

ID	Date	Document type	Description
74		Document	Programme Peoples Theatre Read In
75		Document	Poster for the Come n Grumble Peoples' Forum
76		Document	Acknowledgements
77		News paper clipping	Peoples Theatre Present Brits Begorrah
78		Document	Ticket for Upper Springfield Festival
79		Document	The Ridley Bird
80	01/05/1984	Document	Ticket for No Cheques Please We're Christians
81	19/12/1973	Document	Ticket For Holy Show No.2
82	27/01/1989	Document	Invatation to Your Not Going To Like This
83		Document	Group Theatre Programme
84	12/12/1982	Document	Ticket for The Far Off Hills
85		Document	Programme for The Hidden Strength
86	02/04/2001	Document	Leaflet for Des at Lyric Theatre
87		Document	Father Wilson has reached the age to lift the look and sign the pade its not his autograph hes signi
88	06/06/1995	Document	Recongising abd Healing Maligant Shame
89		Document	Ticket for Ad Hoc theatre 20 Years of the Peoples Theatre
90		Document	Ticket for Irish Night Thompson of Tir-Na-Nog
91	16/03/1987	Document	Ticket for Focailin and Sign on the Dotted Line
92		Document	ECCE HOMO
93		Document	Review Ballymurphy and the Irish War
94		Document	Poster for The Crescent Community Centre The Bloom of the Diamond Stone
95		Document	Peoples Theatre & Arts Council Sunday Night at the Mill
96		Document	People Theatre & Arts Council Sunday Night at the mill
97	25/10/1975	News paper clipping	Community Mirror Derry/ The Peoples Theatre
98		Document	The Peoples Theatre Were it began
99		Document	Programme A Hilarious Show of their own making
100	06/08/1976	Document	At the Social Studies Conference Kilkenny
101		Document	Poster Hey Missus Come Here A Minute
102	27/04/1980	Document	Poster for The One and Half Hour Show
103		Document	Poster for Belfast Community Theatre Oh Gilbert
104		Document	Poster for New Year Show Internment
105		Document	Poster for Padraic Fiacc and Frank Ormsby Postry Reading
106		Document	Poster for The Peoples Theatre Read In

Theatre			
ID	Date	Document type	Description
107		Document	Poster for Tom Williams An Historical Play
108		Document	Teatro Goldoni Toma
109		Document	Ben Madugan Drama Group Presents Ireland Live On
110		Document	Bank Statement for Peoples Theatre
111	20/05/1992	Letter	To Andersontown News from Desmond Wilson
112	02/05/1991	Document	From Lyric Theatre Invitation to the Opening Night of DES
113		Document	Revue 222
114		Document	Act 3
115		Document	Eames
116		Document	11 Sarah Well you certainly let them know
117		Document	Song For Des By Joe McVeigh
118		Document	Poster for West Belfast Community Festival Presents Conway Education Centre
119		Document	Poster For The Peoples Theatre Presents Christmas Readings
120		Document	Poster for Peoples Theatre present Christmas Show
121	26/10/1980	Letter	Dear Sir from George McKinney saying he had such a great time at The Mockers and Scoffers Show
122		Document	Lassie Come Home
123		Document	Scripts at 123
124		Document	To the tune of are you right there Michael
125	15/03/1984	Letter	To Mr Morrow Arts Council of Northern Ireland from Noelle Ryan
126	31/10/1986	Letter	To From Marie Mcknight Belfast Community Theatre
127	25/01/1988	Document	For You and for Many Screenplay
128	19/12/1973	Document	Ticket for the Holy Show No.2
129	05/12/1973	Document	Ticket for Gods Loving World
130		Document	A Hilarious Show of their own making Summer 75
131		Letter	Dear Sir from Patricia Doyle RE Hire of Group Theatre
132	11/12/1975	Letter	To Fr Dermot I'm writing to confirm our booking for the weekend 27/29 Feb 76
133		Document	Press Notice RE Current Revue Group Theatre Belfast
134	25/01/1989	Letter	To Des I shall be in my native city on Friday from Sheila
135	25/02/1986	Letter	To Des from Francis Folty sorry for not replying to your letter
136	29/12/1976	News paper clipping	Social films popular in Russia
137	01/08/1988	Letter	Dear Friends from Jim Lewis this is to say thankyou for all your help during our visit
138		Document	Harold Goldblatt Margaret D'Arcy with Irish Short Stories Poetry

Theatre			
ID	Date	Document type	Description
139	04/12/1992	Letter	To Des from Lionel Pilkington I am a lecturer in English at University College Galway
140	12/01/1989	Letter	From Noelle You're Not going to Like this
141		Document	Invoice from Print Workshop 80 Tics 2 Lots 20 Posters 2 Lots
142	01/06/1975	Document	Invoice from Print Workshop 80 Tics 50 Posters
143		Document	Reserve Seats for Dr PJK O'Farell You're Not going to like this
144	25/01/1989	Letter	To Noelle from Wendy Williams im afraid i cant make it to the drama studies
145	25/09/1987	Document	Sign on the Dotted Line
146	25/01/1989	Letter	To Noelle from Liam please send me two tics
147		Document	Please Reserve a Seat for Joe Nolan for You're not going to like this
148		Document	Please reserve two seats for Eugene Smyth for Your not going to like this
149		Document	Please reserve two seats for Bernie Morgan for your not going to like this
150		Document	Please reserve 2 seats for Pauline Murphy for your not going to like this
151		Document	Cast Songs Joe Reid The Capitalist Joe Reid Eileen Pauley
152		Document	Ecce Homo Behold the Man Written By Belfast Community Theatre
153		Document	James Connolly Reading Order
154		Document	The Briefing
155	15/10/1990	Letter	To Martin Lynch? I hope all is well we are working away here and everybody is delighted to see
156	08/04/1979	Document	Peoples Theatre Read In Programme
157		Document	Cuairteoir Gan Choinne
158		Document	Ad Hoc Theatre Group proudly presents Cinderella by Theresa Donnelly
159		Document	Belfast Community Theatre Workshop Presents Our Ireland
160	27/01/1989	Document	Please reserve 2 seats for Anne and Daniel Sloan for your not going to like this
161		Letter	To Mary from Noelle Springhill is presenting a Revue in the Queens Drama Studio
162	06/03/1990	Letter	To Marie from Paddy Sloan your application for saupport under the NIVTs Community Arts Award Scheme
163		Document	Wee Joe Devlin
164		Document	ECCE HOMO
165		Document	Scene Two Man enters dock in dark suit bowler hat and sash

Theatre			
ID	Date	Document type	Description
166		Document	Rough Justice Belfast Court room Clerk Shouts All rise for his honour
167		Document	Ad Hoc Theatre Group Presents youre Not Going to Like this Part 3
168		Document	Doctors Waiting Room
169		Letter	To Mr Pilkington from Des Delighted to get your letter could you contact me Monday or Tuesday
170		Document	Reserve 3 seats for Liam Wilson for Youre Not Going To Like This
171		Document	Reserve 2 Seats for Colm and Angie Kelly for Your Not Going To Like This
172		Document	Reserve 2 seats for Peter Dowds for Your Not Going To like this
173		Document	Reserve 5 seats for P J McGrory for Your not Going to Like this
174	20/01/1989	Letter	To Noelle from P J McGrory i enclose cheque for £50 subscription
175		Document	The Cooked Up Report
176	25/01/1989	Letter	To Des from Mary Broderick I'm afraid I won't be able to attend your Revue
177		Document	Cue can you reassure them on this matter Minister yes i can i will tell you exactly what i have told
178		Document	The Christmas Present
179		Document	The Evening News
180		Document	The action takes place in a farmhouse kitchen ##sarah is making a cup of tea on the cooker she is si
181		Document	Teatro Goldoni Roma Vicolo de Soldati
182	06/08/1976	Document	The Peoples Theatre Ballymurphy At The Social Studies Conference Kilkenny
183		Document	The Wesleyan Church
184		Document	La la la la one two three four five
185		Document	John Rob 50.00 Sheila Chillingworth 20.00 Anne Sloan 12.00
186		Document	Sean McMahon wishing good luck with the show and he wont be able to make it
187		Document	Dubblejoint Play DES March 2000
188		Programme	Group Theatre Programme
189		Programme	Dubblejoint Des By Brian Campbell
190		Programme	Group Theatre Programme
191		Programme	Group Theatre Programme
192		Script	Put out that light by Theresa Donnelly
193		Script	Peoples Theatre Read In
194		Script	The Mulligans
195		Script	Scene Two Man enters dock in dark suit bowler hat and sash

Theatre			
ID	Date	Document type	Description
196		Script	Rough Justice
197		Document	Two Mothers
198		Script	Woman's Advice Centre

Public Records Office NI

- A great deal of material relating to, for example, labourer's wages and pay sheets (such as D959/5/5/2 - Elmfield Estate; LA/22/2FA – Colebrook Estate), forms part of the general resources on labour history at PRONI (for more see Byers above), and would be vital in terms of developing an online digital archive or working-class history.
- Collections include work by Joseph Tomelty (e.g. Too Much Devotion : a playlet for broadcasting), 'Letters from Robert Harbinson to W.R. Rodgers (D2833/C/1/7), and various other works related to working-class authors, though this is perhaps more known to scholars than some of the material below, much of which would be very useful in terms of the longer-term project envisaged by this scoping study.

Visual Material

- In terms of visual culture, photography and art, there are a number of resources at PRONI that could prove useful in terms of exhibition and digitally archived material. Photos of labourers' accommodation (see T2673/3, Tannaghmore, Lurgan, built under Labourers' Cottages Act), Also PRONI holds a copy of Belinda Loftus's *Marching Workers: An Exhibition of Irish trade banners and regalia* (Belfast?) Arts Council of Ireland, 1978) booklet (AC2/3/2 in PRONI), which provides information of the 1978 exhibition at the Ulster Museum, Belfast and Douglas Hyde Gallery (Dublin) which suggests a great deal of potential for a future exhibition of the same material (and acknowledgements at the start and catalogue at the end provide a host of sources for banners, regalia such as pins, items such as drums etc.); 112 separate pieces were made available as part of the exhibit, and Loftus's work would be invaluable in terms of a guide to a possible digitisation project.

Education and Culture

- PRONI holds significant Workers' Educational Association (WEA) archives (see for instance D1050/6/E/26; D1050/6/E/27; D1050/6/E/28; D1050/6/E/29), including a box of seven files relating to the National Council of Labour Colleges, 1946-57 and the WEA, 1948-58 (D1010/17/39; contents described online: 'containing collection of pamphlets including Connolly Commemoration leaflet, 1951; Programme for Peace and Progress in Northern Ireland (ICTU) 1969; Belfast & District Trades Union Council 'Distress Fund', 1970; 'The Congress of 1868: the origins and establishment of the Trade Union Congress' by A.E. Mussan; 1 copy of Loyalist Associations of Workers broadsheet, 1972. Minutes of Belfast Regional Executive, Irish Labour Party 1952-53; I.L.P. Election Manifesto, general election 1953; selection of speeches and addresses given by J. Macgoug).

- Workers' Educational Association archives are available for example at D4465 (1907-2003), D4465/1/2/7, ED/12/2/704A; this archive is uneven but useful nonetheless. The latter, for example, includes 'Notes for Tutors', with guidance on pedagogy, producing community newspapers, 'types of student' etc. n.d. (mid-1980s?), details of courses, who was teaching them etc. plus a mid-1980s report on 'Women's Education in the N. Ireland District' with a section on 'What is Women's Studies', an outline of what was being taught and where (in FPA they taught 'Feminism in N. Ireland'; Women's Studies in Banbridge and Cullyhanna). There is a continual emphasis on the Arts: painting, drawing and history, creative writing. Annual reports outline the full range of provision. The many minute books of the WEA held by PRONI provide snapshots on the challenges of educational attainment in working-class life. This again is important and useful material to scholars piecing together the activities of organisations aiming to educate or 'acculturate' workers in the north of Ireland.
- The annual reports of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) provide snapshots on the labour culture of pedagogy and self-help. For example, D1050/6/E/229 contains hand-written notes from the 28th Annual Meeting of the WEA, held in Belfast on Saturday 2 November 1974, with well-known trade unionist Joe Cooper presiding. Issues raised include youth education, socio-economic inequality and education, and – importantly in terms of this section of the project – lack of opportunity amongst working-class people for creativity; the social role of the WEA in making people aware of the conditions of others in the same society is clear here and aspects of this material ought to be digitised, if not the entire files. One contributor (in this early-Troubles era documentation) envisages 'where the WEA could fill a large role in N.I. in bringing people with conflicting views together with the purpose of not being intolerant but appreciating each others [sic] viewpoint'. The report outlines WEA activities, the extent of educational provision by the organisation, an 'Arts and Crafts Exhibition of WEA work' from St Joseph's College, Turf Lodge, its role in increasing adult literacy, and from the range of courses provided there is a sense of the importance of cultural activity to the association: a ceramics and art appreciation course in Enniskillen that year; 'Looking at Pictures' in Carrickfergus; 'Art Treasures of the Common Market' in Lisburn and a range of popular history courses, along with an 'Opera Night' in Downpatrick. 'A Peoples [sic] Exhibition Part 1' is held at the Ulster Museum by the Trades Union Cultural Advisory Committee, which allowed students of the WEA to present their work. All of this of course suggests further, fruitful areas of research in the broader cultural dynamics of working-class life.

Broader cultural history

- In recent decades work by Jonathan Rose and Christopher Hilliard has drawn attention to working-class cultural consumption. PRONI holds important material locally in this regard.^{lxx}
- For example, item number COM40/2/929 in PRONI's Cinema Collection provides a record book for Strand Pictures Derry Ltd. Includes information on finances etc. (1965-6), suggesting perhaps the impact of post 1950s TV viewing, and also share ownership, though nothing on

viewing figures or cultural fare, which might be found elsewhere.^{lxxi} Earlier files identified by Dr Ann McVeigh of PRONI also include some from the Shankill Picturedrome and West End Picture House.

- Photographs of cultural activities such as dance bands (see D2886/A/2/12/8/12; the Northern Star Dance Band, 1948), pipe bands (see The Derry Pipe Band, D1422/B/17/96) or cultural committees (see D28886/A/2/12/8/14), convey the wealth of material available for a People's Collection-style exploration.^{lxxii} Glimpses of the range of Gaelic cultural activities in the mid-century are evident in publications such as 'Feis an Dúin' (the programme of the Co. Down Conradh na Gaeilge festival; see 1962 edition, DL991/E/17/1), which illustrates both a range of cultural activities (accordion, violin, ceílí band, singing, history, folklore and recitation prizes, but also the opportunities that these festivals may have provided for modest mobility – with prizes including scholarships to Gaeltacht areas such as Gaath Domhair, Rannafast and Omeath. A great deal is available in terms of circuses and performance art from the earlier part of the century, and from the post-WW2 period covered by this project (see in D4577 range).
- Possible interesting figures or encounters include Ruby Murray (of working-class Belfast origins; see photos D1732/2/18 or D1732/2/18), Cathal O'Byrne (see items at T3306/C/2, for instance), and the relationship between Seán O'Casey and Lady Londonderry, which is evident in the latter's papers (D3099/3). Some correspondence from Sam Thompson is also available here, along with an original programme for the first London run of *Over the Bridge* in 1960 (along with others in D3585/F/6/2; as with some of the material in the Linen Hall, it would make sense for all Sam Thompson material held in Belfast libraries to be consolidated in the one archive) and some press material (D2435/3). Fragments relating to various writers such as Stewart Parker (correspondence; D3535/1/30) suggest the need for more centralised collections for each, or at least copies of items being made available appropriately in other libraries. Not all of this is easy to find (it is scattered across a range of rubrics and collections) and it certainly suggests how helpful a more precise cataloguing of working-class/popular history across a range of archives could greatly enhance the ease of access and potential for further research for scholars, communities and various other stakeholders.
- A great deal of material is available regarding John Hewitt, an important figure on the left and in working-class life and lore generally; his papers 'comprise c. 4,500 documents and volumes' and are fully listed by PRONI. His newspaper cuttings and letters (including to the working-class Dublin writer Christy Brown) provide further digitisation opportunities in regard to this project's envisaged next steps.
- Another item that might be added to a collection on working-class life is the text of an *Everybody's Monthly* article, 'The pub and the People in Belfast', which gives 'the perspective of temperance workers from Belfast Central Mission who visited pubs in working class areas of Belfast, incognito, to observe the effects of drink on families' (circa 1940s; D2833/A/8).
- Copies of *Workers' Weekly*, the bulletin of the Workers' Association, from 1978, can be found at D1327 and contain fascinating insights into topical issues, mostly editorial/polemic, some

obituary; includes reflections, for example, on the tenth anniversary of Civil Rights (sat 4th November 1978, Vol 2 No 210); a sample of copies of this would be excellent resource for digitisation and useful for an archive.

- Handwritten poem by Midgley titled 'A Workers Te Deum' (D4089/5/1/3). The poem, which is addressed to 'the Lord' and written for all 'who toil in sorrow, sunshine, gloom, and pain', suggests an amalgam of Christian and Labour values and is handwritten with no date (though circa 1924); writes of
'The sense which enable men to reach
A higher plane of thought, of word and deed,
And give to each according to his need.'
- Photographs of Belfast scenes (e.g. D2334/7/1/21), including one of the Shipyard workers strike protest (1956). This folder contains a number of photographs which would be excellent for digitisation, including strikes, a picture of women workers of the Barman's Branch ATGWU. D2334/7/6/1 contains photos of 'Belfast landmarks' including of York Street factory workers, from 1961, a then new Lucozade factory in Andersonstown, from 1952, and another (undated) of the Combe Barbour Factory in Belfast.
- Photos of Harland and Wolff at D3300/166/2/1/1 would be very useful in terms of an exhibition on the work of the shipyards and the division of labour amongst workers there; they could be combined, for instance, with some of the cognate work cited in Sam Thompson's archive below – and indeed, if the recordings could be found, with his broadcasts on shipyard work with the BBC. The photos include (PRONI description): 'Photographs depicting the Harland and Wolff 'mold loft' which was a large, roofed building with a smooth floor upon which the full-size lines of a ship were laid down and templates constructed from them to lay off the steel for cutting. The photographs are black and white and are labelled "MOLELOFT" on the back and one is dated. They comprise a range of photographs which illustrate the laying off process including one photograph of the mold loft workers (D3300/166/2/1/1) and a smaller version of the same image (D3300/166/2/1/2); a photograph of a draftsman preparing a 'laying-off' drawing (D3300/166/2/3); a workman cutting out templates (D3300/166/2/1/5); and a photograph of workmen laying out templates on the mold loft floor (D3300/166/2/9). (11 items).' Clearly this material dovetails well with our broader purposes here. Further photos of women workers at D220/E/3/8B are probably of parachute factory workers circa. 1940 (this speculation provided by the archivist).
- There are lots of photos going further back than our historical period e.g. D1422/A/4/15/112 has a group of workers at Irish Butter in 1920; D1422/B/3/2 has road workers with a steam roller near Strabane in 1910; D1422/B/7/39 has workers circa the same year working with wool; and D1422/B/7/46 has women workers, again in 1910, outside Convoy Mill. More in this regard in D1422/B/25/24, D1430/E/14/21 etc. Also T3322/11, T3494. T3494/1, T3580/1, T3818/2A, T3818/2B, T3818/2C, T3949/2/5 (all photos of workers circa 1900-1915).

- It might be noted here that organisations such as the North and West Belfast Photographical Society and Old Belfast Photos have already, though informal initiatives on social media for example, compiled impressive collections of photographs pertaining to working-class life.
- While some of it precedes the period in question here, D3099/3/12 contains a very interesting archive from a club of women war workers which was established by Lady Londonderry in 1915, the archive running until 1959. This contains 'Letters, photographs, caricatures, typescript biographies, notes' and more.

Memoir

- The diary transcript of one William Topping (D3133/1, 'Memoirs of the Working Life of William Topping') provides an interesting insight into working-class life that might be fully digitised. Topping recounts a childhood in a busy family on Upper Meadow Street, Belfast, near 'what was then reputed to be the largest flax spinning mill and the largest weaving factory in the world' at York Street. His father is a linen yarn dresser, and Topping, having entered the same industry and worked there for 54 years (1903-1956), recounts his experiences (which are written from 1971-1976), discussing childhood, hobbies, activities, working life, street poetry, sectarian encounters.

Politics and Propaganda

- There is also a great deal of other information regarding more political matters, such as: folder on the Ulster Workers' Council Strike (HSS/13/31/51), copies of the *Workers' Weekly* (D1327/20/4/155 and D1327/20/4/156), photos of the TGWU building (INF/7/A/16/80), items from the Young Workers' League (D2162/A/46), a Workers' Party archive (closed; D1327/28/145), the *Irish Workers' Voice* bulletin (D2162/A/81; D2162/C/26),^{lxxiii} the Report of the British and Irish Workers' delegation to the USSR (May 1953; D2162/C/26), a statement by the Workers' Defence Unit, Falls Area, to 'all Belfast workers' (23 August 1969), demanding unity against 'fascism', the newsletter of the Loyalist Association of Workers (D2560/5/59; 1972),^{lxxiv} a booklet issued jointly by the Londonderry Command of the UDA and the Londonderry Branch of the Loyalist Association of Workers entitled 'Through Seas of Blood' (1973; D2966/31/8), handwritten notes and literature on the civil rights movement in D3297/1/14^{lxxv}, including literature from the League of Workers' Vanguard, a copy of the script of the speech of the Chairman of the NILP at the 1953 annual conference (D2704/A/9/34) and many other items. All of these reflect different (and conflicting) claims on the political allegiance of 'workers' across the north and represent an important opportunity to convey the complexity of how working-class politics were conceived by different communities during the post-war and 'Troubles' periods. A further aspect of these competing claims is evident for example in D3921/H/3, with correspondence from religious organisations such as the Young Christian Workers' League. Unemployment features too: D4099/5/3A contains 1990s archives from the Craigavon Unemployed Workers' Centre.
- In D/1050/17/39 there are, amongst other things:

- A Loyalist Association of Workers pamphlet (Vol 1, No 13) with an editorial that quotes Macbeth, a jokes page and commentary on various matters of topical interest. Also there are items relating to the 1958 James Connolly Commemoration (including a speech by Jack McGougan; a three-page leaflet entitled 'Some suggested books for a Socialist interested in Irish History and Politics, lecture notes on 'The Work of ICTU and The System of Industrial Relations in the Republic' and (most importantly here) some 'Selected Verses' which might be digitised.
- Copies of 'Connolly', a well-preserved 1951 commemoration leaflet, include a poem by Liam MacGabhann about Connolly and a range of other poems by the same author. This would be an excellent addition to a digitisation project.

Community Archives

I am grateful to a range of community archives for providing access to and allowing the photographing of a broad range of materials that attest to the necessity of a project such as the one envisaged by the findings of this report. Republican, loyalist and other archives held by non-professional groups point up the need for a networked, community-based, gatekeeper-led project that would facilitate the professionalization of local, organic curatorial projects and the linking of those projects to a 'people's history' initiative that could begin the process of collating, analyzing and providing public access to the rich and often intriguing trove of working class culture identified by this project. What follows are brief descriptions of some of the items observed during the conduct of this scoping study in tandem with these organisations (to whom we are very grateful for their kindness and access to materials), but those who are interested are welcome to get in touch with me should they wish to gain access to the 792 digitally held images of archival materials (ephemera, craft, propaganda, diaries, papers, memorabilia of various hues) from across these projects during the conduct of research for this report.

Andy Tyrie Interpretative Centre

The Andy Tyrie Centre has a relatively small collection though curators believe that there is much more in the loyalist community locally which might be available as they move to a larger premises on the Newtonards Road. I have 213 digital images from the archive, which were again taken with permission from curators, and which again provide a sense of the range of memorabilia and ephemera over the period of the conflict. This includes loyalist magazines, which urgently require digitization in my view, along with many photographs, prison craft (paintings, wood craft, banners etc.), a decorated Lambeg drum, a book of poetry (*Captive Verses*, n.d.), a copy of the *UDA Detainee Song Book* (1974), decorated mirrors and items of leather-craft (decorative wallets, purses, bags etc.).

Conway Mill Republican History Museum

The Conway Mill museum contains an impressive and growing array of items relating to the visual culture, prison craft, paintings, sculpture, wood carvings, handmade musical instruments, posters, badges, videos, diaries and various other aspects of Irish republican culture in mainly working-class contexts over the past century but particularly in relation to the post-1969 conflict. The 404 images taken with permission of museum curators illustrate an even vaster array of items held by the museum, which is independently funded and continues to grow its collection. Some interesting snapshots: the collection of prison art on cotton hankies, for example, provides an overview of not only the political iconography reproduced by prisoners, but also of more personal aspects of their lives: love letters, devotion to football clubs, popular culture in music, sport and religion. There are copies of handwritten diaries of republican prisoners going back to the 1930s, uniforms, flags, bodhráns, hurleys, harps (all adorned with art), and, for example, more unexpected items: a miniature wooden copy of a traditional Traveller wagon, Orange sashes, loyalist badges, British army supporter merchandise (cups for instance), a cot crafted in prison.

McCune Archive

The McCune archive is the larger (and UVF-affiliated) of the two loyalist archives and contains more historical contextualization. The archive contains UVF publications (issues of *Combat* magazine in particular), along with banners, uniforms, paintings, prison craft, cartoons, stands form an exhibit on Irish history, and less expected items—for instance, a leather banner with an image of Che Guevara and a painting of a Native American leader. There are also small scale-models of prisons and copies of plays by former UVF prisoners Robert Niblock and William Mitchell and the etcetera theatre company.^{lxxvi} A rehearsed reading of part of one of Niblock's plays was supported by this DFA fund as part of a 'Queen's in the Community' event at Skainos, in conjunction with the Cross-Currents in British and Irish Working-Class Life research group at Queen's and organised by Dr Gareth Mulvenna. I have 175 digital images from the McCune archive, which were again taken with permission from curators and are available to researchers on request.

Cartlann na Gaeilge Beo

Another of our DFA sponsored events was a lecture and small exhibition of archival items from the Cartlann na Gaeilge Beo (the Belfast Irish language movement archive) holdings, which are currently maintained across various sites (Coláiste Feirste; St. Mary's University College; various private collections). The history of the Irish language movement in Belfast is quite different from that in other parts of Ireland, particularly in relation to class. As scholars such as Fergal Mac Ionnrachtaigh point out, it has been characterized as a bottom-up movement that revolved around the foundation of the Shaw's Road Gaeltacht in West Belfast and the usage and development of the language by republican prisoners such as Bobby Sands.^{lxxvii} The Cartlann na Gaeilge archive, then, opens a window on a unique language movement on the island of Ireland and one which deserves further scrutiny by scholars, not least those concerned with working-class culture.

Some of the archive has been very usefully catalogue on the St Mary's University College website^{lxxviii} but a good deal more has yet to be catalogued and its digitization would be a major resource for scholars in this area. Items of interest include copies of periodicals such as *Inniú, Amárach, Lá, Scéal Úr, Anois, Goitse, Dearcadh, Saol* and *Preas an Phobail*—some periodicals from the 1940s-1960s would be quite rare; correspondence, publicity, photographs and records of activities relating to the development of the language locally; various items of ephemera, pamphlets, programmes, educational materials, policy papers, Irish language calendars, and collections of articles relating to the foundation of Irish language schools. Curators of this archive also facilitated some digital images, which we have kept (70 of them—though we could have taken many more, time permitting) and which are also available to researchers).

Féile an Phobail archives

The current author is Co-Investigator on an Arts and Humanities Research Council funded cultural history and digital humanities project charting the development of what is undoubtedly the most successful community festival founded in and focused on a working-class community anywhere on this island (perhaps these islands). Féile an Phobail's development is a remarkable story of self-expression by a disadvantaged and conflict-wracked community and its capacity to develop cultural and indeed political interventions across theatre, poetry, music, sports, language development, minority rights and a myriad range of initiatives over the past almost thirty years. The Féile story is undoubtedly closely linked to the Springhill House archive above, but over the past year our AHRC project has focused mainly on the post-1988 festival through crowd-sourcing initiatives that have resulted in the unearthing and digitization of thousands on images. Féile's own archive is uncatalogued, though we have a working knowledge of what the festival holds, and we have built the archive further here: <http://www.feilebelfasthistory.com/>

This archive is significant in terms of the aims of the current project.

Belfast Central Library (BCL)

Due to time constraints and due to considerations discussed with our steering group, it was decided that an outline of the Sam Thompson Archive could be a very useful and strategically important addition to our endeavours here. Thompson is a hugely important figure in the history of northern working-class writing, the East Belfast painter, shipyard worker and later writer, playwright and broadcaster recognized locally, for example, in public tributes on Writer's Square and the naming of a recent bridge in his native Ballymacarrett in his name. However, as we discussed prior to my work on the outline below, lamentably little has been written in regard to his archive, and the BCL's extensive holdings nonetheless still have no digital guide to his work (on the library catalogue), descriptions of their holdings of his writings and personal collection often still in handwritten form and very limited in terms of what they provide by way of a guide to students, scholars and the general public interested in his work.

My outline below, then, aims to provide a guide that can hopefully assist in reigniting interest in Thompson's work and facilitating further research on it.

A Guide to the Sam Thompson Archive

Box 1 A-E

1A: *Over the Bridge* (Draft)

N.d. handwritten; in different inks, some pencil; evidently evolved over time; needs to be compared with original; marginal commentary would help; should be digitised.

Describes play (p.2 - handwritten): 'This is a play about Belfast shipyards, about class, trade union problems and vicious sectarian strife, about men of different religions who work side by side at the workshop bench and in the boats in the most friendly atmosphere, and then, become savages when religious feeling is high'. Stresses that this is 'factual', 'drawn from real life' and 'has happened many times in the lives of Belfast shipbuilders'. (p.2)

1B. Sam T, *OTB*, Manuscript Fragments and Later Drafts; again handwritten, no indication of time/date.

1C, ST, *OTB*, Carbon Copy of pp. 49-63 (last scene) of early draft; typed; n.d.

1D: ST, *OTB*, Carbon Copy of earlier typed draft (n.d.) - incomplete.

UNCATALOGUED: E. Begley handwritten on front of another typewritten copy of *OTB*, dated 24 Jan 1959, with Thompson's address, 55 Craigmole Street, on p. 65

On the next page is a 'General Index' – handwritten, of the boxes:

1 *OTB*

2 *The Evangelist*

3 *Cemented With Love*

4 *The Masquerade*

5 Minor Plays

6 Radio Features

7 Radio Serial: *The Fairmans*

8 Prose Works

9 Correspondence

10 Newspaper Cuttings

11 Miscellaneous

This list is elaborated in more detail on the following pages.

Next, also uncatalogued, is a two typed pages from the start of OTB, with initials J.G.D. on them

1E: *OTB*, late draft dated Jan 24th 1959.

Re this box, it would be interesting to digitise and create a comparison between these and the final published text, particularly given the timeline of public controversy regarding the play.

Box 1F-1L

1F – ST OTB 'Final stage version'. Pp. 1-86

Inside this folder is 1L: ST OTB, 'B.B.C. radio script. 13th April 1969.

With correspondence from David A. Turner, Drama Producer, on 28th March 1969, Room 7, Bedford House, Belfast

Subject: programme as recorded NI and London Home Service – Radio 4

Produced by Ronald Mason

Sam Thompson is Archie Kerr in this version. It is a repeat programme of that originally broadcast on 4.1.1965.

1J: ST OTB, Granada Television Version, 'adaptation by Gerald Savory and Hugh Leonard. Rehearsal script.'

VTR: Friday 28 July at 2000 – 2230 from Studio Six, TVC, M/cr

Notably, the rehearsal is done in the Territorial Army drill hall on Monday 10 July – Tues 25 July 1961, Fulham House.

It would be wonderful to digitise this script and provide it alongside the Granada production.

1H. ST, OTB, Radio adaptation, - typescript (incomplete) n.d. etc.

1I: ST, OTB, 'BBC Radio Version, 2 Copies'

'Record: Sunday, 26th July 1964: Between 3.30 & 6.00 p.m.'

'Transmission: Not yet arranged'

Recording No. TBE. 19336

JG Devlin and Thompson are acting in this too.

1.K. ST OTB, RTE Television Version

pp. 1-91

Producer: Chloe Gibson

Script Editor: Norman Smyth

1G: ST OTB, 'Manuscript Fragments of Radio adaptation'

These need to be collated and identified with the proper version;

Handwritten with typewriting on back; lots scratched out – interesting evidence here of the editing process.

Box 3

3A: *The Border Line*, 21 assorted pages of handwritten m.s. & notes [there are actually 25 pages]

(written underneath: 'Title changed to "Cemented with Love"')

Some pages are actually typed.

In the typed page 1, the title reads 'The Border Line or By-Election at Ballybeg'.

It also reads, in handwriting, 'draft revised script May 10th 1964', with 'May' partially scribbled out.

All of these notes must be put in order and related to the finished play. The file also contains 'Harry Moore's comments regarding alterations to *Borderline*' and a further comments page (n.a.,

presumably Thompson), with insights such as 'William the son must be seen to change during the play'.

3B: *The Border Line or By Election at Ballybeg*, pp. 1-49 of early draft

Some typed, some handwritten, much scribbled out. Some of the scribbled out content is from *The Fairmans – Life in a Belfast Working Family* (transmission 22 October 1960), produced by Sam Denton.

3C: *Cemented with Love*, 17 assorted pages of carbon copy of early draft.

Also includes a good deal of handwritten edits.

3D: *Cemented with Love*, complete draft and duplicate copies of pp. 5-9, 13-15, 18, 21-22A, 32-33A, 52-57.

Also includes a good deal of handwritten editing and handwritten originals.

3E: ST TBL Stage Version typescript carbon

[127 pages here]

Underneath 'title changed to "Cemented with Love"'.

More detail here, though town is now anon: 'A not-too-large town in Northern Ireland. Smoke-grimed red brick, high close windows, the feeling of clutter, and narrow streets, the reflection of narrow minds and intolerance.' (1)

Here 'the drums are throbbing, building up all over stage and auditorium a stirring and disturbing rhythm. Then come the flutes, thin and almost tinny' (1). It's night in this version, with the 'impression of torches in the passing procession' (2), a very different ambience.

This version commences with two women commenting *approvingly* on John Kerr; provides an interesting dramatic contrast to John and Bob, who are left as 'shadows', 'moodily watching the parade tailing off' (3).

3E: (2) *The Border Line*, stage version Photocopy of carbon

3F ST CWL Complete BBC Rehearsal Script

Dates are given for the various rehearsals along with locations.

Some handwritten edits and annotations.

I have taken a great deal of notes from these versions and suggest that the interchange (and slippages) between them provides an insight on the tensions Thompson was grappling with, in terms

of local political struggles, and that a digitization project that facilitates comparisons between Thompson's various drafts would provide a useful insight into working-class politics of the time.

3G (i): *Cemented with Love* adapted by Tomás MacAnna n.d.

If the previous version ends in pessimism, with a delusional Kerr imagining his return to political life as a flute band beats the tribal drums, MacAnna's more polished play ends with William, buoyed up by his 11,000 votes, pledging defiantly to return: 'I'm coming bac here to Dumtery with my wife to live, and I'm fighting the next election.' (98)

3G (ii) ST *CWL* Staged Version (and written on folder elsewhere is 'Mimeographed Stage Version')

3H (i) ST *TBL* Complete stage version – typed

3 H (ii) ST *TBL* Complete stage version – typed

Box 4A-4I

The Masquerade, Newspaper Cuttings, Draft Manuscript; full draft of *The Masquerade* – photocopied; miscellaneous jottings

Some newspaper cuttings held together with a paper clip, with the name Trevor Sloan (02890) 665408, 56 Dunluce Avenue, BT9 7AY, attached

Stephen Breen report in *Community Telegraph*, 22 September 2000, p. 2: 'Playwright's hidden treasure unearthed'; reports on the Thompson family's discovery of the *Masquerade* during a clearout of their home, with a photo of son Warren and wife May in the Thompson's Dunluce family home.

Reports on how this was his last play, but the family, prior to this, had thought that *CWL* was.

Brief bio: Sam born Ballymacarrett in 1916, later moved to Craigmore Street, Donegall Pass.

Similar piece by Stephen Breen in *Bel Tel*, p. 5, same date: 'Playwright's buried treasure unearthed'.

This folder really could have more in it, and the press cuttings could be better curated.

4A: *The Masquerade* draft manuscript, with Act III incomplete

Handwritten, contains extensive description of first scene on p. 1.

Basement, London, half of which, to right, is 'decorated with Nazi emblems'.

4B: ST 'TM' Loose manuscript leaves

Less tidy, handwritten earlier draft, simply headed 'Third Stage Play'.

4C ST 'TM' Early draft of Act I pages 1-8

Again, rough draft with lots of editing and scribbles.

4D ST, 'TM' Draft of Frank's Speech at end of play

2 pages handwritten

4E ST 'TM' Miscellaneous jottings.

Some handwritten (much illegible), some typed, mostly related to *TM*, some random notes, like 'Books that I have read.

Mary Poppins.

The Treasure Seekers.

Robin Hood.

The 13 Clocks.' (p. 6)

One typed title page reads 'The Maquerade, or A Study of Four "Nuts" and a Prostitute'.

4H: *The Masquerade*, complete typescript of play

Prostitute, nervous Herbert in coffin, and Nazi who gives a dummy twenty-five lashes every morning. He (Frank?) is a sort-of pimp, her 'strong armed man' (4). He sends letters to Goering, Himmler and Heydrich.

4F: *TM* Photocopy of the first full draft

4G: *TM* Photocopy of first full draft in 3 Acts

4I: *TM* 2 complete typescripts (in cover) (copy one)

4I: Same (copy 2)

Boxes 6 and 7

Inside Box 6 is a handwritten list of what's there (despite this, many of the drafts are not catalogued properly):

Sam Thompson Radio Features

6. A (i) *Tommy Baxter – Shop Steward* – 5 sheets of handwritten draft.

[THIS IS ALL INCORRECTLY LABELLED]

(notes below relate to the third document)

Transmission was on Tuesday 29th January 1957, 7.50-8.35pm on the NIHS. Narrator: 'A shop steward represents his trade union in the workshop or factory in which he is employed. It is his responsibility to place all complaints of his workmates before the management [...] (2). The radio play then commences from the point at which Baxter was elected, during a union branch meeting, with Baxter detailing the poor working conditions of his firm: 'the worst I've seen' (2)-where 'asking men to work in confined spaces with air-pipes' is a 'scandal' (2). Thompson raises the issue of victimisation of trade union representatives (the firm's last shop steward was 'paid off with three other men for redundancy – or like – so they said' (2). Depicts the lack of consciousness of the men, the failure to understand why they might need a 'chop-suey' (shop steward), their lack of familiarity with the basic concepts of trade unionism, and with its potential benefits. As Maguire, one of the workers, puts it, 'it's my opinion that trade unions have had their day' (3). This provides an opportunity for an interchange (a rather didactic/propagandistic one) in which the merits (mostly) and demerits of trade unionism are thrashed out.

The scene then switches to the home of one of the nominees for the shop steward's job, Jimmy Hill, where his wife, Nellie, complains about his candidature: 'I know nothing about that. All I'm concerned about is the union between you and your job' (5). Later in the play, a generic 'wife' figure complains of a strike that 'it doesn't make sense to me' (25).

Working-class solidarity is, it seems inevitably, assailed by impetuous men and unthinking women. The men are selfish and self-defeating; they call their shop stewards the 'Quiet Man', 'Willie Wobble' (30)

(ii) *Tommy Baxter – Shop Steward* – carbon copies of 21-page synopsis for feature programme

This seems to be a different play, titled *Synopsis for Feature Programme* (characters Bob and Dora Wisdom; he comes home – a shop steward let go from his work). He has been sacked from Tamils, a big firm 'employing about ten thousand men' (2), and eventually, during strike action challenging his dismissal, he becomes a 'national figure' (17).

Here, the woman (Dora) is again a stereotype: re Bob's victimisation case – 'I think you should drop the whole thing' (5); women, on her 'shopping rounds' tell her 'I can expect nothing else but victimisation if my husband is foolish to become a shop steward again' (6). Later, during the strike, it is a woman who opposes 'striking over a principle – heth!' (17).

This is another case of a victimised shop steward etc. (a more convincing radio play, incidentally, shorn as it is of the narrator's voice.) Here, again, the working class is its own worst enemy: Bob is betrayed

by a former trade unionist, now foreman, John Perry, a 'cynical bastard' who 'talked down his nose' so much at other union members that they nicknamed him 'The Duke' (11).

(iii; 2 copies) *Tommy Baxter – Shop Steward* – BBC script, 32 pages produced by Sam Hanna Bell – transmission: Tuesday 29th January 1957

B (i) *We Built a Ship* – 11 pages of handwritten draft. [lots of evidence of editing and amendments]

(ii) *We Built a Ship* – typescript draft – 9 pages

An old shipyard worker returns to visit a ship he worked on more than two decades previously.

'This is the story about one boat that was built in the Belfast shipyard over twenty years ago' (1). Tom, a watchman, says he gets 'the feeling through a tomb' (2B) every time he walks on the 'big hulk' (2B) of the ship. The thoughts of the boat's normal use – of 'rails lined with passengers with music playing, the young people dancing and the children playing deck games' – leaves Bob, the night watchman, in 'agony' (2B) – vs. his visitor's (the Stranger's) evident pride; evidently, given the directions, this isn't a radio play; could be for stage or TV.

Bob sees the boat as 'an owl tub' (4B), whereas the Stranger had 'worked on her son from the time she was only a keel plate' (4B) and wants 'to get the feel of her again. (QUIETLY) You see, son. I'm deeply attached to this boat. (4B). There is a fade up, as the Stranger reminisces (to the sounds of caulking and riveting) about how he started on the boat 'after a spell on the dole'. (5B)

This is then accompanied by some singing as the old man recalls 'the birth of another great ship'. (5B), with two workmen conversing, then George, a shipwright, explaining his trade to his new apprentice (the Boy, who we assume is now the old Stranger). Basically this is an educational play, which explains what each trade does in the shipyard: shipwrights, platers, riveters, marine architects etc. Seems aimed at children. This is unfinished but could be useful as part of an archival/public humanities project.

C (i) *Bed for the Night* – 7 miscellaneous handwritten sheets

(ii) *Bed for the Night* – 12 transcripts of interviews with old people in lodging houses. Sept – Dec 1962.

D (i) *The General Foreman* – 11 handwritten sheets.

(ii) *The General Foreman* – 33 pages of early typed draft.

(iii) *The General Foreman* – 1 copy of BBC script, produced by Sam Hanna Bell. Transmission – 15th May 1958 on NIHS

E (i) *Brush in Hand* – typescript and carbon copy of 6-page synopsis

(ii) *Brush in Hand* – early draft pp. 1-35 part-handwritten part-typed.

(iii) *Brush in Hand* – 12 pages of handwritten drafts

(iv) *Brush in Hand* – 15 pages of carbon typed draft.

(v) *Brush in Hand* – typescript of BBC script – 23 pages

(vi) *Brush in Hand* – BBC radio script, registry file copy; produced by Sam Hanna Bell – transmission 29th June 1956.

F (i) *The Long Back Street* – 29 miscellaneous pages of various handwritten drafts

(ii) *The Long Back Street* – BBC script – 1 photocopy, 1 typescript. Produced by Sam Hanna Bell. Transmission: 6th May 1959 NIHS

G (i) *The Plot Holders* – pp. 1-20 part-handwritten, part-typed

(ii) *The Plot Holders* – 9 other handwritten pages

(iii) *The Plot Holders* – 2 pages of comments gathered by conversation with allotment holders.

(iv) *The Plot Holders* – 3 pages of typescript and carbon of play abandoned

(v) *The Plot Holders* – 14 typed pages 'short sample episode for suggested new serial and synopsis', 'synopsis for second episode', 'synopsis for third episode', 'general syn[opsis]' – here the cataloguing trails off.

The handwritten notes of BCL librarians are very useful here.

This box has an uncatalogued copy of *The Fairmans – Life in a Belfast Working Family* (No. 13), a series by Sam Thompson [this episode deals with the repercussions, for the Fairman's, when their pensioner grandmother, Martha Magee, falls in love).

Transmission: Saturday 2 July 1960, 6.25-6.45 pm NIHS

Pre-recorded: Sunday, 19th June 1960, 8-8.30pm

Bob Fairman is played by Maurice O'Callaghan, with Charlie Graham played by James Ellis.

Produced by Sam Denton.

Sig. tune: 'I'll tell my ma when I go home'.

Joss says, re elections to the pensioners' body, 'it just goes to show what a glib tongue can do to people' (p.2). Minnie's objection to candidate Robert Gilbraith – 'I'm always suspicious of a man who has three wives'.

This play is about challenging social taboos: Gilbraith, who has had three wives and now designs on a fourth, maintains that marrying again after the death of a partner is no longer taboo; 'that's old fashioned now' (9).

Includes a tradesman's complaint about affluent suburbanites paying poor rates for home improvement work (Charlie).

This box also has (AGAIN UNCATALOGUED) a copy of *Over the Bridge*, with actor Maurice O'Callaghan's name handwritten on the title page.

Also here is 'The McKee Meeting' (typed) – Thompson's account of his meeting with McKee and Harry McMullan, 'the two directors who were to present the Group's case as to why [*OTB*] should not go into it's [sic] present form'. (1) Re McKee: 'he was a man I disliked from the first moment I met him. He gave me the impression of being a "know all" and a bit of a snob' (1); 'he wanted to mob scene out, the language would have to be curtailed and he said that in his opinion the religious references in my play were "Blasphemous" [sic]. It was strange that he should have said this, for I am now the proud possessor of two cuttings praising my play which appeared in two religious papers [...] McKee told me in ~~loud~~ forceful terms that if my play went on in its present form, the guns would be out, blood would flow and the theatre would be wrecked by mobs' (1; apparently). McMullan, it seems, as head of programmes at the BBC, was more cautious and reasonable, praising the play but also doubting it would not cause trouble (20). James Ellis, also at the meeting, defended the play and recommended its speedy production. A 'heated' argument apparently ensued, in which Thompson accused McKee of 'assuming the role of Lord Chamberlain for Northern Ireland' (2). 'I told him that I wasn't concerned as he seemed to be about offending thugs. My play was written for my decent intelligent fellow citizens' (2). May, Thompson's wife, on hearing the news of the play's rejection by the Group Theatre's directors, is reported to have said, 'what does that man McKee know about working class life' (2).

This account of the genesis of Ulster Bridge Productions ought to be digitized and more readily available to scholars. Thompson quotes a profile article on McKee in the *Belfast Telegraph* (3/6/60), in which, following the controversy and the subsequent production's enormous success, McKee seems to provide further reasons for his decision: 'In the case of *Over the Bridge* – McKee points to the difficulty of presenting it on the small Group stage and of making it pay with so few seats'. Thompson comments, 'need I say anymore' (4).

Box 8: Prose Works

'Sam Thompson Prose Works: Autobiographical series of newspaper articles (5 instalments, carbon copy): Instalment 1 begins with Thompson's childhood recollection of a sectarian incident in East Belfast in 1922; it commences (p.1):

'There were only a few men there at first ... in a little knot on the Albert Bridge Road. I heard a low, angry muttering as a pony and cart came up the street. As it neared them the men changed. They

were joined by many others. A mob, murder-bent, pulled the cart driver from his seat. He was thrown to the ground and kicked. He got up, bleeding, and wild-eyed with fright, and fought a little. But he hadn't a chance against the roaring, senseless, bloodthirsty mob around him'.

The piece continues with an account of how this 'quiet and inoffensive' (p.1) Catholic peddler of wares was the victim of a vengeful attack, which was the result of a perhaps apocryphal rumour that a "loyalist" had been beaten up in a Catholic area of the city' (p.1). It describes the beating, the impact on Thompson, then a six-year-old child, and his remembrance from that day of a comment made by one of a group of men nearby: 'That'll teach Papish bastards to keep out of "Prod" districts' (p. 3). Thompson states that he 'hold[s] no brief for either side — Protestant or Catholic. I have always stood against bigotry and bitterness no matter what side it comes from' (p. 3). At this point the narrative gives further details of Thompson's childhood, including family attitudes ('we were never taught to hate Catholics [...] We were just told to stay away from their streets to avoid fights.' (p.4)), his recollections of disturbances in Belfast, his mother – he 'often saw her share the last bit of food in the house with those who were less fortunate. She never asked, either, what church they prayed in' (p. 11) – his father's work as a lamplighter, opportunistic looting, educational and geo-social segregation, playing football with Catholic children in Victoria Park, names and descriptions of siblings, poverty in school ('the penniless ones – they were often barefooted – went to the back of the room' (p, 12)), his own schooling, the life of 'The Island' (Queen's Island – the shipyards) and the 'Island men', his own impatient desire to begin work with them, his brother Hugh's death at 24 years of age due to tuberculosis; the feeling of being 'a small boy among about 15,000 men' (p. 15), the 'horrifying experience' of meeting 'men rough and crude' (p. 16) for a young boy 'brought up in a Christian home' (p. 16), the realisation that 'behind rough exteriors many of those men had kind and generous hearts' (16). Thompson recollects too the 'bigots at work feverishly fomenting bitter sectarianism' (16). Here Thompson again describes the sectarian abuse of Catholic workers.

Instalment 2 continues this narrative with Thompson's description of the first outbreak of sectarian violence he had witnessed there. The 19-year-old Thompson witnessed sectarian attacks following troubles centred on the annual Twelfth festivities (Instalment 2, pp. 1-5; including some short commentary on *Over the Bridge*). He also recounts older men's memories of worse times in the 1920s (pp.7-8); describes riots in Dungiven after an Orange parade on pp. 10-11, from the previous year (n.d.)

Here Thompson also tells the story of Tommy (not his real name), a Protestant shipyard painter and Orange Lodge member, who is 'seen coming out of St. Matthews [sic] (a Catholic dance hall), with a Catholic girl' (p.12). When Tommy 'turns' and marries this Catholic girl, his friends shun him and he loses his job. He is also shunned in the Catholic area he moves in to; 'they look at me as if I was a nigger' (p.13). These conditions force Tommy to emigrate to England. Thompson then relates the story of 'Anne, a Catholic girl who married a Protestant', with similar consequences. Thompson

continues to describe sectarianism, employment and everyday life in Belfast, including after Italy entered WWII in 1940 against the Allies and 'Italian restaurants in Belfast were stoned and windows smashed in' (p. 16) and 'Papishes', generally, were again expelled from the shipyards.

Instalment 3 concerns the Great Depression and the shipyards, which continues to describe sectarian tensions there, and more generally, how 'old vendettas and feuds' sometimes culminate in 'a spanner of hammer or a heavy bolt dropped from a great height to maim, or maybe kill' (p. 1). He elaborates on these 'accidents' and stories of them told by older men. Hunger, poverty and the 1930s are described from p. 3: 'There was little brotherhood. It was, as I saw it, jungle law — every man for himself and may the fittest, or the crookedest, survive.' (p. 4) The corrupt system of 'buying' jobs is described, as is the impact of more efficient (and less labour-intensive) technologies, the fate of older workers in long-term unemployment. Thompson describes his trade unionism and reveals his ideological inclinations: 'I never believed, though, in anarchy or working counter to the interest of the employers. Or in trying to force them into impossible positions. I believed, and still hold, that workers have rights. And that the bosses have rights, too.' (p.10) There is some commentary also about Thompson's disillusion with his fellow workers, especially those who 'were – at least they pretended to be – champions of the downtrodden and oppressed' (11). (He claims some of these men are treacherous and sectarian.) He adds: 'People say I was very offensive to trade unionists in "Over the Bridge". I hit hard because I knew what went on' (p. 11). Further commentary on the play here, including extracts. Comments on his aging colleague John Jamison here also. Thompson claims of his colleagues that 'the evil side of intolerance is great', though he adds that despite this his co-workers were 'basically decent honest men. But, they had been fed on intolerance' (p. 13) All of this, of course, is very useful in terms of the purposes of the present scoping study. Thompson's archive provides a great deal of material for a future 'people's history' collection.

Instalment 4 describes being a shipyard painter and how Thompson took up writing (his meeting with Sam Hanna Bell etc. 'six years ago'; p. 1). Thompson describes his wife's scepticism, his retreats to their attic to write, 'away from the noise of the streets and the clamour of the still busy city' (p. 3), his weariness juggling long hours of work and writing, his hopelessness at times. He also recounts his submission of this work to the BBC, his success with it, and the first stirrings of his idea of *Over the Bridge*: 'I wanted to write a play that would expose sectarianism in Northern Ireland and make a plea for fellow-feeling and tolerance' (p.8). He describes his initial work with the Ulster Group Theatre (p. 11), efforts to censor the play (p. 12-), an explanation of and some extracts from the mob scene (p. 13-17).

Instalment 5 describes what happened after the Ulster Group Theatre refused Thompson's play, his discussions with Jim Ellis, Ritchie McKee, Harry McMullan, their meeting in McKee's house, 'The Long Back Street' (a programme about Thompson's early childhood). This piece describes the controversy that ensued, the fallout and the formation of Ulster Bridge Productions, the play's premiere, its success in Belfast's Empire and Dublin's Olympia; 'I was amazed at the reception it got in Dublin,'

Thompson writes. 'It really packed them in for the four weeks. And it would have run much longer but for the fact that the theatre was tied to another commitment' (p. 12). He also describes here the Glasgow, Edinburgh and Brighton performances, and the shocked reaction in particular of English audiences (see p. 12). Thompson describes meeting Lord Killanin, and his subsequent use of Killanin's house in Galway as a writing retreat, where the first draft of *The Evangelist* was written. Thompson also mentions Tyrone Guthrie's advice on his playwriting. Thompson finishes with some commentary on charges of disloyalty: 'There's just one thing I want to clear up. Some people say that I have ratted on the side on which I was brought up; that I have been a traitor to the "Loyalist" cause. But, all I have done is to hit out at this filthy Irish apartheid. It is as bad as South Africa ... or worse. At least there you have people of different colours and civilisation. That ratting allegation I most vehemently deny. I hold no brief for either side. And, I repeat, there are faults on both sides'. (p. 15)

8B: Sam Thompson 'The Grapevine' – 6-page handwritten story, re Andy Speirs, a 'quiet and seclusive [sic]' man living in Ballymacarrett, his reputation for violence, his changing ways in later years, the 'grapevine' of rumours about his suddenly changed behaviour, his mistreatment of his wife and son, the culture of moralising and rumours at the shipyards, and its habitual eruption in a 'human cyclone' (p. 5) of violence. The story ends with the revelation that Andy's son John has died of tuberculosis and his friend and confidante Brian Magee contemplating 'the low mournful whine of a drilling machine' (p. 6).

8C: 'The Plunger' - manuscript fragments of a short story

This story takes place during the Depression era, in 1931. It recounts men's fears as rumours abound about job losses; the sense of anxiety and panic amongst workers and the customs of the card schools. Much of this (handwritten work) is difficult to decipher. Ends with the words, 'no one can halt the march of progress' (p.12); it would help greatly if this was digitised and transcribed.

8D: Sam Thompson, 'A Ten Day Wonder', 3-page handwritten essay

This colour-piece tells of workmen on ships, a demarcation dispute, the toils of night-shift workers ('The Fairies') and spray-painters ('Moon Men') (p.2), the sounds and spectacles of a frenetic rush to complete work aboard a ship in the process of being made. A sense of enjoyment is evident in the hustle and bustle, but there is also a sense of loss for those who, after completing the ship's construction, 'will not see her again' (3). This is all very useful in terms of the history of labour in Belfast.

8E: carbon copy of 'The McKee Meeting', which is a statement issues through Sam Thompson's solicitors rejecting McKee's efforts to change the play.

8F: Sam Thompson 'Ten short newspaper articles'

'A Day in the life of a lamp-painter – It's not such a monotonous job as it sounds', published in Ireland's Saturday Night, March 1955 (no further detail); very short article with short humorous anecdotes.

'Article for the Belfast News Letter by Sam Thompson': writes of the changes in educational qualifications, his own education, his school, poverty, corporal punishment, parents' objections to it, school inspections, absenteeism

Article without title: begins, 'Lord Brookeborough has called for a new Covenant dedicating ourselves to work harder for Ulster. Perhaps we should remind him there are 40,000 unemployed people in this Province entitled to ask him—work at what?' Thompson calls for systematic economic planning, criticises the Stormont government and its celebration of the Covenant, also the Unionist Party, the lack of hope for young people, and some of Thompson's positive opinions of unionism: 'Anyone who saw the TV programme on the events leading up to the Covenant last night, must have been impressed by the fire and determination of men like Carson. It is a pity there is not the same fire and determination to-day, to fight for Ulster's economic survival'. (p. 1) Thompson criticises unionist MPs lack of support for employees at Short's.

'Shipyard Article For Belfast News Letter' address to 'Mr. Withers'; concerns suggestions that Queen's Island is to reduce its manpower by 50 per cent, which reminds Thompson of the 'big pay offs' of 1932, when he was an apprentice painter there (p.1). Thompson recalls his work at the time, the Depression, its effect on Ballymacarret, on families, emigration, homelessness and his 'lessons in the classics of unemployment' (p.2). The piece contains Thompson's own annotations, including a decision, it seems, to excise a depiction of a man crying when job losses are announced.

Another untitled article begins with: 'Sam, you are doing yourself harm and biting the hand that feeds you'. Here Thompson describes 'the regime of frightened at Broadcasting House in Belfast'; 'In a nutshell, it is the kind of fear complex that permeates every walk of life in the North. Professional jobs and in particular, industrial jobs are so scarce, that anyone who talks out of line and criticises the Government or any branch of the 'Establishment' may find himself victimized and forced to leave the land our leaders once promised would be a Utopia for the "Loyal outspoken Ulster people"'. (p.1) The article discusses recession, emigration, unemployment, a perceived lack of coverage and bias on the part of the BBC, an 'Ivory Tower of pensionable complacency' (p.1); re unemployment and emigration, 'Programmes from the BBC on these "touchy" subjects are usually discussed in an airy fairy atmosphere by a panel of speakers mostly comprised of schoolteachers – dreary academic affairs with figures and statistics. We never hear the voice of a plater, a riveter or a joiner – the people who are most effected [sic] by redundancy. They are the people who can give us the human side of the problem. Nor do the BBC care [...] Nobody, it seems knows anything about Northern Ireland affairs except schoolteachers and lecturers.' (pp. 1-2) Thompson suggests further that writers must censor their work for the BBC in accordance with 'the BBC's rigid rule ... "Who shall I not offend"' (p. 2);

'nobody then, is fooled, when the Controller, Mr. Robert McColl says that the BBC's policy is not influenced by Unionist headquarters in Glengall Street' (p. 2). Thompson claims that there was 'panic' and 'uproar' within political unionism when the BBC's Tonight team 'arrived over from London to interview and televise the unemployed in Derry, and the uproar when shots of Betting Shops appeared on our screens [...] as if unemployment and betting shops were something that didn't exist in Northern Ireland' (pp. 2-3) Thompson comments also on the furore and perceived censorship that followed unionist objections to Siobhán McKenna's comments on the IRA on the BBC's 'Small World' programme. He calls for 'open free discussion among all sections of the community' and documentaries issues such as 'unemployment, de-marcation, emigration, politics and religion' (p.3)

Also included in this folder is a file outlining a Question Time programme to be broadcast on 12 October 1964, with Thompson (representing Labour) as one of five political guests. Also:

- A press cutting entitled 'Apartheid?' in which Thompson attacks the sectarianism of Linfield football club.
- Sam Thompson articles: 'Bigotry makes me sick', *Sunday Independent*, 27 March 1960, n.p.
- 'Over the Border', *Evening Press*, 27 July 1962, p. 8
- 'Art for the working man!', *The Sunday Press*, 20 May 1962, p. 12
- 'Sam Thompson on the Twelfth', *Sunday Independent*, 12 July 1964, p. 10; the original typescript of this article is also present in this folder, along with a handwritten version annotated version, with much scribbled out.

8G: 'Sam Thompson – Principal points of two speeches': contains 'Main points from speech, "Art and Politics in the North", delivered to Literature Society at University College, Dublin on Wednesday evening the 27th, of November, 1963'. Thompson argues that 'the Ulster people are not over sensitive about criticism, it is their leaders who are oversensitive and out of touch with the people. For make no mistake about it, we in the North are a tough progressive virile community'. (p. 1)

Thompson's commentary on sectarianism is of interest: 'There is no more co-operation amongst all sections of the people – the churches industrial council [sic] is only one example of all de-nominations getting together to discuss the workers problems' (p.1). Again the BBC is criticised (p. 2), as is Terence O'Neill. He notes that Dublin has six 'live theatres' and argues that Belfast is comparatively bereft in this regard.

The folder also contains Thompson's handwritten notes to this speech and a cheque for £250 from the BBC, on the back of which he has further handwritten notes about his work with the BBC.

Also: 'Hand out of principal points of speech by Sam Thompson to the Country Fermanagh Literary and Debating Society at the Imperial Hotel, Enniskillen, on the 30/1/63', in which Thompson heavily criticises the Stormont regime, which, 'during it's [sic] forty years of power has never encouraged Culture, nor does it intend to' (p.1). He terms CEMA a 'joke'. He also criticises the lack of funding for the arts in Fermanagh and argues that cultural experts, rather than 'business tycoons', should sit on

'our cultural committees' (p.1); this is followed by a handwritten note where he adds that he is 'not condemning business people interested in arts' but pleads 'don't let's confine it [culture] to the middle classes'.

8H: 'Poilitical Speeches, Addresses etc.' contains electoral leaflets for Thompson's campaign, two different versions of a one-page 'Election Synopsis' in Thompson's words about his reasons for standing for election, with some handwritten notes, and further one-page speaking notes summaries, respectively, on North-South co-operation, 'Speech by the N. Ireland Labour candidate for South Down at Strangford. A public meeting held on Wednesday evening, 2nd September 1964'; more speeches delivered in Downpatrick, at the Boulevard Hotel and two more, generally, to the electors of South Down. The folder also contains handwritten notes on the Labour policy of planned economics, a press release from September/October 1964 re one of Thompson's speeches in Banbridge, minutes of a NILP meeting, an ICTU Northern Ireland Committee report on its Second Annual Conference at the Slieve Donard Hotel, Newcastle, 18 May 1961 and a leaflet entitled 'Labour & the Discrimination Issue'.

8I: Sam Thompson – Miscellaneous Fragments

Includes speaking notes on postcards, raising issues such as sectarianism, pogroms, religion and his abiding memories of childhood. There is also a fragment of a document that concerns the arts in NI and begins with the contention that 'The arts in Ulster have been a preserve for the Establishment for too long'. This folder also has a short handwritten note on 'The Conflict Between Idealism and Materialism'; a talk on Christmas memories, 'Christmas Talk Synopsis' and a long handwritten letter regarding a perceived loss of 'the spirit of neighbourliness – this is difficult to decipher at various points; a fragment from a short story, handwritten, 'The Stager', about a young man starting work in the Shipyards; notes in criticism of the BBC's Broadcasting House as 'a place of frightened men' (two handwritten pages); a page of handwritten notes on 'the political philosophy that leads to the abolition of the UTA'; a pencil handwritten piece of criticism regarding Terence O'Neill; some handwritten notes for what seems to be a play, and some handwritten notes on local Christmas traditions entitled 'Christmas Jack'.

Box 9 contains correspondence regarding Thompson's plays, which has already been catalogued in some detail by the library though this is not yet digitally available; the correspondence is separated into folders of letters on each of his plays (9a-9d) and on Thompson's radio features, talks and discussion (9E), on his journalistic work and newspaper articles generally in his regard (9F), on his lectures (9G), film adaptation (9H) and personal correspondence/miscellaneous letters (9I).

CONCLUSION

This scoping study outlines a range of catalogued and uncatalogued – largely, relatively under-researched, and in some cases, poorly kept – archives of northern Irish working-class life situated across a range of archives, personal collections, libraries and community group holdings. The sporadic and uneven nature of the study itself points to the sporadic and uneven nature of how archives of labour history (in the ‘broad’ sense, as working-class history/culture, and the ‘narrow’ sense, as the history of labour and work) require far greater institutional attention and a new impetus in terms of the curation and public availability of the historical artefacts and cultural production of working-class life here. We have been alerted to multiple other archives during the conduct of this research which time simply did not allow us to explore, and we hope that a future, follow-on project can do more in this regard.

The study also highlights the potential for a genuinely non-sectarian and indeed reconciliation-driven project that would highlight – with complexity, attention to contradictions and nuance – the commonalities in working-class life in the six counties across sectarian lines. Byers notes above, for example, the seepage between republican and labour politics during the modern period (see p. 8), which is perhaps acknowledged less in this literature than it ought to be. In the archives of republican and loyalist history formed by various community groups in Belfast, there is ample evidence of the need for a common way of exploring, in a granular way, working-class history and culture both in relation to and beyond the trade union movement in the North. It is noteworthy also, for example, that many of the archives labelled ‘republican’ or ‘loyalist’ contain a great deal of commentary from working-class people on the mundane or less sensational aspects of their lives, their work, the politics of welfare, healthcare and education, which provide glimpses of daily struggles and broader social histories.

One of the aspects of this report which is most significant is the unearthing of large amounts of previously untapped and largely unknown archives of trade union history held at Transport House. This is a major find. Significant too is the outline of material held in uncatalogued form in the Linen Hall Library (LHL), and that from Springhill Community House, which contain records of exemplary working-class cultural initiatives. It is evident that the LHL could benefit from further support in making its wide range of important but difficult-to-access holdings on working-class history available to the public and we are extremely grateful for their kindness and professionalism in making their archives available to us. The same thanks are extended to the curators of the Andy Tyrie Archive, Cartlann na Gaeilge, McCune Archive, Republican History Archive, Transport House, Springhill House, PRONI and Belfast Central Library, and staff in all the other libraries and archives mentioned in this report, who have made it possible. But the range of archives mentioned here also points to a central problem highlighted by this report: accessing the history of working-class life here is difficult; archives

are sporadic and often poorly housed; little is digitized; a great deal has been left uncatalogued; and access is largely confined to academics who have the expertise and time to engage with this work.

Our argument all along has been that this scoping study would unearth hidden or largely untapped archives of working-class experience that point to the need for a major institutional initiative in people's history, such as those evident, for example, in the People's History Museum at Springfields in England and the (albeit less well-supported) Irish Labour History Museum at Beggars' Bush in the Republic. The archives scoped in this study suggest an enormous task of co-ordination, collation and care that can only be undertaken by such an initiative. We further recommend that the touristic and educational potential of this kind of initiative (which is attested to, for instance, by one of the most successful initiatives in industrial history recently on these islands, Titanic Belfast) be investigated with a view to utilizing these archives to enhance the heritage potential of Belfast, for local communities and those who come to learn about the history of this place.

We would be grateful if scholars, students, activists and researchers of various hues acknowledge where this report has been useful in their own research and also if they might provide information where possible on items missed or ways in which the content might be expanded. As indicated throughout, this report is far from exhaustive, but is rather indicative—providing an imperfect but nonetheless revealing snapshot of the range of material available for a substantial archiving and public history project/museum focused on the history of working-class life in the North.

ENDNOTES

- ⁱ John Whyte, *Interpreting Northern Ireland* (Oxford, 1990), p. viii.
- ⁱⁱ John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary, *Explaining Northern Ireland* (Oxford, 1995).
- ⁱⁱⁱ Life and Times Surveys - refs
- ^{iv} Colin Coulter, 'The absence of class politics in Northern Ireland', *Capital & Class*, 69 (January 1999), 77-100.
- ^v Mike Milotte, *Communism in Modern Ireland: The Pursuit of the Workers' Republic since 1916* (Dublin, 1984), p. 8; Aaron Edwards, *A History of the Northern Ireland: Democratic Socialism and Sectarianism* (Manchester, 2009); Brian Hanley & Scott Millar, *The Lost Revolution: The Story of the Official IRA and the Workers' Party* (Dublin, 2009).
- ^{vi} Paul Bew, Peter Gibbon & Henry Patterson, *The State in Northern Ireland 1921-72* (Manchester, 1979).
- ^{vii} Liam O'Dowd, Bill Rolston & Mike Tomlinson, *Northern Ireland: Between Civil Rights and Civil War* (London, 1980).
- ^{viii} Andy Boyd, *Have the Trade Unions Failed the North?* (Cork, 1984).
- ^{ix} Workers' Association, *What's wrong with Ulster trade unionism? An exposure of anti-partitionist manoeuvre and disruption in the trade union leadership* (Belfast, 1974).
- ^x David Convery (ed.), *Locked Out: A Century of Irish Working Class Life* (Dublin, 2013).
- ^{xi} See below for a summary of Belfast Trades Council records held in PRONI.
- ^{xii} Edwards, *A History of the Northern Ireland Labour Party*.
- ^{xiii} Peter Hadden Archive, <<https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/hadden/index.htm>> [accessed 1 May 2016].
- ^{xiv} Jim Gibney, 'The Brian Keenan Interview', *An Phoblacht*, 27 March 2008, <<http://www.anphoblacht.com/contents/18322>> [accessed 20 December 2015].
- ^{xv} See the working timeline/family tree of the Irish left developed by the Irish Left Archive: <<http://www.clirishleftarchive.org/page/timeline-of-the-irish-left/>> [Accessed 27 September 2016].
- ^{xvi} Evan Smith and Matthew Worley (eds.), *Against the Grain: The British far left from 1956* (Manchester, 2014).
- ^{xvii} <<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/uwc/soc.htm>> [accessed 27 September 2016]. See Don Anderson, *Fourteen May Days: The Inside Story of the Loyalist Strike of 1974* (Dublin, 1994); Robert Fisk, *The Point of No Return: The Strike Which Broke the British in Ulster* (London, 1975).
- ^{xviii} (B)&ICO, *The Economics of Partition* (Belfast, 1969); B&ICO, *The Two Irish Nations: A Reply to Michael Farrell* (Belfast, 1971).
- ^{xix} Mike Milotte, *Communism in Modern Ireland: The Pursuit of the Workers' Republic Since 1916* (Dublin, 1984); Emmet O'Connor, *Reds and the Green: Ireland, Russia and the Communist Internationals, 1919-43* (Dublin, 2004); Matt Treacy, *The Communist Party of Ireland 1921-2011: Vol. 1: 1921-1969* (s.l., 2013).
- ^{xx} F. Stuart Ross, *Smashing H-Block: The Popular Campaign against Criminalization and the Irish Hunger Strikes, 1976-1982* (Liverpool, 2011).
- ^{xxi} Emmet O'Connor, *A Labour History of Ireland, 1824-2000* (Dublin, 2011), pp. 264-288.
- ^{xxii} <<http://www.trademarkbelfast.com>> [accessed 28 September 2016].
- ^{xxiii} Paul Arthur, *The People's Democracy, 1968-73* (Belfast, 1974); Bob Purdie, *Politics on the streets: The origins of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland* (Belfast, 1990).
- ^{xxiv} <<http://www.history.ac.uk/history-online/theses/in-progress/university/Ulster>> [accessed 25 September 2016].
- ^{xxv} <<http://www.connollyassociation.org.uk/irishdemocrat>> [accessed 29 September 2016].
- ^{xxvi} Francis Devine, 'An Undiminished Dream: Andy Barr, Communist Trade Unionist' (reminiscence), *Saothar*, 16 (1991), pp. 95-111.
- ^{xxvii} Séamus Cody, John O'Dowd and Peter Rigney, *A Parliament of Labour: 100 Years of the Dublin Council of Trade Unions* (Dublin, 1986).
- ^{xxviii} Anne McKee, *Belfast Trades Council: The First Hundred Years, 1881-1981* (Belfast, 1983).
- ^{xxix} Seán Byers, *Seán Murray: Marxist-Leninist and Irish Socialist Republican* (Sallins, 2015).
- ^{xxx} Aaron Edwards, *A History of the Northern Ireland Labour Party: Democratic Socialism and Sectarianism* (Manchester, 2009).

- ^{xxxix} Paddy Devlin, *Straight Left: An Autobiography* (Belfast, 1993); Connal Parr, 'Managing his aspirations: The labour and republican politics of Paddy Devlin', *Irish Political Studies*, 27:1 (2011), pp. 111-138.
- ^{xxxix} Graham Walker, *The Politics of Frustration: Harry Midgley and the Failure of Labour in Northern Ireland* (Manchester, 1985).
- ^{xxxix} Francis Devine, *Organising History: A Centenary of SIPTU* (Dublin, 2009).
- ^{xxxix} Moira J. Maguire, *Precarious Childhood in Post-Independence Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 12, 13.
- ^{xxxix} Mary Duffy and Geoffrey Evans, "Class, Community Polarisation and Politics", in *Social Attitudes in Northern Ireland: The Sixth Report*, ed. Lizanne Dowds, Paula Devine and Richard Breen (Belfast: Appletree, 1997) <<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/research/nisas/rep6c6.htm>> [accessed 29 September 2016] (para. 4).
- ^{xxxix} Henry Patterson, *Class Conflict and Sectarianism: The Protestant Working Class and the Belfast Labour Movement 1868-1920* (Belfast: Blackstaff, 1980); E. Moxon-Browne, *Nation, Class and Creed in Northern Ireland*, (Aldershot: Avebury: 1983); Richard Jenkins, *Lads, Citizens and Ordinary Kids: Working-class Youth Life-styles in Belfast* (London: Routledge, 1983); Peter McNamee and Tom Lovett, *Working-class community in Northern Ireland* (Belfast: Ulster People's College, 1987); Colin Coulter, "Class, Ethnicity and Political Identity in Northern Ireland", *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 4, 1-26; B.C. Hayes and I. McAllister, "Social Class, Class Awareness and Political Beliefs in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland", *Economic and Social Review* (1995), 26, (4): 349-368; Richard Breen, "Class Inequality and Social Mobility in Northern Ireland, 1973 to 1996" *American Sociological Review* (2000), 65:3, 392-406; Paul Bew, Peter Gibbon and Henry Patterson, *Northern Ireland, 1921-2002: Political Forces and Social Classes* (London: Serif, 2002).
- ^{xxxix} John Peter Sugden and Alan Bairner, *Sport, sectarianism and society in a divided Ireland* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993); Robert Atkinson and Robert Atkinson Jr., *Idle Hours: Belfast Working-Class Poetry* (Newtownabbey: Island Publications, 1993); Alan Bairner, "'Up To Their Knees'? Football, Sectarianism, Masculinity and Protestant Working-Class Identity", in *'Who are the People?': Unionism, Protestantism and Loyalism in Northern Ireland*, ed. Peter Shirlow and Mark McGovern (London: Pluto Press, 1997); Lance Pettit, *Screening Ireland: Film and Television Representation* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000); Tom Maguire, *Making Theatre in Northern Ireland: Through and Beyond the Troubles* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2006).
- ^{xxxix} H. Gustav Klaus, University of Rostok, Germany; comments made in a review of my book in the current edition of the *Journal for the Study of British Cultures* 18:2.
- ^{xxxix} Mary Duffy and Geoffrey Evans, "Class, Community Polarisation and Politics", in *Social Attitudes in Northern Ireland: The Sixth Report*, ed. Lizanne Dowds, Paula Devine and Richard Breen (Belfast: Appletree, 1997) <<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/research/nisas/rep6c6.htm>> [accessed 7 November 2012] (para. 4).
- ^{xl} John Peter Sugden and Alan Bairner, *Sport, sectarianism, and society in a divided Ireland* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1993), p. 21.
- ^{xl} Richard Rose, *Governing Without Consensus: an Irish perspective* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971).
- ^{xl} Pádraic Colum, *Cross Roads in Ireland* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), p. 109.
- ^{xl} Michael Hall, *Ourselves Alone?: Voices from the nationalist working class, Island Pamphlets* 15 (May 1996), p. 26.
- ^{xl} Mary M. McGlynn, *Narratives of Class in New Irish and Scottish Literature: From Joyce to Kelman, Doyle, Galloway, and McNamee* (London: Palgrave, 2008), p. 8.
- ^{xl} As Cornelia Albert notes, "while working-class areas in Belfast and Derry/Londonderry tend to be segregated, middle-class housing estates are more likely to be integrated"; Cornelia Albert, *The Peacebuilding Elements of the Belfast Agreement and the Transformation of the Northern Ireland Conflict* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009), p. 176.
- ^{xl} Thomas Carnduff, *Songs from the Shipyard and other Poems* (Belfast, E.H. Thornton, 1924).
- ^{xl} Gerald Dawe, *The Rest is History* (Abbey Press, 1998).
- ^{xl} *Ibid.*
- ^{xl} Lawrence Driscoll, *Evading Class in Contemporary British Literature* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 1.

ⁱ See for example the myriad of methodological approaches in this regard proffered by Mia Ridge's recent book on crowdsourcing; Mia Ridge, *Crowdsourcing Our Cultural Heritage* (Ashgate: Open University, 2014). See also the George Garrett Archive for an example of community collaboration in a local archiving project in Liverpool: <<http://www.georgegarrettarchive.co.uk/>> [accessed 29 September 2016] The Writing on the Wall Festival, which is central to this project, gave a presentation at a Queen's event co-supported by the DFA Reconciliation Fund on 22 May 2015: <<http://sluggerotoole.com/2015/05/15/cross-currents-in-british-irish-working-class-life-a-day-of-talks-debate-performance-song-workingclasslife/>> [accessed 29 September 2016].

ⁱⁱ Gearóid Ó Cairealláin, Stiúrthóir Ealaíne, in 'Réamhrá', Programme from *Bás Taisneach Ainrialáí* (Dario Fo's *Morte Accidentale di Anarchicho*/Accidental Death of an Anarchist).

ⁱⁱⁱ Programme, *Bás Taisneach Ainrialáí*, p. 1.

ⁱⁱⁱⁱ Ibid., p. 2.

^{lv} Ibid., p. 4.

^{lv} Ibid., 5.

^{lvi} Ibid.

^{lvii} Programme, *Scáil an Ghunnadóra* (2000-2001?), p. 1.

^{lviii} Programme, *An Burgléir Béasach*, p. 9.

^{lix} Ibid. p. 17.

^{lx} Seamus McGuigan, *An Ill Spent Life*, p. 1.

^{lxi} Ibid. p. 3.

^{lxii} See pp. 5-13.

^{lxiii} See pp. 9-10.

^{lxiv} Ibid. p. 14.

^{lxv} Martin Lynch and Marie Jones, *The Wedding: A Community Play*, p. 3.

^{lxvi} Ibid., p. 48

^{lxvii} Flyer.

^{lxviii} Programme for *Eddie Bottom's Dream*, p.1.

^{lxix} Editorial, *Andersonstown News*, 7 August 1999, p. 6.

^{lxx} Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (London: Yale UP, 2001); Christopher Hilliard, *To Exercise Our Talents: The Democratisation of Writing in Britain* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2006).

^{lxxi} I must credit the work of Dr Ann McVeigh here, in suggesting areas for possible exploration and her presentation on PRONI's cultural archives, which was kindly shared by Stephen Scarth and provided a guide for some of the explorations above.

^{lxxii} I am thinking here in particular of the People's Collection Wales, who have been collaborating with PI Piere on another project recently; see <<http://www.peoplescollection.wales>> [accessed 15 January 2016]

^{lxxiii} This one, for example, has sections on the Common Market, a recent James Connolly commemoration, 'The fight for shorter working week', the illness of Seán Murray and a 'Sayings of the Week' section.

^{lxxiv} Contains Loyalist artwork on front, plus poetry 'All Loyalists Demand, and advertising for dances, regalia shop, and statement of Loyalist Association of Workers' aims.

^{lxxv} Folder contains original signature sheet (without signatures) calling for 'Covenant for a Bill or Rights' – which ought to be digitised. Accompanying handwritten material explores a range of issues, such as similarities between calls for a 'loyalty test' for voting and the impact of literacy tests in the US, commentary on abuses of power; copy of *Vanguard*, 'Official Journal of the League of Workers Vanguard', a Trotskyist organisation; certainly worth digitising.

^{lxxvi} Both writers are happy to engage with

^{lxxvii} See Feargal Mac Ionnrachtaigh, *Language, Resistance and Revival in the North of Ireland* (London: Pluto, 2013).

^{lxxviii} See <<https://stmarys-belfast.ac.uk/library/irisharch/irisharchive.asp?cid=144319630923>> [accessed 10 June 2016]