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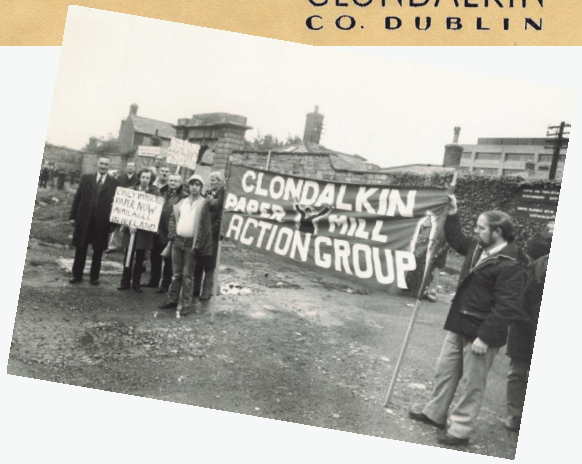

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IRISH LIFE AND LORE SERIES

CLONDALKIN PAPER MILLS

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Irish Life and Lore Series

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MUILTE PÁIPÉIR CHLUAIN DOLCAN TEO.

Clondalkin Paper Mills
LIMITED

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May 3, 1962

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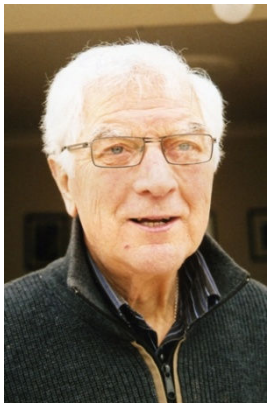
ASSISTANT GENERAL MANAGER

PGS/JD



Name: Aidan Dardis

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 1
Interview location: St Patrick's Road, Clondalkin
Subject: An employee of long standing
Date: 2014
Length: 32:07

Track 1: Aidan Dardis's paternal grandfather Thomas hailed from County Westmeath, and Aidan's research indicates that the Dardis family were originally located in Meath and Westmeath. Thomas worked in Ordnance Survey for about forty years. He later moved to Palmerstown as sub-postmaster. His son Louis, Aidan's father, was a farrier in Palmerstown, working in his own forge. When Aidan heard that there was work at the Clondalkin Paper Mills he applied for a job after his Intermediate Certificate and was employed there from 1955 until the closure of the mills. In 1983, the business was reopened by a Canadian company, Freedman McCormack Enterprises under the older name of Leinster Paper Mills, and Aidan was employed there for the brief period when the business remained open. He recalls his father's work, including some railings which he fashioned and which may still be seen on the old road between Palmerstown and Chapelizod. However, most of Louis' work was concerned with horse-shoeing at race meetings and at stud farms. Aidan talks about his first impressions of the mills when he began working there in 1955 and explains that his brother Don was working in the production planning office at that time. Aidan rose to the position of raw material stock controller. He speaks in some detail about the incidental stock, other than the wood pulp, that he was responsible for requisitioning from the purchasing office. A day in the life of the paper mills and the six-week cycle of paper production is described, and it is explained that the Clondalkin mills produced several types of paper for letters, newsprint, wrapping and so on.

Track 2: Those in the production planning office had dealings with the other processes throughout the mills, and Aidan explains the different ways in which the paper was output, whether in rolls or flat sheets, and then sold on to wholesalers in Ireland or abroad. The factory usually closed for annual holidays for a fortnight in August and also over Christmas. Otherwise, production took place twenty-four hours a day over six days a week. The social club which existed at the time still continues to this day, and Aidan explains that the club has a bar and a pitch and putt course on the Nangor Road. He recalls the industrial action which took place over the years, and the reasons for this are considered. He remarks that about 700 at most were employed in the mills and that people commuted from other areas besides Clondalkin. He says that when he began work in the 1950s, there were three other paper mills on the river Camac: Swiftbrook mills at Saggart and the Killeen and Drimnagh paper mills. A subsidiary company of Clondalkin manufactured heavy paper sacks for flour and cement, he explains. This company was later amalgamated with Bishops in the city centre to form CB Paper Sacks and later CB Packaging. Aidan discusses Smurfits in Clonskeagh which manufactured cardboard, and he remembers when the Clondalkin Paper Mills took over the Drimnagh mills. He discusses the changes to the area since his marriage in 1964, when he and his wife Mary moved there.

Track 3: In times past, Clondalkin would have been considered as being out in the countryside, Aidan explains, and he says that the old core of the village still remains as it has been for years, with the round tower, the Carnegie Library and the Roman Catholic church in situ. He talks about the cultural interests in the area, including the Irish language, music and

history. The effect of the closure of the paper mills on the area is considered and Aidan says he was fortunate to find other employment as a caretaker in the local girls' school at that time.

Name: Ann Cusack

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 2
Interview location: Clondalkin
Subject: Albert Cusack remembered.
Date: 2014
Length: 27:28

Track 1: Ann Cusack initially discusses her own business in the creation of knitted garments for designers. She recalls her father Albert's recruitment to Clondalkin Paper Mills following his work on the rural electrification scheme for the Electricity Supply Board. The mills had begun working again in the 1930s following a period of closure. Albert was sent to Bertram & Sons paper mills in Edinburgh to gain experience and on his return he began work as an assistant general manager in 1937, rising to the position of Managing Director, and retiring in 1978. Ann explains that she worked briefly in the mills herself and she describes the running of the mills during the war. The factory was run on a six-day week until the 1970s, at which time the mills also worked on Sunday. She recalls some influential families in business at that time, people such as the Macardles from Dundalk and the O'Briens from Edenderry, and she considers that such men were driven to succeed in the new independent Ireland. Her father's trips to America on business are recalled, as are the difficulties encountered with currency controls. Ann recalls her paternal grandfather's involvement in the War of Independence and the influence of this involvement on his son, Albert. The takeover of other paper mills and the growth of the company in the 1960s and 1970s are described.

Track 2: Ann recalls turbulent times for the mills, particularly with the rise in the cost of energy following the oil crisis in 1973. The competition with large Scandinavian operations is considered. By that time, many of the employees were not living in the local area and so the village was not as affected as it had been during the earlier maintenance strike, when the factory was closed for many months. Her father's work with the Department of Justice and with the rehabilitation of drug addicts is recalled, and Ann explains that the centre in Neilstown was named Cusack House for him. He continued his community work with involvement with Meals on Wheels and the Chamber of Commerce.

Track 3: Some documents are examined, including her father's offer of employment as assistant general manager in January 1937, and Ann explains that after taking up the position he rented Raheen House where she was born. While studying engineering at UCD he stayed with his uncle Christopher Albert Cusack, a dispensary doctor, in North Great George's Street. Ann talks about her father's involvement with the change from one energy source to another for the boiler at the mills during WWI1, and she recalls her three years working in the cost accounting office in the mills. Tom O'Carroll and Colm Gooseberry were her colleagues in that office, she explains, and she also recalls Patrick Egan who was secretary, and also his predecessor, Gerry Crawford. She concludes by telling an anecdote about the financial prudence which operated for every person in the company.

Name: Billy Phelan

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 3
Interview location: Palmerston, Co. Dublin
Subject: The Standards Office, the Reeler Slitting Department and the Production Planning Department
Date: 2014
Length: 50:01

Track 1: Billy Phelan, one of five children, hails from Parkgate Street in the centre of Dublin city, and he travelled to work at the paper mills on the bus to Clondalkin. His father was a qualified psychiatric nurse who worked in Great Ormond Mental Hospital. Following the Leaving Certificate examination in 1950 Billy began his employment in the Standards Office at Clondalkin Paper Mills in November 1950. The Association of Industrial Consultants was engaged to run a time and motion study in order to implement optimum production at the mills. Billy was allocated to a particular section to conduct the study using a stopwatch to calculate the time taken to do a certain task. He explains that the aim was not to calculate the maximum but rather the optimum, with safety as a priority. Based on production rates from the daily worksheets, a bonus would be paid, and Billy recalls that the top bonus was 2/6*d* a day, quite a lot of money at that time.

Track 2: He worked with six colleagues in the Standards Office who dealt with the various sections of the factory, and they shared a Friden calculating machine between them. This calculator was very large and heavy. Three women worked in the office, and because the calculator was so heavy one of the men would bring it to their desk when required. A slide rule was also used for calculations. Billy remembers that Mr Godfrey Casey was the boss and he also recalls Niall Gleeson, Jimmy Ross, Margaret Egan, Mary Hogan and Sheila Carroll. When he began, the Standards Office was completely new, and after a short period the office was located in what had been known as the Long Hall. The dress code was relatively formal with a tie and sports coat, but Billy recalls that after a visit to various parts of the mills there was no guarantee that his clothes would be clean going home! About three years later he was transferred to the Reeler Slitting department under Mr Tom Ging, and after a few months Billy was given a brown coat to wear in order to keep his jacket clean. He describes the introduction of a new German slitting machine in about 1953 and he explains how it worked. Billy was told to manage the introduction of the new machine and this involved learning the metric system and the conversion from imperial measurements. He explains in detail how it all worked.

Track 3: Billy recalls that due to his particular job he visited all sections of the mills. He explains that when he started, there were 20 men per shift with 10 men on each paper making machine. The speed of the machine was taken into account as was the number of tons per day that it could produce. In the slitting department he was also a ‘progress chaser’. This job involved making sure that when the paper was slit, the smaller rolls would go to the appropriate department. In the 1960s, he was transferred to Production Planning which

entailed fulfilling customer orders. His boss was Don Dardis. Billy talks about the pressure for orders to be fulfilled and explains that the mills were working seven days a week. He further explains that he always wanted to do whatever work needed to be done, even it meant suffering financial loss. In all, Billy spent 30 years working at the mills and he finished his career as the reeler house manager. His attitude towards meetings is described, and he talks about an occasion when the Canadians were in charge of the re-opened mills. He explains how the papermaking machine and the reeler interacted, and how work would pile up if any problems arose.

Track 4: Billy talks about the last decade during which he worked at the mills. He asked for a transfer from the reeler house because he was less than happy there. His colleagues in the reeler house in the 1960s were Tommy Ging and Tommy O'Neill and Billy was left on his own, so in 1978 he requested a transfer, which was denied as nobody wanted to move into that position. In 1981 he was made redundant, but returned when the mills were restarted. At that point he went back into the Production Planning department and he recalls some people he worked with, particularly Paddy Grimes, Joe Warren, Joe Callaghan, Larry Behan, Jerry Lamb, Billy Skidmore and Ken Stynes. He remembers that there was great variety in his work which suited him well. Miss Cusack, sister of Managing Director Dr Cusack, who was in charge of the No. 3 machine, praised him for his memory.

Name: Danny Curtin and Mary Curtin (née Dillane)

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 4
Interview location: Naas, Co. Kildare
Subject: Long service at the mills
Date: 2014
Length: 42:14

Track 1: Mary Curtin's father was a member of the Dillane family from Ballyheigue, Co. Kerry and he worked as a Garda in Cork city. Mary travelled and worked in London and Switzerland and she later gained a position at Clondalkin Paper Mills where she was very happy. For twenty years she was secretary to Dr Cusack who was then Managing Director. Her first interview was at the Imperial Hotel in Cork city, as the mills had a depot in Cork. She recalls the good relationship she had with Dr Cusack and his old-fashioned gentle demeanour, which made him easy to work with. The other staff are recalled including Dr Peter Sherry, Assistant General Manager, a chemist who was in charge of the laboratory, and Paul McKee.

Track 2: Danny Curtin is from Cullen, near Millstreet in Co. Cork while Mary is from Glasheen Road in Cork city. In 1960 Danny was engaged to do a decorating job at the convent in Clondalkin and he subsequently applied for a job as a clerk in the Dispatch and Transport Office at the mills. He describes his work duties in this position and explains that after a year or so he was promoted to a dispatch supervisor on the factory floor, which meant he dealt with the consignment of the pallets of paper. He was subsequently appointed transport manager. He explains that the mills were then open seven days a week and he often worked on Saturdays and sometimes on Sundays, but because he was on the staff he received no overtime payment.

Track 3: Danny describes the busy dispatch area where three machines were constantly producing paper. Local haulage contractors are recalled, including Peter Minihan, George Smith and Paddy Barry. At that time about 40 per cent of the production was exported and he explains that CIE was not often used for transport owing to inefficiencies. Danny gives the example of the kind of truck used to transport a consignment of paper to the Kildare Wallpaper company. He supervised about forty men and says that generally a good atmosphere prevailed. The mills closed for a summer break of a fortnight and about a week over Christmas. He explains that paper for newsprint was a bulky product though it could be produced quite quickly, so he needed to have the trucks lined up ready for dispatch. The newsprint was run off about once a month and sent to newspapers all over the country. Following Danny and Mary's marriage in 1974, Mary continued to work at the mills, until the end came for the company. Danny explains that there were two blocks at the mills; the office block and the paper mills, divided by the Nangor Road. Mary explains that many group office staff moved out to Naas, and she still keeps in touch with some of them. She describes the management offices and Dr Cusack's ability and personal manner. He came from Kildare and his father had been a school teacher in Timahoe. His sister, Dr Una Cusack, was a chemist working in the mills. Also recalled are Dr Cusack's wife Nora and their five children. who worked briefly in the mills. She remembers the takeover of Swiftbrook, Bailey Gibson and Drimnagh Paper Mills and the assimilation of some of the employees into Clondalkin Paper Mills.

Track 4: The pleasant social atmosphere which prevailed in the village of Clondalkin is recalled and Mary also explains that Dr Cusack was very receptive to new ideas and to developments in technology. The computer department was set up with several women employed as punch card operators. The gradual downturn in the business in the late 1970s is recalled, particularly as it affected the export business. Danny ascribes this to competition from abroad, the poor rate of foreign exchange and also to wage demands. He details the long negotiations to change manning and production levels and the eventual outcome, and he explains that the trade unions voted to reject the final offer by the company. The possible intervention by the government of the day is recalled but it is explained that this was not realised when the offer was rejected in 1981. Mary explains that Dr Cusack retired in 1978 and was succeeded by Henry Lund as managing director. Lund was the son of a Danish man who had run Irish Cement. Dr Cusack then was appointed chairman of the board. Mary recalls that it was hoped that Lund would revive the business but he found that this could not be done. Danny talks about the Clondalkin Group which included many Irish and English companies and the reasons why the rationalisation of the mills became necessary. Mary describes the quality of the paper and explains that in later years the design centre in Bailey Gibson was used. Danny talks about Swiftbrook paper and the prizes which it won in the nineteenth century. The winding down of the paper mills is described by Danny who mentions the part he played until his redundancy in 1982. The office staff then moved to the Clondalkin Group offices in the SIAC building. As agreed by Henry Lund, the grounds of the social club were handed over to the members, but the paper mills were gone.

Name: Deirdre Dowling (née Kennedy)

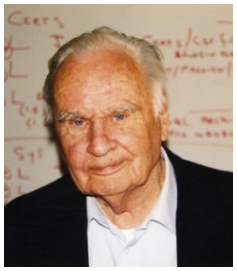
Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 5
Interview location: Newcastle, Co. Dublin
Subject: Work in Quality Control
Date: 2014
Length: 38:07

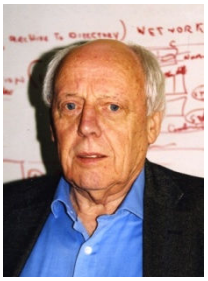
Track 1: Deirdre Dowling began work at Clondalkin Paper Mills around 1963 and she remained there until 1968 when she married. She is a native of Clondalkin, she and her twin sister being the youngest of ten children. Her father was a locomotive driver on the goods trains for CIÉ and he began his days's work from Broadstone station, having cycled from home to work. Deirdre remembers a happy childhood in the countryside and she explains that the development of the area began when she was a teenager. Her sister and neighbours were already working in the mills when Deirdre started there when she was about 16. Her first job was in quality control of the reams of flat paper under the supervisor, May Nolan, whom Deirdre remembers fondly. She explains that there was a productivity bonus for checking and correctly counting about 100 reams (each being 500 sheets) a day.

Track 2: The different types of papers produced by the mills are recalled, including flat and rolls. The various supervisors, including ex-army man Mr Nolan, and relations with the management are remembered and Deirdre explains that many of the young people socialised together. The majority of the men worked 'on the floor' where the heavy machinery was located, and Deirdre's work area was at the top of the building where she and her colleagues stood all day at long benches, sorting through the reams of paper. The work was repetitive and the company of the other girls was important in terms of relieving the boredom. The working conditions are described and she explains how the paper would have been affected by the presence of excessive heat. If extra orders had to be fulfilled she often worked 12 hour days, working also on Saturday mornings, and she explains that she was glad to receive the extra money and that everyone learned to become a good worker in order to get the bonus in addition to the basic pay. She recalls the good times at the company.

Track 3: Under the system which prevailed in Ireland, Deirdre automatically lost her job on her marriage in 1968, and she says that none of the women wanted to give up their work and would have preferred to stay. She explains that many got work in shops before the children arrived, as she herself did, working in Greta and Kevin Carroll's sweetshop on Monastery Road for a while. She remembers the small jam factory on the New Road, the dancehall and cinema in the village, and the dances in the camp in Baldonnell. Deirdre says that it was a sad time in Clondalkin when the mills closed and there was a lot of anger in the area. The hunger strike which took place at the time is recalled. Her husband Matt was a hotel chef and, with two children, she had to stay at home to look after them. The changes that have taken place since the mills have been demolished are considered. She recalls the cuts on her hands from handling the paper and she remarks on how sensitive one's fingertips would become to the texture of different quality papers.

Name: Des Tannam, Derek Breen and Hugh O'Sullivan





Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 6
Interview location: Bluebell, Dublin 12
Subject: The introduction of computing to Clondalkin
Date: 2014
Length: 48:54

Track 1: The Tannam name is of English origin and the family arrived in Ireland in the late seventeenth century. Des Tannam's father was from Drumcondra. Des recalls the effects of tuberculosis on his father and explains that following his death, the family went to live with his mother's family, the Colleys. Des went on to graduate from UCD and he later qualified as an accountant. He was articled with the firm of F. R. O'Connor in Dublin, the auditors to Clondalkin Paper Mills. He joined the mills as accountant in December 1953, and he recalls the formal authoritarian atmosphere which prevailed there at that time. However, he says that the managing director, Bert Cusack, was in favour of innovative improvements, and Des investigated computing as a way of assisting and enhancing the accounting work. He was then working with Peter Sherry, who had a PhD in Science from UCD, and with Gerry Crawford who was Secretary. After six months, Des was transferred to manage the Drimnagh Paper Mills, later returning to Clondalkin as financial controller. He recalls work colleagues such as the late Eddie Scott, Derek Breen, Hugh O'Sullivan, Imelda Kelleher who had been in Drimnagh, and Geraldine Breen. Derek Breen, a native of Drimnagh, recalls working in Swiftbrook Paper Mills after finishing his Leaving Certificate, and applying for a job in Clondalkin as a clerk in the early 1960s. He discusses the introduction of the computer at the mills. Des talks about ICL, an English computer company with an office on Adelaide Road in Dublin. This company had a computer installation at Fords in Dagenham and Des, who had been interested in computers since the mid-fifties, recalls the visit he made there to see the computer. He discusses the history of computing since World War II, naming brands such as IBM and Honeywell. In 1966, ICL installed a computer, an ICL 1300, at Clondalkin, as well as others in Gouldings Fertiliser and the sugar company at Mallow. Des remembers how computer programs would be written by the programmers, Derek, Eddie and Hugh, and Derek explains this process, the use of punchcards and the special room which housed the computer. Track 2: Des remembers the arrival of the computer at Clondalkin. He explains that the payroll would take 3-4 days to do manually, but the task was completed in half a day using the computer. Drimnagh Paper Mills at the time of its takeover by Clondalkin is recalled, and Des discusses the history of Clondalkin Paper Mills, particularly the restarting of the business in the 1930s and the production of wood pulp in the 1960s. The work of the computer in carrying out accounting functions is described. With the takeover of Bailey Gibson and Guys in Cork, this service was provided to these companies, then called a 'bureau' service. At one time, ten or more people worked in the department, including several punchcard operators. Derek, Eddie and Hugh wrote the software programs in the COBOL language.

Track 3: With the growth of the service, an extension was built for the computer in the late 1960s, Des recalls. Derek talks about the Cara bureau service set up by Aer Lingus and Smurfit Computing which provided bureau services to other businesses. It was Des's idea to set up a bureau service named MCS, which he, Derek, Eddie and Hugh initially ran on Ballymount Road from the early 1970s. He explains that with the entry of the country into the EEC, tariffs were no longer allowed and this affected the paper mills. He speaks about the

risk he and his colleagues took in setting up their own business, and remarks that Dr Cusack was less than pleased with their departure from the paper mills. Hugh O'Sullivan joined Clondalkin in 1967 as a computer operator and later did a course in programming in England. Derek remarks that he studied for a diploma on the first one-year computing course in Ireland at Trinity College, Dublin. This later evolved into a four-year degree course attended by Hugh O'Sullivan from 1982 to 1985.

Track 4: The first computer they used was an ICL 2903 which cost about £20,000. This model was a big advance on the ICL 1300 and improved the level of service that they could

Unloading of First Computer - 1966. by AN Other and Jim Roche

provide to their clients. Their first client was the *Irish Farmers' Journal* which is still with the company today. Derek explains that the setup replicated what they had previously set up at the paper mills. Until the advent of the internet and email, it was batch processing. When technology changed, MCS moved to providing customised software for companies. Some of their clients were Kerry Group, Avonmore and the Cork Harbour Commissioners. The common denominator was that clients at the time had ICL hardware, and when ICL withdrew from the Irish market the bureau benefited. Des recalls the first time he read about computers in 1954 and how the concept struck him as a fantastic opportunity. Both Des and Derek remark that accountancy seemed less exciting that computing, though it was a great leap of faith to leave the traditional field behind. Hugh recalls seeing advertisements for programmers in newspapers, his first introduction to computing. The lack of state grants at the time is remarked upon. Des remembers driving around the country selling their business, and says that his qualification as an accountant was an advantage when talking to others in the same profession. Derek talks about the changes that took place with the advent of the internet, rendering obsolete the necessity of visiting a client's business.

Name: Don Dardis and Catherine Dardis (née Murphy)

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 7
Interview location: Lucan, Co. Dublin
Subject: Memories of a chemist and a Production Planning Controller
Date: 2014
Length: 39:24

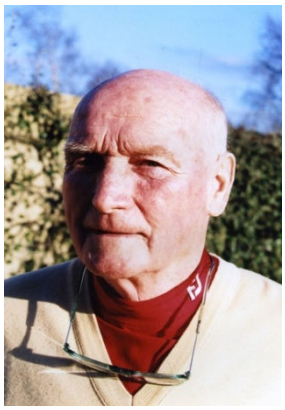
Track 1: Catherine Dardis is a native of Cork city who, following her graduation with a Master's degree, applied for a position as a chemist at the Clondalkin Paper Mills in 1969. She explains that at the time there were few positions available in chemistry. Her responsibility was to check the quality of pulp and the additives coming in, both at the process stage and also in quality control. Work on the development of new papers was also carried out in the laboratory. She explains how the water quality and also the effluent and settling beds were checked. She met her husband, Don Dardis, through working at the mills. He was a production planning controller, a stage between sales and production which scheduled the paper- making according to orders received. He joined the company in 1949 when about 200 people were employed there. The situation with regard to pulp production after WWII is discussed, and Don explains that he worked as a clerk in the Irish Railwaymen's Union office for a few years. He recalls his time at the trade union as interesting, as he had to handle many tasks in a small office. When the trade union was absorbed by the ITGWU, he applied for a position at the paper mills. Don remembers that at the time Clondalkin was still a village in the country and the paper mills was a very important employer.

Track 2: Catherine discusses the materials used in the laboratory and in the paper- making. Some pollution was generated, she says, particularly by the dyes. Don remembers that he would have to warn Killeen Paper Mills downstream when dyes were being used, and he tells an anecdote about some red dye released into the river. Catherine discusses the production of cheque book paper and the particular requirements for this. The interest taken by the workers in the different papers is remembered, for example a special paper for wrapping surgical instruments ordered by the National Health Service in England. She worked at the mills for five years and she explains that the laboratory was the place where the downturn was felt initially. Although her boss wanted her to return to work after maternity leave, Catherine decided to stay at home to look after her children. She recalls the masculine culture at the paper mills and Don remembers the men playing pitch and putt on land at the back of the site. Later, Dr Cusack provided a piece of land for the construction of a course. A bar licence was granted for the 'glue pot' (it was difficult to get out!) The management structure is described: the board of directors and Dr Cusack as General Manager, and a production manager with a manager for each of the three paper-making machines. One of the paper-making managers was Una Cusack, a chemist and sister of Dr Cusack. Catherine's first boss was Tom O'Neill and her later boss was Eugene McKiernan who had been in America.

Track 3: Don talks about trade union membership and the dissatisfaction with pay. He recalls the strike in the 1960s and Catherine discusses the national strike in the early 1970s relating to the electrical trades. The clash between the unions and management is also discussed. Don worked at the paper mills until it closed and he remarks on the difficulties experienced by the factory in competing with the Scandinavian mills. The sale of the paper mills to a Canadian company and its renaming as Leinster Paper Mills is recalled, and the unsuccessful proposal

by the workers to take over the company is discussed. Catherine explains that she went back to university to qualify as a teacher and that Don, having worked elsewhere for a period, looked after the family at home. Fortunately, her industrial experience at the paper mills gave her five year's increments in her teaching career, she explains.

CPM office staff, early 1950s.



Name: Eamonn Tully

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 8
Interview location: Edenderry, Co. Offaly
Subject: The 1966 strike
Date: 2014
Length: 54:20

Track 1: Eamonn Tully hails from the Naas Road and his parents came from Athlone, where his father worked as a land steward. Eamonn was discouraged from working in farming by his father, and having gained the Group Certificate in the early 1950s, he started work in the laboratory at Clondalkin Paper Mills. He remarks on the pleasant atmosphere which pertained at the mills and he explains that the paper produced at the mills' laboratory was tested for tensile strength, thickness, and so on in the laboratory before being dispatched to customers. The various papers produced included newsprint, manila paper, kraft paper and coloured paper. Eamonn explains that the process began at the beating loft, with the pulp then going on to the two papermaking machines: MG machine and Fourdrinier machine. He recalls that he was interviewed by Dr Sherry and his first task was to read a book about the manufacture of paper. He learned a skill in the laboratory, but after two years a vacancy occurred and he was asked to work on the effluent system. The waste had to be filtered before going into the River Camac and Eamonn here describes his work as a 'save all man'. The four mills along the river are listed, all of which used the river water. As Eamonn recalls, it was the 'greaser man' who cleaned the inflow of water from the river. Eamonn worked with two others, each man serving one shift: he relieved Johnny Maguire who in turn relieved Jimmy Dean. There were three shift foremen: Hugh Hurell, Alec Hazel and Mick Muldowney. Eamonn also recalls engineer Dr Cusack, who was Managing Director. The process of paper manufacture from pulp through to the final product is described. Some of the water used in the process was recycled, and the 'save all men' processed the effluent produced by filtering it, before the cleaned water was released back into the river.

Track 2: Eamonn continues by describing the next phase after the paper moved from the wire mesh to be dried on cylinders. On the MG machine, the cylinder was called the MG machine glaze, which applied a glaze to the paper. He recalls how wonderful it was for him to be earning a man's wage at the age of 18. At the time, his older brother was training to be a fitter and was receiving a lower wage. Eamonn remembers Seán Carroll, the production manager, and the machine men, all of whom had assistants. The next grade down from the machine man was the back tender, and these men also had assistants. This graded system meant that when a man was promoted, his assistant stepped into the vacated role. Eamonn began work at the mills in 1953, leaving in 1966 after the strike. He explains that like all employees he had to join a union, and in his case he joined the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. By1963, he had been eight years on shift work and he says that he enjoyed his job. In that year he got married, and there was talk of difficulty at the mills. He recalls the rumours about the introduction of a four-shift system, which would have meant the employment of an extra shift at Clondalkin Paper Mills, and he details the effect of this on the workers especially as it impacted on their free time. A meeting was held at Liberty Hall to discuss this new system, which had already been introduced at Killeen and Waterford paper mills. After he had spoken at the meeting to give his views, he was asked to become a shop steward. The four-shift system was rejected by a vote in 1964, which led to the 1966 strike. Eamonn explains that the unions were for the new system, but as far as he was concerned his job and his way of life

was threatened. The strike lasted eighteen weeks. There had been an embargo on the importation of paper, but this was lifted during the strike so other companies were not affected. The Labour Court intervened, with negotiations being held about wages, but only on condition by the management that the four-shift system be discussed. Eamonn was one of the four worker representatives from Clondalkin Paper Mills, along with John Clark, Liam Stone and Jackie Behan. He recalls that about 600 employees were involved in the voting. The new system affected the shift workers only, and as Eamonn says, it was a matter of principle for them. The weekly base rate in 1966 was £10 4*s* and when he got married he was receiving about £18, so he recognises the fact that good wages were earned at the paper mills. During the 1966 strike, the strikers received £5 a week, and Eamonn recalls that the local butcher and grocer gave the family credit during the strike. He remembers his late wife, Carmel O'Reilly (below) from Tallaght, who supported him during the strike. Tragically, she died at a young age from an illness in 1978. Eamonn explains that he suggested, after nine weeks of strike action, that an independent tribunal would look at the four-shift system and that some men would travel to Scandinavia to look at the system in action there. These suggestions were accepted by the union. After 12 weeks of strike action, the workers were offered 4¼*d* (four pence and a farthing) extra per hour, but this offer was turned down. He recalls a report of the fact that the local church condemned the strike committee. His admiration for Jim Larkin and his reading about the 1913 Lockout is discussed. He recalls his visit to the Swedish paper mills and the personal effect of what he saw there. In his view, the system at the Clondalkin paper mills at the time was more flexible, but the introduction of the new shift system meant there would be no more flexibility. After the strike, Eamonn applied for a position at the Irel Coffee company, which he would have been happy to accept though the pay was £6 an hour less than he had been earning, and he remarks that he intended to leave the paper mills in any event as he was not happy there at that time.

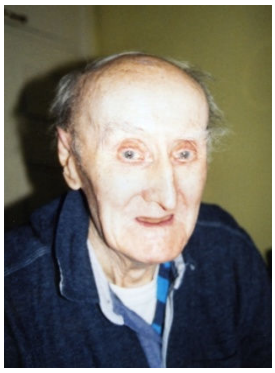
Name: Gladys Collins (née Vivash) and Ann Keegan (née Murphy)

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 9
Interview location: Saggart, Co. Dublin
Subject: Friends in the workplace
Date: 2014
Length: 45:39

Track 1: Gladys Collins and Ann Keegan worked at Saggart Paper Mills where they met initially. Gladys's grandfather was a Frenchman who served in the British Army and her grandmother came from Naas. The couple met at the Curragh at a dance. Her grandmother was widowed when her husband died during the Great War and she later remarried a man by the name of Farrell. Her father, Harry Vivash, worked as a machine man in the mills and he also had a reputation for curing the condition known as thrush which afflicted babies. Ann Keegan talks about her family, the Murphys and her mother's family, the Berminghams, many of whom worked over the decades at the paper mills. Her father was a builder who did much of the maintenance on the mills in Clondalkin. Ann's mother worked as a sorter at the mills, along with her two sisters and two brothers. Ann recalls the funeral practices and the social activities in Rathcool and Saggart. Gladys explains that she sat the Primary Certificate examination in school and then went looking for work. Her first job was at the Colleen Bawn in the city centre where she worked for a year. One of her sisters left her job at the Swiftbrook mills and Gladys applied for the vacancy and began work there when she was 15 years of age. She left that employment on her marriage, just before she was 23.

Track 2: Ann Keegan began work in 1953. While Gladys started in the lower mills in the packing department, Ann began in the ragloft as a 'rag lady', a job which involved cutting up offcuts of fabric into smaller pieces. Her aunts and her mother also worked in the ragloft. A patchwork quilt made by her grandmother from white offcuts is still in Ann's keeping. Gladys' mother had also begun work in the ragloft and she ended up as a 'counter' and Gladys explains that she was also trained as a 'counter' and that was how she met Ann. Ann describes the work involved in counting reams of paper in preparation for the packers. The technique of watermarking is also discussed. Various papers mentioned are vellum type, paper for the Irish Sweeps, Swiftbrook Bond and Fine, Glencamac Wove, and the paper for President Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh which bore a special watermark. After counting, Ann explains that the paper went first to the guillotines, then to the packers, next to the stampers and finally to dispatch to the customer. Gladys explains that each ream would be initialled, so that if a mistake was made, a counter would be called to account. Their forewoman was May Murphy and Paddy Connor supervised the finishing house. There were nine counters and about 30 sorters. Gladys and Ann happily reminisce about the great atmosphere at work and the time when the camogie team was beaten! They remark that accuracy at counting was very important and that they would be moved to another job if mistakes were made. Gladys met her husband, Michael Collins from Clare, at work. Ann's husband was from Newcastle nearby but he did not work at the mills. Ann recalls that she also worked in the laboratory, testing the strength and weight of the paper. If the standard was not reached, this had to be reported. One of the tests involved chewing a piece of paper to soften the fibres. The fibres were removed and a litmus test carried out which showed how much wood pulp was present. A sheet of paper was taken from each ream to be tested.

Track 3: Ann mentions some her colleagues in the laboratory and both ladies discuss the closeness of the community in the parish, including the towns of Newcastle, Clondalkin, Rathcoole and Brittas. Ann recalls her education at the convent in Clondalkin and Gladys explains that her sister Ann entered the Little Sisters of the Poor in Clondalkin. The infrequency of the bus service to the city centre is remarked upon. Ann recalls Mickey Kennedy who brought in the only fish to the village, with apples and oranges, on his horse and cart. Neither Gladys's nor Ann's children worked in the mills, but as Gladys remarks, she was very happy with her life there. Ann remembers that for a 40-hour week's work, after insurance, she received £1 9*s* 7*d*, which was given to her parents and she got 10*s* back for herself. The ladies discuss becoming smokers, though they did not drink alcohol until later in life, and Gladys remembers that she took her first drink when she was in her 30s. Ann talks about her grandmother who made the patchwork quilt from the rag pieces, already mentioned, and she explains that it was backed with flour bags. Gladys remembers the rosary being said in the lower mills by Jack, Jean Byrne's father.



Name: Jim Nolan with Tommy Keogh

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 10
Interview location: Clondalkin, Co. Dublin
Subject: Working at the mills during the Emergency
Date: 2014
Length: 44:43

Track 1: Jim Nolan now lives close to where the paper mills was located in Clondalkin, but he originally lived near Newland's Cross. His father, Michael, worked in the paper mills in the 1920s before its closure in about 1927, and he was re-employed when the mills reopened in the 1930s. Jim also worked in the paper mills and retired in 1981 when he was the victim of an industrial accident. His arm was caught between the two rollers, but fortunately he did not suffer major injury. He had started work in a market garden and began at the paper mills in about 1940, at a time when about 200 people were employed there. He recalls the straw pits, where pulp was made from straw and rags, and he remembers Mr Wolfson from Townsend Street, who used to bring in cloth rags to be used to make pulp. He remembers working on chopping up the straw before the mixture was boiled up. The next job was to drain off the hot water before the pulp was wheelbarrowed up to the beating loft. Tom Delaney was his foreman. After the war, Jim recalls the wood pulp being made, and the food restrictions of the war years, with tea being very scarce. Katie Walsh from Francis Street in Dublin used to come around selling packets of tea, and butter and bread were also rationed, though Jim remembers the factory as being as busy as ever. He describes the hard work and the absence of any safety restrictions at that time. He recalls Nurse Ryan who was employed at the mills to take care of medical emergencies.

Track 2: Jim Nolan was a member of the Round Tower Gaelic football team in Clondalkin in the 1940s, and he recalls Austin Boggins and Jimmy Kelly who made the Dublin team. At that time, camogie was very popular in Clondalkin and the team name was Clann Éireann. Returning to his memories of his work at the mills, he explains that his next job involved working on the reelers, setting it up and looking after it. If there was a break in the paper during a run, help would have to be called in from the fitting shop, which was not popular at night time! He recalls fitter Paddy Brady, and Paddy Sheridan and Cecil Ellis were shift electricians who were also called in. Over time, the machines were upgraded and Jim mentions that the computer-run machines were much more exact. The earlier machines were run by experienced men who had to get the timing right, and more manual work was involved. When he started on the reelers, his boss was Scottish man Steve MacMillan, and his later boss was Tom Ging, followed by Tommy O'Neill. The foreman on his shift was Hugh Hurrel from Larne. Jim's usual shift was eight hours but it could run to 12 hours if someone was off. When he started work at the paper mills the rate was one shilling an hour. Tommy Keogh explains how a shift might be split between two men if a man was sick. Jim recalls working on Saturdays, starting at 6 am or 12 noon, and that the paper mills was closed on Sundays. Tommy explains how the shift system worked, and further explains that later, overtime was paid for Saturday work. All of Jim's siblings worked in the factory except for one brother, Sonny, who left to work for the County Council. His sisters May, Teresa, Lil and Betty counted the paper to put the sheets into reams. Jim recalls watching the women counting the paper and says that it was mesmerising to watch how the job was done. After his shift, he had to do his bit when he went home, particularly in digging the garden for vegetables. The cinema in Clondalkin was called 'The Bibby' and along with the football and the boy scouts, was the only form of recreation. The next closest picture house was in

Inchicore and Jim recalls that it was a treat to go there. While he was working at the paper mills his father was no longer there but worked as a caretaker at the Clubrooms, he explains.

Track 3: Jim was working in the factory when the eighteen-week strike occurred and he recalls doing a few nixers during this time. Four members of his family were out on strike and only his brother Sonny was working. He remembers the times when Dr Cusack would come down to talk to the men, particularly if new machinery was introduced. As Tommy remarks, he was a very nice man who was good at introducing new machines. When Drimnagh was taken over, the Number 3 machine was brought in, along with new staff. With the onset of the switchover to computer-driven machines, Jim recalls receiving training from the German suppliers. Tommy explains that during the shutdown period in the first two weeks in August, all the machinery was overhauled and maintained by engineers and fitters. Jim recalls the big change which came about with the new machines, as they were controlled by buttons. The community spirit in the village is recalled, and Tommy mentions that Jim was on the football committee for over 25 years. Jim recalls the closure of the paper mills at Drimnagh and Saggart. The Irish Sweeps tickets were printed by the Saggart mills and when that business went, the mills closed, and he explains that some of the machines were cannibalised for use at the Clondalkin mills. The happy days at work are recalled and Jim says that he was sorry to hear about the closure after his retirement. His parents were both surnamed Nolan, though not related, he says and recalls that his grandparents lived in a cottage at the entrance to the mills, by the gates. Although his grandfather, James, did not work in the mills, his two uncles were employed there.

Name: Joe Stagg

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 11
Interview location: Palmerston, Co. Dublin
Subject: The work of the forester
Date: 2014
Length: 42:31

Track 1: Joe Stagg joined Clondalkin Paper Mills in 1960 and remained there for 21 years. He had previously been a State Forester with the Department of Lands. His job at the mills was to look after the timber intake, and he explains that he had to monitor and debark the timber and also to purchase the timber from forests. Initially, he had been employed as a shop assistant and one of his colleagues had told him about the forestry school at Avondale, Co. Wicklow. Joe recalls the competitive nature of the entry process, with 15 places for 1,500 applicants in the 1950s. To gain experience, he worked as a juvenile forestry labourer at Mount Bellew, Co. Galway for a period. He explains in some detail how a plantation is set up, and says that the main species planted were Sika and Norway Spruce, species that produce the greatest volume of timber in the shortest space of time. Joe gives a brief history of forestry in Ireland and the effect of the industrial revolution and the requirements of the British Navy on Irish trees. He mentions the growth in reafforestation since 1900, at which time it was 2%, whereas today it is about 12%. He explains that hardwood forestry is used in Ireland as shelter and as fire belts.

Track 2:At Clondalkin Paper Mills, he was working at marketing and tendering for timber. He was competing with five other mills, but Clondalkin Paper Mills was more particular about buying spruces as these were more suitable for making paper. He talks about forestry in Saggart and the continual expansion of land planted over time, and explains that the main operations were thinning and re-planting. Harvesting in his time was done with a chainsaw, with cutting done by the purchaser's contractor. Now the timber is cut on site by the forestry owner. He recalls that the timber was transported from the forest to the factory, and discusses the equipment purchased for use in the paper mills yard. The importance of hydraulic mechanical lifting nowadays is mentioned. In the 1950s and 1960s, payment for the physical labour of the men was by the ton rather than by the week. When buying timber, Joe would examine the timber when it was standing, and if a residue of wood was 'too good' for making pulp, it would be sold on to a sawmill. He recalls that Charlie Tucker, the marketing manager in the department, would send him a list of timber which was for sale, and taking into account the quality of the timber and the distances involved, he would tender for various lots. He says that he would often set out of a day to spend £100,000, and he describes his relationship with Dr Cusack as good. Bowaters in Athy, Scarriff Chipboard and Waterford Chipboard were his main competitors as purchasers of timber. When he started at Clondalkin, he was purchasing 300-400 tons a week, and by the time he finished, he was purchasing about 2,000 tons a week, with a lot of timber being drawn from every county in Ireland except Donegal. Joe recalls the map of the country which hung on his office wall, showing the tonnage he had reserved, and he explains that the employment provided by forestry includes planting, harvesting and transport.

Track 3: Joe recalls the effect of the 1966 strike. At that time, staff were allowed to pass a picket, however he says that he had very little to do during the nineteen weeks of strike action. The difficulties encountered at this time with guaranteeing the requirement for timber are discussed. The timber ideally could not remain in the yard longer than three weeks as the bark would dry into the timber and become more difficult to remove. The barking drum is

described, and Joe explains that it worked best with fresh timber, and that sometimes, if the timber had got too dry it was sold for firewood. His difficulty was that the quantity of production from day-to-day was unknown. After the de-barking the grinder was used to reduce the timber into a porridge with added water. A sheet of pulp was then produced. Clondalkin Paper Mills produced mechanical rather than chemical pulp. Joe mentions that Mrs Thatcher decided that Irish pulp could not be imported into England, which marked the end of the Groundwood mills in Clondalkin, opened in 1956. Although machinery was imported from America which would pulp without labour, it used too much power which affected the local energy supply. A deal was done and the machinery was replaced, but by then the market was reduced and the ability to produce was low. Clondalkin imported the highest quality chemical pulp to make the finer papers, and Joe thinks that a factor in the UK was that a pulp mills had been opened in Scotland, which was also in recession. Joe was on the staff at Clondalkin, so he signed in at 9 a.m. and was not working on the shift system. He recalls his boss, the late Frank Fagan and the supply chain management, and relationships with contractors countrywide are described. He explains the process from the arrival of timber in the yard, and mentions the recognition he received for his work by means of a bonus. He has now set up a business in Palmerstown called Forest Harvest, which sells items made from timber, and he discusses his love of trees and timber.

Track 4: The history of forestry in Ireland is examined, and Joe mentions his unpublished book *Down in the Forest* which is available in the UCD Forestry Department. He talks about his research and the changes in the use of timber over time. The effect of Ireland being declared an agricultural country by the EEC, and the resultant lack of growth in forestry is discussed. However, the structure has now changed and today 95% of what is planted each year is privately owned. The important contribution of Anglo-Irish landowners to the history of Irish forestry is mentioned. Joe now talks about his own family, explaining that his grandfather, George Stagg, came over to Ireland as a member of the British Army and remained when he retired to become a butler with the Routledge family in Cornfield, Co. Mayo. Joe remarks that George became ‘more Irish than the Irish themselves’. His father became a ganger with the County Council and was the father of thirteen children of whom Joe is the eldest. As he remarks, he had to jump many a hurdle in order to succeed.

Name: John Clarke

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 12
Interview location: Clondalkin, Co. Dublin
Subject: 29 years at the paper mills
Date: 2014
Length: 46:10

Track 1: John Clarke worked for 29 years at the paper mills, joining in 1953. Prior to this, he had served for six years with the Irish Army during the Emergency and had also worked in various employments. His house is a labourer's cottage, built in 1911. He recalls his foster parents and his working life since the age of 13. His birth mother's family is also recalled. He has a great interest in the GAA and he talks about following the "Dubs". Following his time milking cows at Baldonnell, he describes his job with Andy Egan, a cattle dealer in Kingwood, and walking the cattle into Dublin city centre for the fair. The village, including the various houses and families of Clondalkin at that time is described. John also worked as a waiter and as a golf caddy at the golf course. He joined the Irish Army at Rathmines when he was 18, and recalls the training at the Curragh over eighteen months. He was posted to Templemore and then on to Clonmel, and he remarks that he was a member of the last platoon to serve in Templemore before the barracks were handed over to the Garda Siochána. He had also served in the Local Defence Force during the Emergency.

Track 2: Following his service with the army, John worked in construction with a local builder before starting as a forklift truck driver, moving pallets of china clay and waste paper. The pulp was moved with a clamper, he explains, adding that his bosses were Michael Delaney and Harry O'Brien, and his co-workers were Joe Kelly, Paddy Cooke, Vinny Maguire and Billy Maguire. The good camaraderie of the yard is recalled. He describes how the pulp was handled and how careful the men needed to be before the introduction of mechanical equipment. The men also moved china clay and asbestos, and John discusses this work. At this juncture, Tommy Keogh talks about the formula, or 'furnish', for each type of paper, and how John and his colleagues would fulfil the list of items ready to be used. John recalls that pulp was made from cloth rags and he remembers the women who worked in that department. The St. Joseph Pipe Band was formed in 1937 and Tommy explains that it won Division 2 in the world championship in 1990. Unfortunately, it is now disbanded owing to a lack of numbers, and he remarks that two of the founding members died just recently.

Track 3: John recalls that he worked initially at the mills in the salt department in the loading bay, and was then asked to move to the yard. He was happy with this arrangement as the wages were very good. He explains that extra money could be earned on double shifts and treble time on Sundays, and he remarks on the jealousy felt between men on the matter of earnings. He was a member of the ITGWU, and in his opinion, the workers were too greedy and there was a lack of co-operation which closed the paper mills. He considers that the union also had too many demands. By the time of the closure of the mills he was suffering from illness, and so did not return to work there. He examines and remarks upon some photographs, and talks about the recycling of waste paper.

Track 4: When the mills were closed on December 5 1981, John was out sick and he was sent his redundancy. Brian Molloy had been Managing Director, but then the liquidator, Bernard Somers, was brought in. At this time, John was suffering from migraines and arthritis but he does not put the cause down to his work environment. He recalls that Michael Honan, the

personnel manager, asked him what he intended to do, but when the mills finally closed, John was on an invalidity pension and never worked again. He considers that the paper mills gave him and his family a good living from which the children were reared and educated. The bitterness of some people in the area is remembered, and John discusses the hurt this bitterness caused him. The attitude towards fostered children in the village in earlier days is recalled, as is his foster brother, John O'Toole from Rathdrum, Co. Wicklow. John tells an anecdote about the time when he made his First Holy Communion.

Track 5: The eighteen-week strike and the financial hardship of the time are remembered, and a story is told about paying his bills during the strike, and he expresses his pride in having no debts to this day.

Clondalkin Paper Mills (left) and the Round Tower, 1940s.

Name: John O'Keeffe

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 13
Interview location: Tallaght, Co. Dublin
Subject: The trade union perspective
Date: 2014
Length: 37:38

Track 1: John O'Keeffe has lived in various areas of Dublin during his life, though he was born in the city centre. His father worked in Guinness's until 1979. After leaving the British Army and through a connection of his father's, John went for interview with Dr Cusack at Clondalkin Paper Mills. He started work there in November 1966, just after the sixteen-week strike. He explains that although his father had been a sergeant in the Irish Army he encouraged him to join the British Army. For personal reasons, he left the army after a three-year term and returned home to his wife Pauline McDonnell. When he started work at the mills he was a general labourer, and worked at the 'wet end' of the papermaking machine, work which he describes as tedious. Later, he was transferred to the slitter room to work on the reeler as second assistant, where his work involved loading the cores into the machine. After three years he was transferred to the Jagenberg reeler as first assistant. The man in charge of that machine was the late Kevin Costello whom John replaced when he fell ill. He then worked as reeler man/operator until the factory closed in 1982. He talks about the union he first joined, the Irish Bookbinders Trade Union and he recalls the national maintenance strike in 1969 which affected all workers. The strike pay he received at that time was lower than that paid out by the FWUI, he explains. After the strike ended, he joined the Federated Workers Union of Ireland and three months later he became shop steward, a position he maintained until the 1980s. The senior shop steward at the time was Gerry Courtney. The strike at the mills in 1966 (relating to the introduction of the four shift roster) is remembered, as is that of 1976, which lasted ten weeks and involved a point of principle. The cause of the 1976 strike and the people involved are recalled, and John explains how negotiations were managed by the union and the process of informing the workers about the situation. His work as a shop steward usually took place after his own shift and did not affect his work. John talks about his first impression of Dr Cusack and how he discovered that he was a fair man, though he did not suffer fools gladly. The 1970s negotiations were handled by the late Jim Kelly, the personnel manager, and John relates an anecdote relating to one meeting with Jim. He remembers the darkest moment as being when the workers voted to reject the offer by a show of hands in a meeting in 1982, which resulted in the closure of the mills. In his opinion it should have been a vote by secret ballot, though he says this might not have produced a different result. However, he remarks that when the mills reopened in 1984, the terms and conditions offered to workers were worse than before. John explains the circumstances of the 1982 workers' meeting and he feels that the workers possibly did not believe that the mills would actually close.

Track 2: John remarks that the closure in 1982 related to earnings rather than to a point of principle. In 1966 there were over 1,100 people working at the paper mills, and by 1982 about 600 people were employed. At the time of the 1984 reopening about 400 people were employed. In 1982, the mills were occupied and the liquidator, Mr Bernard Somers, was not allowed to remove anything from the premises, a situation which culminated in a hunger strike in 1984. John describes the various public relations activities engaged in by the committee in order to keep the profile of the mills in the media. At a meeting in the autumn 1983, it was proposed that to bring the situation to a head, a hunger strike would be started. Two men then went on hunger strike which lasted for 17 days and which generated some

publicity. John recalls some of the people involved at the time. February 1984 brought a conviction for contempt of court and John discusses the deal done with the liquidator and the takeover by a Canadian company. He examines some photographs and names the men involved and he explains that redundancy was never the aim. He talks about the new company and the steps taken to start up the mills. After the negotiations were finished in 1984, John decided to look elsewhere for employment.

Reopening of Clondalkin Paper Mill as The Leinster Paper Mill 1985.
Mick Molloy, Paddy Foran, Paul Billings, John O'Keeffe, Bernard Somers (Liquidator), Frank McGloone.
Photo courtesy of Alison Molloy

Name: Kit Brady and Richard Farrelly

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 14
Interview location: Saggart, Co. Dublin
Subject: The Swiftbrook Paper Mills at Saggart
Date: 2014
Length: 52:30

Track 1: Kit Brady recalls the Swiftbrook Paper Mill, located in the village of Saggart and says that towards the end of its life the mills employed about 400 people. Richard (Dick) Farrelly started work in the beating loft, working on the mixture for the paper, and he describes the big tub containing wood pulp spinning around, china clay and alum. Kit's father was one of the foremen in the sheds and this is where Kit started work bringing in the timber. Before the wood pulp was imported, the paper was made from cloth rags, he explains, and his mother, Esther (née O'Neill), was one of the 'rag pickers' who cut up the rags into smaller pieces. These were then boiled up with caustic soda in two large boilers in order to break them down. Before Kit's time, the owner was named Drury, and later the mills was owned by Horgsburgh, a man who is remembered as being unpredictable and rather harsh. The Swiftbrook Paper Mill was the biggest local employer, and Kit recalls the strict regime for the workers and tells some anecdotes about occasions on which men were caught smoking. However, Dick says that despite the strict regime, there was a happy atmosphere there amongst the workers.

Track 2: Kit started work in Swiftbrook in 1947. Dick previously worked in forestry and he remarks that getting a job at the paper mills in 1950 was 'pennies from heaven'. Kit recalls how scrap paper was recycled and says that boys were employed to remove the covers from hard backed books. There were drives to save waste paper at that time. He remembers making postage stamp paper, which was very particular work, and he describes how vacancies and promotions would allow the men to gradually advance through the various jobs. He became a back tender or helper to his cousin, Brendan O'Neill, the machine man. By the time the mills closed down, he had been promoted to a machine man and was earning £30 6*d* a week gross, which was a very good wage at the time. In 1955 Dick was earning £7 7*s* a week on shift work. He recalls his work in the forestry nursery on the Castle Road for less than a year, which he enjoyed very much. He recounts his memories of a tour of Clondalkin Paper Mills, of seeing the pulping of the trees and noticing how difficult the job was. This was the first section of the mills to close as it was not successful, he says. Both Kit and Dick discuss the difficulties of shift work, particularly with regard to meals, and Dick recalls the lads eating together and the practical jokes played, especially on the night shift. The Swiftbrook quality paper is discussed. Kit worked in the 'piggery' where the wet rags were processed, being forked from one area to another before boxes of the rag pulp would be brought up to the beating loft. Dick remembers the heat produced by the driers, which made the factory very warm. Kit rose up the ranks to the position machine man on the No. 1 machine, and his back tender was Jim Mullally. Kit's job was at the wet end and Jim kept an eye on the reel end. Kit explains that he had to tear out a piece of paper to weigh it, to check the quality and adjust the machine as appropriate. He describes another tool which was introduced to weigh the paper which, though radioactive, was an improvement. The machine men had various checks to carry out on the paper including the watermark, and also for the presence of air bubbles. Dick recalls making the airmail paper, the Irish Sweep paper and the paper for the Stationery Office. The manual removal of the finished reel of paper, which weighed 1,000 *lbs* or more, is described. A very heavy paper for ledgers and registers was also produced. Kit remarks that once the tariff on imported paper was removed, Swiftbrook

could not compete. Dick remembers that at some time before he worked at the paper mills, the tariff had been removed and the mills had been closed, and when the tariff was reintroduced the mills opened once again. Both men discuss the difficulties of producing papers sufficiently quickly for reasons of economy.

Track 3: Kit recalls that the families at the paper mills were Quinns, O'Neills, Bradys and Connors, and he says that all the men had nicknames and were known by that name. Kit's grandfather served in the British Army during the WWI and his son, Kit's father, was born in England. His brothers were known as 'Cheeky' and 'Broadser' Brady. Mick 'The Giller' Timmons, who worked on the calender at the paper mills with Kit, is remembered. Dick and Kit now talk about the closure of the paper mills and it is remarked that many of the men then got employment with the County Council. Kit contacted Jimmy Meighan regarding work at Baldonnell and was given some work there for a period. Dick talks about the production of Swiftbrook Bond in Scotland today and how the machinery was sold abroad. Kit remembers the engine used to produce electricity for the mills, and says that it was sold for scrap. He remembers it as a thing of beauty to watch in action. They discuss the abilities of Dr Albert Cusack, Manager of Clondalkin Paper Mills. Kit talks about the vegetables and fruit grown at home and the food they ate during their shifts, and Dick recalls the bananas which were imported during the war for sick children.

Name: Liam Stone

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 15
Interview location: Ballyfermot, Co. Dublin
Subject: Transport at Clondalkin Paper Mills
Date: 2014. A delivery driver and shop steward
Length: 47:32

Track 1: Liam Stone was born in Townsend Street in the heart of Dublin. His father was a laundry deliveryman for the White Heather Laundry. Liam discusses the varied work of the laundries, and he recalls the bombing of the North Strand during WWI1. He remembers the different laundries such as the Maple Laundry, the Swastika Laundry and others. His father initially drove a horse and cart and later a motorised truck, and his delivery areas covered Drimnagh, Crumlin, Kimmage and Cabra. Liam remembers the organisation of the route by his father and the physical labour involved in laundry work. The family moved to Drimnagh after their tenement house was condemned and Liam explains that he had five sisters and two brothers. When he finished his schooling in Drimnagh, he started work in a factory near Guinness's, manufacturing steel heel tips. Later, he worked in Rowntrees for six years making sugar fondant cream, and later still he worked at Hops & Morris, agents for W. D. & H. O. Wills. His job was collecting the wooden boxes in which cigarettes were sold from shops and wholesalers, for re-use. He describes how the wooden boxes were collected and the work involved, and he explains that the cardboard cigarette boxes were also re-used. After the Emergency period, this recycling was phased out and Liam then began work at Clondalkin Paper Mills. The members of his family who emigrated to England for work during WWII are remembered and the good money earned during those times is discussed. His brothers-in-law worked for McAlpine and Laing in Britain on the construction of airstrips and roads. Liam comments that people were able to run two homes at that time, but now the distances involved are too great and there is real emigration today.

Track 2: In the early 1950s Liam started work at the Clondalkin Paper Mills on the 'pulp squad'. Men were hired for this work for about three weeks, and they could then be picked for a permanent position. Liam explains that a person could be put to work anywhere in the factory until a vacancy arose. He started as a helper, manually unloading and stacking the bales when they arrived at the mills. Later, forklifts and grabs were used. Liam joined the ITGWU; the other union was the Workers Union of Ireland. He remembers the 19-week strike, brought about by the proposal to introduce a continuous operation. Liam was a shop steward with the union and he talks about the meetings and negotiations which took place at the time. He recalls the premium rates that were offered at weekends, done away with under the new system. Hardberg, the Scottish actuary brought in to talk about the new types of systems is mentioned. Liam says that there were other issues involved in the strike besides the continuous operation proposal.

Track 3: His final position with the mills was as a delivery driver in the transport section. He recalls driving all over the country and into Northern Ireland delivering rolls of paper, cement bags and newsprint. After the takeover of Drimnagh Paper Mills, Michael Dunlea became an agent for Clondalkin in Cork. Before that Liam would make individual deliveries and he got to know the customers, but once Dunlea became agent, Liam would deliver to him. He recalls the various trucks used and the tricks they would use in order to keep warm on long journeys. His helper was Francie Boland from Clondalkin. The dangerous state of the roads is recalled and, in particular, Liam recalls the twisty road from Dublin to Waterford. As a rule, he says,

they did not stay overnight but always made it home, but with new regulations the work pattern changed. The head of the transport section, at one stage, was Mr Nolan, a former army officer, and he was preceded by Mr Mulvihill. Three trucks and a van were used, which was sufficient, as hired trucks were also in use. Liam recalls the times when newsprint was demanded by the *Cork Examiner* which might require two or three trips to Cork in the one week. The purchase of the second-hand No. 3 machine, after the takeover of the Drimnagh mills, is recalled. The bag factory was switched from Drimnagh to Killeen and the remainder of the Drimnagh products were made at Clondalkin. Liam talks about the wax paper base for food use which was very popular with customers such as bakeries, and he also mentions manila paper, used in making envelopes. A large export business was also operating, so Liam was delivering to Dublin docks. He discusses the formation of Clondalkin Group and the eventual loss of the business. He worked with the mills for 29 years and remembers that the transport section was the last to go, helping with the clear-out of the site. He recalls the final closure which came very suddenly, particularly for the office staff. Having received his redundancy payment, Liam moved on to work for Lito Studios on Kylemore Road, which he describes as a very good position. He looked after the archive of graphic design there and enjoyed it very much. He mentions his wife, Sarah McGovern from Drimnagh, whom he met when working at Rowntrees.

Name: Michael Davitt

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 16
Interview location: Newlands Cross, Co. Dublin
Subject: A management perspective
Date: 2014
Length: 37:00

Track 1: Michael Davitt is from the Navan Road in Dublin, and he explains that he graduated with a degree in Engineering from UCD in 1957. Both his parents were teachers, from Kildare. As there was high unemployment in Ireland when he graduated, and he wished to get experience, he worked for a short while at Rolls Royce in England, and later in the USA for a few years with Westinghouse, designing electrical motors and generators. He also studied for a business degree while abroad. Once his studies were complete, he returned to Ireland in 1962 with his wife Philomena Nugent, from Delvin, Co. Westmeath. He succeeded in getting a post at Shannon Diamond & Carbide, but was then offered a job by Dr Bert Cusack at Clondalkin Paper Mills. He explains that Dr Cusack had been involved with restarting the paper mills in 1936, and he describes him as being a man of strong character with tremendous determination to move the company forward. Michael's role initially entailed the construction of a major extension, called a *salle,* for sorting paper. At that time the mills at Swiftbrook and Drimnagh had been bought for their goodwill, and the workforce at both mills was incorporated into the Clondalkin mills. The extension occupied the ground where Dunnes Stores now operates.

Track 2: Michael talks about the expansion of Clondalkin village and describes his memories of it as a quiet rural area when he began work there. He discusses the location of the paper mills on the River Camac and the justification for this. The problems associated with the businesses along the river, particularly in relation to effluent, are recalled. He remembers the generations who worked at the paper mills. His boss was Terence O'Neill, the chief engineer, and Michael says that he learned a lot from him. He recalls the paper mills as being a happy place to work and he says that he missed this experience when he moved elsewhere. He worked at the mills for two years before joining a UK-based management consultancy company, from which he received training. His job involved travelling around Ireland to various companies, and he then rejoined Clondalkin Paper Mills in 1970, remaining there until 1977. At this time, the company was called the Clondalkin Group, incorporating Bailey Gibson, Guy & Company in Cork and Cahills, and he describes the business at this point as being more progressive and more profitable. Dr Cusack was still Managing Director, and as an engineer, he naturally leaned towards the technical side of the business. The militant element in the workforce at the paper mills is recalled. Michael was part of the management structure and he explains that he had to work to achieve the management objectives. He considers that there was an unwillingness to change which was in conflict with the efforts of the technical staff who were continually trying to introduce new practices so as to bring about improvement. He recalls that the mills had begun with the government introduction of tariffs on imports in the 1930s, and this changed with the abolition of tariffs and the signing of a free trade agreement between Ireland and the UK, when both countries joined the EEC in 1973.

Track 3: In about 1977 Michael left Clondalkin Paper Mills. He had noticed the difference in the modernised and upgraded office block, and more modern machinery, when he returned to the business in 1970. Dr Cusack put much effort in upgrading the machinery, he says, and also remarks that during the two shutdown periods during the year, machinery was

maintained and upgraded all the time. Due to open competition in the 1970s, there was a constant push to improve the process at the mills in order to meet the quality standards of the export customers. He recalls his surprise, on his return from the USA, that he was expected to work at least six days at week, and sometimes seven. His work was mainly concerned with industrial engineering and the manufacturing process which was continually assessed and monitored. He describes his work as challenging, and explains that when changes were suggested, often heated and robust exchanges of views occurred. However, Dr Cusack repeatedly stressed that improvements had to be made, otherwise the operation would not survive because of far more efficient mills in Scandinavia. As Michael points out, the economy of scale in Clondalkin meant that this competition was difficult, and it was a constant struggle to achieve margins in the paper industry at that time. The customers of the mills were those who used paper as part of their manufacturing and printing processes. One of the machines made kraft (brown) paper used generally for packaging. The other machines manufactured white papers such as writing paper like Swiftbrook Bond. These finer grades of paper required a high degree of expertise and close control of the manufacturing operation. In general, newsprint was sourced from Scandinavia at a competitive price. Michael left the company to pursue opportunities with a management consultancy based in Dublin, where one of his clients was the Clondalkin Group after manufacturing had ceased. He was asked by the Department of Industry and Commerce to advise on locating an operator for the premises. At this point in the recording, Tommy Keogh interjects with information about the Gregory Deal, which was struck at the time between the late Tony Gregory TD and Charles J. Haughey, in order to form a coalition government. Michael believes that he was brought in in a caretaking capacity, and on his own initiative and expense he travelled to Canada to visit a prospective buyer. On his return, he reported his view that the proposed deal was not workable. However, the sale went through but the business lasted only about 18 months. At that point, he was brought back to shut down the premises after the operator had left. The late Jim Mansfield acquired the machinery and sold it abroad at what Michael remembers as being a traumatic time. In his view, the location of the paper mills, by that stage, was not ideal, as it should have been located closer to the raw materials required, and not in an urban area.

Name: Neville Wiltshire

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 17
Interview location: National Library of Ireland, Dublin
Subject: A personnel manager's view
Date: 2014
Length: 29:17

Track 1: Neville Wiltshire worked at Clondalkin Paper Mills from about October 1974 until 1978. Previously, he had worked at W. & R. Jacob & Co. His career had originally been in personnel and training at Jacobs, and had moved into production. However, he wished to return to working in personnel and he started at the paper mills as a training manager. He says that his first impression of the paper mills was that the making of paper was not so different from the making of biscuits, though with different ingredients! Papermaking was a manufacturing process, albeit noisier and smellier, and his office was above the machinery. Levies were paid by businesses, and if training was undertaken by the employees, the levy was returned in the form of grants. His job was to draw up the training plan, but he discovered that training at the mills was negotiable, due to an error made by the training authority and the highly organised nature of the unions. Neville recalls the various unions: a print union, the ITGWU and the Workers' Union of Ireland. He describes his drawing up of the first training plan, and the grant. The supervisors and salesmen received training which was quite beneficial to the people involved. The Managing Director at the time was Dr Cusack who lived locally and who had set up the paper mills in the 1930s when the emphasis was on self-sufficiency. Neville refers to the unusual clause in the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the company, which relates to the requirement to provide employment in the Clondalkin area. He explains that after about two years at the company, a nine-week strike occurred at the paper mills. He was not involved in negotiations although, because of his training and qualifications, his advice was sought and used. The circumstances of the strike and the report on it are described. The personnel manager was the late Jim Kelly, also an engineer, who relinquished the personnel position after the report and Neville took up the post. In his opinion mistakes were made, with money being thrown at problems with a resultant loss of control. The various companies in the Clondalkin Group included the adjacent plastic bag factory, the printers Bailey Gibson, Cahills, the Dublin Print Company and Guy & Company in Cork, as well as a paper wholesalers. The Group had vertically integrated, owning ponds in Wicklow which supplied water and a factory that pulped the logs producing the raw material. Neville discusses the three groups within the walls of the paper mills, people who had variously come from Drimnagh, Saggart and Clondalkin.

Track 2: The resistance to change which was evident across Ireland at the time is mentioned, for example, the resistance to the introduction of computers in banks. Quality control and electronic measurement was being introduced, which would reduce waste, but this was resisted. There was certainly a learning curve to be negotiated in relation to new technology and also, traditional practices were being threatened. Skill was moving from the machine operatives to the laboratories. Neville remembers that the big purchasers of newsprint were the *Irish Independent*, *Irish Press* and the *Cork Examiner*. Smurfits produced board whereas Clondalkin made paper for print. The plant took in trees from Irish Forestry and produced pulp (leaving the bark unused at the time) and there was little recycling of used paper. He explains that by this time the paper mills was not in a good location and about 1,200 people were working there, which accounted for great employment in Clondalkin village, not at that time a dormitory suburb of Dublin. In Neville's opinion, matters disimproved at the paper

mills as the market in Ireland was not sufficient and imports began after 1973. He had left the business before the closure came, and he recalls that at one stage there was a management takeover but he does not know the reasoning behind this. Whatever the case, the paper mills was no longer viable. He discusses the fact that he learned from his experience at the paper mills that manufacturing industry in Ireland cannot depend solely on the internal market.

A Clondalkin Paper Mills party in the early 1960s.

Name: Noel Hoare

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 18
Interview location: Clondalkin, Co. Dublin
Subject: Working in the Maintenance Section
Date: 2014
Length: 38:33

Track 1: Noel Hoare began work at Clondalkin Paper Mills in 1961, and remained there in the maintenance section for 21 years. His father, John, was English and his mother was a native of Clondalkin. John Hoare joined the Free State Army not long after independence, and was stationed in Baldonnell. Later, he became part of the maintenance crew in Aer Lingus, working on the Dakota DC3s. Noel was the only member of his family to work at the paper mills. He attended the technical school and then served his time with contract shops around Dublin city. He describes the work at the Groundwood plant that took in the timber for pulp-making, and the three paper-making machines are also described. On the right was the machine glazed (MG) machine, in the centre was the Fourdrinier machine, and on the left was the No. 3 machine which made 'good' paper. Each machine had its own maintenance foreman to take care of any breakdowns. Noel goes on to talk about the fitting shops with the three turners, and remarks that his colleagues were Mick Young and Noel Counihan. His foreman was Tony Reynolds, and also there was John Geraghty (who was in charge of the Fourdrinier and the MG) and Jim Pluck (in charge of No. 3 machine). The machines were complex, with vats overhead taking in the pulp that then fell on to the wire. It then moved on to the rollers and calenders, and finally the calender stack, and down to the reel offs which rolled up the paper. Meanwhile, Noel was working in the fitting shop overhauling the Goulds pumps so that spares would be available in case of a breakdown. These pumps worked at pumping the pulp up to the vats, and he describes the work involved in changing the pumps. Other smaller pumps were kept ready. A breakdown would cost about £500 an hour if there was a delay in replacing the pumps, though he says that a machine very rarely went down. He recalls the work involved in manhandling the crown control ball and explains that twice a year they were brought to the grinding shop to have a set ready for switchover at the next shutdown period. In the fitting shop were three turners. The diamonds used for sharpening parts are described and Noel emphasises how difficult paper is to cut. He describes how the grinding was done, working on the huge cylinders. The long strike which lasted over 16 weeks is mentioned, though as Noel remembers, it did not affect the fitters. He considers that there was a stubbornness on both sides. However, he explains that the disputed four shifts were introduced at the Groundwood, but not at Clondalkin. He remembers the pickets on the gate which he could not pass, and describes it as a difficult time. As he recalls, the basic machines were not changed but parts of them, such as the calender bowls, were updated. The biggest change, he says, was computerisation. However Noel's concern was with jobs such as replacing the bearings of 3″ or 4″ made of bronze. He recalls the Fourdrinier machine used to make newsprint, and says that it could have been improved by being made more wide.

Track 2: Noel recalls the fire which was lit at the base of the chimney, and says that it was not possible to learn about papermaking at a technical school, and people learned on the job in the mills. However, he says he learned his skills in contract shops like Coxs Engineering, Faulkners and Howard McGarveys. After the mills closed he worked with Alton Engineering, and later with Noel Counihan who had also worked in the mills. He says that it was a shock when Clondalkin Paper Mills closed, and he discusses the action committee set up to re-open the mills rather than, in his opinion, concentrating on obtaining a good redundancy deal. He received £2,000 for 21 years' service and maintains that more could have been obtained. He

recalls the teamwork and the happy atmosphere at the paper mills, and says that it is a shame that no film was ever made about papermaking at the mills.


Name: Paddy Barry and Mary Barry (née Minihan)

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 19
Interview location: Naas, Co. Kildare
Subject: Time and Motion and trucking
Date: 2014
Length: 32:43

Track 1: Mary Barry (née Minihan) was born in Clondalkin. She talks about her family, including her uncle, Jack Minihan, who was in F Company of the IRA and was imprisoned at Ballykinlar. When the mills opened in 1936 he bought a truck and worked as a delivery contractor for the Gogartys. She remembers his trucks, including one which ran on gas using a form of steam engine. She explains that the mills was kept going during the war years, and says her father Peter also worked with his brother, delivering paper. Her eldest brother then joined the business which was kept on by her father when his son died in 1967. Mary herself worked in the Standards Office at the mills and she describes the work involved, carrying out time and motion studies and calculating the bonuses. She had to go around the mills collecting the time cards and gathering information, and she recalls the good camaraderie in the workforce. The head of that section was Mr Casey who would use a stopwatch to calculate time spent on a job. There was not a great turnover of staff, a fact which reflected the contentment generally felt in the workplace.

Track 2: Paddy Barry worked with an engineering contractor, B. P. Cramp in the mills where he met Mary. Later, he worked with the Minihans, driving a truck. He recalls the time when George Smith got the contract to draw the pulp from the docks, and he was also allowed to draw paper from the mills, which meant that, on occasion, the Minihans would not get more than one load a day. Paddy felt that at this stage the mills was going down, and he explains that he was paid by the amount of paper delivered. Jim Kelly, the Personnel Manager, is remembered. Mary talks about her family's long connection to the mills, and says that she could see the end of the business. Both of her brothers worked in the delivery business around Dublin. Paddy explains that one could only drive within the county perimeter without a haulage licence. The trucks of the Minihan business were kept at the rear of their home on Main Street, Clondalkin. Paddy remarks that it was a hard business, with manual labour involved and also engine maintenance. Mary explains that the wooden bodies of the trucks were replaced when they became rotten, and she says her brother Seán was great at the maintenance and at repairing punctures.

Track 3: Mary left the mills in 1969 when she got married but returned to work when she was requested to do so. However, she resigned completely in 1972. She recalls noticing that even the fitters were getting bonuses and she mentioned this to Mr Casey at the time, as these workers were not involved in production. She considers that the biggest factor in the downturn in the business was the rate of exchange, particularly with the dollar. Tommy Keogh interjects, saying that perhaps it was a combination of the demand for bonuses from the unions along with the competition from Scandinavia. Mary agrees that the demand for bonuses was crippling as was the increase in wages because more money was going out than was coming in. She talks about meeting Paddy in the mills and her work, which involved every section of the mills. She recalls her work in relation to the consumption of fuel and power in the factory and the submission of this report to Dr Cusack. She talks about how she calculated the formulae for the report and the use of adding machines. She recalls her love of

her work and the dedication of the staff. Interestingly, she comments on the reason why the women in the office were not chosen to use the new computer.

Name: Patty Fahy (née Moore)

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 20
Interview location: Clondalkin, Co. Dublin
Subject: Counting paper at the mills
Date: 2014
Length: 36:18

Track 1: Patty Fahy grew up on the New Road in Clondalkin, the only child of her unmarried parents, and she was reared by maternal relatives. She recalls a happy childhood, attending school in Clondalkin. After school, she went to work at Glen Abbey on the Tallaght Road and she moved to Clondalkin Paper Mills when she was 18 years of age. Initially, she was trained to count and stack the paper, and she explains the importance of counting the number of sheets of paper correctly. She recalls the good wages she was paid and the overtime, and says that she often worked on Sunday to check that the paper was coming out uncreased. She explains that the hours were from 8 am to 6 pm when she first began, and she mentions the damage done to her hands while working on this job. Her colleagues at the time included Monica and Deirdre Kennedy, a neighbour Harriet Coe, the late Mary Mulholland (née Rogers) and Rose Archibald from Drimnagh. She recalls the workers who came from Drimnagh and Bluebell when the Drimnagh Paper Mills were taken over, whom she would not meet again once they left on marriage. Patty also names Katie Smith and her good friend Jessie Morrow, and explains that Jessie became a supervisor, working in an office adjacent to Madge Dwyer. She recalls being asked to go downstairs to check the paper, and the machine set up by two German men who did not speak much English.

Track 2: The work in the counting room is described, and Patty says that sometimes they chatted with whoever was across the table from them and they would also have a singsong. The paper was brought up to the room by men and then the women counted the kraft (brown) paper. Patty remembers how particular they needed to be to remove the damaged paper and she admits that while the job was repetitive, the jolly crowd helped the day to pass. The late Nell Keogh is remembered as a great character. Patty met her husband, Michael Fahy from Galway, who worked at a machine downstairs, at one of the annual dinner dances. They got married in 1970 and she left her job at the mills, though she recalls that later an evening shift was introduced which married women often worked on. She talks about the cost of housing when she got married, and says that fortunately they bought their house and started from scratch, which turned out to be a good decision. Patty returned to work part-time for two years at the Little Chef restaurant on the Naas Road, and she later worked as a home help, looking after Tommy Keogh's father and she also minded her grandson. Michael continued working in the mills but later moved to working in a cash-and-carry in the Robin Hood Industrial Estate. He now works as a driver. Tommy Keogh was paymaster at the mills and here he talks about the payroll routine every Friday. He recalls the robbery when the money was brought into the canteen, and explains that after this occurance cheques were introduced. Patty recalls her wages in the 1970s and handing her money to her parents while she was living at home. The women wore a blue smock to protect their clothes while at work, and Patty comments on the fashions at the time. She remembers the two restrooms and smoking there, but she says the men would often smoke outside. During her one-hour lunchbreak she would go home for her dinner.

Track 3: Patty describes how the stacks of paper were taken out on pallets after being wrapped by men such as Ray Muldowney and Paddy Fitzsimons from Ballyfermot. She

remembers Peter Byrne bringing small boxes in the lift. She says that she still meets Deirdre Dowling and her sister Phyllis, former colleagues from the mills.

Name: Paul Billings

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 21
Interview location: Dunawly, Clondalkin, Co. Dublin
Subject: A trade union perspective
Date: 2014
Length: 31:35

Track 1: Paul Billings was born in Drimnagh, and during his childhood the family moved to Walkinstown. His first job was with Guinness and later, with his wife, he moved to England. On his return to Ireland he started work at Clondalkin in 1977, working in the yard and keeping it tidy. He describes himself at that time as being 'a mad Trot' (Trotskyite), explaining that he had been active in trade unions. The unions at the time were ITGWU and the Federated Workers of Ireland (later to amalgamate and become SIPTU). Paul was very interested in trade union issues. He remembers the trouble in 1981 and the negotiations which went on, and he also recalls the mills going into liquidation in January 1982 and the workers' meeting at the social club. This was a time of political turmoil, and he remarks that, from the very start, the problems at the mills became politicised. He mentions the Gregory Deal arranged between Tony Gregory TD and Charles Haughey, and he describes the action committee set up by the workers and the work which it did. He says that, in hindsight, he sees Clondalkin as a jobbing mills producing several kinds of paper, and it was not competitive or viable. The workers wanted to fight for their jobs and various solutions were looked at, and he also talks about dealing with Bernard Somers, the liquidator, and ideas for saving the paper mills as a going concern. He reflects on the part played by the trade unions, and he credits the FWI as supporting the workers' struggle but says that ITGWU was not so effective.

Track 2: Paul explains that the liquidator was offering packages to workers as he needed clean possession of the premises in order to sell the assets. However, Paul and others preferred to hold out for jobs instead. There was a written promise from the Fianna Fáil government that the mills would be re-opened by June 1st 1982, but this promise was never fulfilled. He explains that, at this time, the workforce was about 460 and union representation was about 280 or 300. He recalls the various pickets at other factories in the Group and actions undertaken by the workers. The mills was occupied for about a year, and towards the end of that year another general election was called and the workers' committee met with the new Fine Gael/Labour coalition. At that point, two workers, Brian Nolan and Miley Speight, decided to go on hunger strike. Paul recalls that he was not in favour of this action as he felt the focus would change, as in fact it did. The hunger strike lasted 15 days. A deal was done with Canadian investors, Friedman McCormack, to buy the mills. The hunger strike was called off and the paper mills worked for another year, but the business closed in 1987. Paul remembers that the action did galvanise trade union support around the country, and he mentions the solidarity with the workers in De Lorean and in Ranks flour mills. Jim Mansfield bought the site of the mills and the machinery was dismantled and sold abroad.

Track 3: Paul reflects on the removal of tariffs in the 1970s, and the fact that with protection removed, modernisation and rationalisation meant that old industries closed. He discusses the role of trades unions at the time in looking after their members, and says that working practices and demarcation issues did contribute to problems. He discusses the running of state companies and monopolies as opposed to private businesses. The atmosphere which prevailed in 1982 is again considered, and Paul talks about the likelihood of a national strike at the time, about being blacklisted and how difficult it was for him to get employment again.

It was not until 1996 that he was able to obtain a part-time job when he became a community worker. He reflects on political parties and voices his pessimism and cynicism about change. In his opinion, the Labour Party has not been concerned with the workers' struggle since the 1930s, and he maintains that today it is a liberal grouping. He considers that his work at the paper mills showed him that he was capable of organising and negotiating, and he is proud of his actions at that period in his life.

Name: Paul McKee

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 22
Interview location: Portmarnock, Co. Dublin
Subject: The Clondalkin Group
Date: 2014
Length: 47:59

Track 1: Paul McKee grew up on Botanic Road in Glasnevin, and following the death of his father in 1948, he and his mother moved to Ballymun Avenue. After attending UCD he joined the Air Corps, but atfter he contracted polio this career came to an end. He was employed in a steelbrokers' office on O'Connell Street, followed by a position at Gateaux, a flour confectionery manufacturers founded by Leslie Dakis. Arising from his study for an MBA at UCD, he met Joe Dolan who had a connection with CB Paper Sacks, and Paul was to become marketing manager of the company (later CB Packaging). Paul describes the effects of his illness on his career and how it influenced his choices, further explaining that he joined the mills in 1969. Although the technical aspects of the business were different to cake-making, the business elements were the same, he says. CB Paper Sacks was a joint venture between the Clondalkin Paper Mills and Bishops Packaging. His boss was Ken Bishop, who was joint Managing Director with Albert Cusack of the packaging company. Paul explains the interaction of the various managers within the packaging company. He recalls the various customers, including potato suppliers, flour and animal feed suppliers, Irish Sugar, fertiliser manufacturers and Cement Ltd. He explains that the machinery was sophisticated and produced various styles of sacks. The process involved buying paper mainly from Scandinavia, which came in rolls of about a ton in weight. The quality of sack paper was quite different to that produced at the Clondalkin Paper Mills as it required different strength and elasticity. Multi-wall paper sacks of different kinds were made and printed by CB Packaging.

Track 2: Paul explains that for a short period he was General Manager, and he became joint Managing Director with Ken Bishop when Bert Cusack stepped down in order to devote his time to the mills. Later, he was invited to be a member of the Clondalkin Group board and moved to an office in the mills, becoming Group Managing Director. He discusses the companies which made up the Clondalkin Group and the importance of paper packaging and cartons at that time. One of Bailey Gibson's products was teabags for Lyons' Tea, whereas Guys of Cork was more involved in printing. Paul reflects on the relationship with national government during this period, and he recalls the role of Dr Cusack as the leader who would support the mills in every case. He is described as a man of immense talent, and Paul remembers his guidance and support. The members of the Group board are recalled, including Eugene O'Brien, Gerry Guy, Michael O'Connor and Agnes Macardle Murphy, and their qualities as business people are remembered. The turbulence in the work force is considered and Paul reverts back to the reasons why Clondalkin Paper Mills was set up initially. He recalls that trade unions were quite strong and employees at the time believed that they were in 'a job for life'. There was a constant possibility of confrontation with entrenched views being held on both sides, as the trade unions and management came from different sides of the same coin. Many companies in Ireland and the UK formed the Clondalkin Group and later some companies in France, the USA and the Netherlands were also included.

Track 3: The major change in economic outlook in the 1970s and a different approach to packaging, particularly in the supermarket arena, are subjects considered. There was

innovation in graphics and packaging design, Paul says, and he recalls the development of plastics for use in such things as fertiliser sacks and pallet wrap. Also there were innovations in papers, such as the wallpaper base coated in plastic. The hub of the group was Clondalkin Paper Mills and Paul describes himself as having been part of the team that drove it, under the leadership of Dr Cusack. He considers the role of a Group board and its activities as opposed to the innovative ideas that came from individuals who may not necessarily be board members. In 1976, he stood down as Group Deputy Managing Director when another opportunity presented itself. However, he was made a non-executive director of the group and over time he became the longest serving member of the board, he explains. He recalls the fact that the paper mills was always under pressure due to competition from overseas. The equipment at the mills limited the product range and a major redefinition of the range was required. He considers that Dr Cusack was aware of this and tried to make improvements, but the cost of making changes to the plant, and the turnaround time, made this difficult. As Paul remarks, the size of the Irish market was a major factor in all of this. The quality of the Clondalkin product was excellent but it came with a premium price. He gives the example of the cheque papers produced by the mills and says that the installation of equipment for niche markets did not guarantee a market. Many changing factors in the 1970s affected the product being made, and this was in conjunction with increased competition from other suppliers.

Track 4: Paul recalls the management buyout attempt for the entire Group, and he discusses where innovative ideas might come from, not always from those at the top level. He remembers some of the men with whom he worked, including Jerry and John Guy, David Harnett and Joe Dolan in CB Packaging, Jim Cullen, Tom Hogan in Bailey Gibsons, Peter Sherry and Jim Kelly in the paper mills, Pat Egan who was financial controller in the mills and Jerry Houlihan who was the group financial director. He reflects on hindsight, saying that one can only act with the information available at any time. Terry O'Neill, the engineering guru in the mills, is recalled and Paul remarks that Terry did great work with his team, operating under pressure at all times due to the pace of change. Another colleague was Dr Peter Sherry whose great resourcefulness in the production area is remembered.

Name: Peter Connolly

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 23
Interview location: Clondalkin, Co. Dublin
Subject: A Production Foreman at the mills
Date: 2014
Length: 51:27

Track 1: Peter Connolly started work in the building section of Clondalkin Paper Mills in June 1960, and after a few years he was interviewed by Seán Carroll, Production Manager, for a permanent position. His first job had been sweeping the floor and keeping the place tidy, and he then moved to first assistant and later to second assistant on one of the paper machines. After a few years, a vacancy arose for Production Foreman and he applied for the position. He recalls the jealousy he faced when he was promoted, and he considers that he was successful in his application for promotion as he was recognised as being reliable. He continued in this position until the closure of the mills. He describes his family background, explaining that his father came from Ballyfermot and moved to Clondalkin, working initially as a crane driver and becoming a maintenance helper at the mills. When Peter was 21 he returned home from England having spent three years there, and his father enquired about any openings that might be available at the mills. Peter recalls the importance of contacts and how he had got a job as a runner with the *Irish Times* after school. He talks about the second- and third-generation workers at the mills and how this situation greatly affected families during the strikes. His own father could not afford to support his family on strike pay during the 1966 strike, and he took up another job in the village. Peter recalls the various places where he lived during his lifetime and the splitting up of the family after his mother, Brigid, died from tuberculosis. He talks about the hardships suffered just after WWI1 and the difficulties of getting work. The rough treatment meted out to him in school is remembered, and he considers that he and his brother were fortunate not to be taken into care. He describes some of the 'devilment' that they got up to, and his memory of his mother's poor health and her death are described.

Track 2: Peter explains that he joined his brother in Manchester, together with a friend Jim Smith. However, there was no work available and after a few months he joined the British Army in order to avoid the prospect of living rough. He was sent to join the Royal Ulster Rifles in Ballymena, Co. Antrim, where many men from Dublin were also serving. He recalls being told by older men on his return to Dublin to watch his back, and he says that there are still ex-army men who would be nervous of returning home. For three years he was on active service in Cyprus during the late 1950s, and he recalls his time there. He recalls a colleague named Kinsella from Walkinstown, who was killed and was buried in Nicosia during this time, and the political situation on the island is also considered. The benefits of working in the army in terms of experience and skills gained are mentioned.

Track 3: He describes his first jobs at the mills, working at the water plant filtering the effluent to the River Camac. The lack of health and safety procedures and the toxic materials that they were handling in the mills are recalled. He describes his work as a Production Foreman and being in charge of a shift. Under his control were a Scottish man in the loft, Ken Rintoul, and brothers Seamus and Percy Boland and Kevin Condron. The workers had a restroom where they could smoke and make refreshments, he explains.

Track 4: Peter remembers working seven days a week, with his overtime pay greater than his basic salary. He loved his work and he recalls the quiet roads when he was cycling to work at

all hours. He considers that the workers were badly advised by the trade unions, and says that it was a great disappointment to him when the mills closed. Fortunately, he was immediately offered a position as Production Foreman at a plastics factory, also in Clondalkin. He recalls that he was earning about £200 a week at the mills but that he earned less at the new job. Although he considered returning to the mills when it re-opened, he decided against this owing to personal problems which he might possibly face. He talks about the attitude of some workers to work, and the problems this created. He remembers the hard work he undertook at a petrol station during the 16 week strike in 1966 in order to pay his mortgage. The poor conditions in the cottage in Neilstown where he lived in a young child are again discussed and he mentions that his health was affected by the damp conditions. He retired early from his job owing to ill-health caused by his exposure to tuberculosis as a young child.

Name: Philip Brunkard

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 24
Interview location: Clondalkin, Co. Dublin
Subject: An engineer at Clondalkin Paper Mills
Date: 2014
Length: 47:54

Track 1: Philip Brunkard initially discusses the project engineering business he set up in the 1960s, which involved the design and installation of paper-making equipment, concrete plants and meat plants in the Dublin area. He worked for Hubbard Brothers, millwrights, initially as an apprentice, and he explains the various grades to which he was promoted. One of the clients of the business was Clondalkin Paper Mills and through this connection, he was offered a position at the mills which involved his training in engineering. He recalls the acquisition of Drimnagh and Swiftbrook paper mills by Clondalkin Paper Mills. Later, he worked at several other jobs and then joined the Irish Army as an engineer. On his return from service, Dr Cusack again contacted him, and later Philip set up his own business. His clients included companies such as Clondalkin Concrete, Roadstone and Clondalkin Paper Mills. Philip discusses heavy engineering and describes the use of boilers and turbines to produce the great volumes of steam at high pressure required for paper making. The modernisation of systems to replace the old belts and pulleys is recalled, and he describes the development of new pulp lines at the paper mills to replace the old expensive copper piping with stainless steel. He comments on the lack of health and safety policies at the time, and he also discusses the replacement of gears with direct drive systems run by electricity and computers. Similarly, automatic lubrication was introduced. Philip describes the skills employed by the paper makers in keeping the old machines of 20 or 30 rollers working efficiently.

Track 2: Philip's relationship with the Clondalkin mills ran from about 1958 until its demise, and when the business was taken over by a Canadian company he also had a connection with that company. He remembers his time with the Irish Army, and explains that soldiers were encouraged to take up third-level studies from which many men benefited hugely. He also talks about his part in the development of the fire service in Co. Kildare. He describes his service overseas with the UN forces in Cyprus, working with local communities, and he recalls the support provided by the British sovereign bases there to the UN forces. In the meantime, his brothers kept the business going at home in Newcastle where the firm employed about 150 people at this time.

Track 3: Philip recalls working to solve the problems at the mills relating to water and energy, and he describes the issues involved in some detail. He recalls the costs incurred by FMI in relation to an effluent licence and the introduction of a flocculation tank. The effect of paper colour dyes on the river water is discussed. Philip emphasises the fact that the paper mills was a large employer and the general attitude displayed at the time was not to raise issues which might affect this situation. However, with the demise of the original business and the change in feeling on environmental issues, this attitude had to change, he says.

Track 4: The early history of the paper mills and the manufacture of paper during WWI1 are described. He explains that the native tree was not suitable for paper-making and he describes the three machines at the paper mills. The MG (machine-glaze) machine made a brown paper, with one side being made shiny with resin. The Fourdrinier made paper such as toilet paper and newsprint and the No. 3 machine, which came from Drimnagh, made rough brown paper.

Philip considers that the arrival of plastics, energy costs and labour disputes all conjoined to bring the paper mills to its demise. He thinks that Dr Cusack asked his project engineering business to take over the care of the machinery as he was getting older, and he recalls that at least seven qualified engineers (including Dr Cusack) and chemists were employed at the paper mills, along with various technicians. Paper-making was a highly technical process, he explains, and he compares his work with paper to a job he held in the textile industry in Bray. He tells an anecdote about an alarm bell in John Charles Bamford's office which went off if there was a problem with the production line in the JCB factory.

Track 5: Philip talks his decision to join the Irish Army in the early 1950s, explaining that he had previously been in the FCA as a young man. Initially, he reported to the Curragh Training Camp where he was sworn in as a Second Lieutenant. He recalls his duties working with the fire service and undertaking a salute course. While on leave, he learned from a neighbour that he was to be sent to Cyprus on duty with the UN and he describes his engineering duties while on tour. He recalls being an expert witness in the Army deafness case. The hard work and long hours worked by people in the 1950s and 1960s are discussed, as is the drinking culture which caused problems with absenteeism and industrial accidents. He recalls one accident and the subsequent discussions with the insurance company concerned. The difficulty experienced by his business in getting insurance cover, partly due to the heavy engineering work but also related to drinking, is recalled, and he considers that the modern emphasis on training in relation to safety is a great improvement on the system which previously prevailed.

Name: Ray Muldowney

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 25
Interview location: Clondalkin, Co. Dublin
Subject: Foreman at Clondalkin Paper Mill
Date: 2014
Length: 63:25

Track 1: Ray Muldowney began work at the paper mills in July 1954. His grandfather, Bill, was a beater man in the old mills and was made redundant when it closed in the 1920s. He joined the new mills when it reopened about a decade later. Bill married a Clondalkin woman and they had a family of nine children. Some of Ray's uncles worked at the mills also, while his father, Jim, worked in the paper transport section of CIÉ, delivering newspapers overnight to all parts of the country by lorry. Initially, Ray worked with a firm of car upholsterers in Islandbridge and then with Superior Waxing (later Superior Packaging) when the firm was located at St Loman's. This latter job involved waxing paper made at Clondalkin, but he was sacked for taking time off to do an interview at the paper mills. He started off in the laboratory at the mills testing the paper quality, working with Eamon Tully, Gerry Reid, Mrs McGrath, Fanny Carroll and Oliver McGovern, with Dr Sherry in charge. Then he moved to the machine room with Gerry Reid, and he recalls the various jobs he had to do on a machine, going from the wet to the dry end. He explains that the men working on a machine had to be on their guard continuously, watching the paper. There was a back tender, assistant back tender and a machine man. Ray was promoted to foreman in about 1970, and during the night shift he was responsible for the whole factory. He recalls that the equipment was continuously changing, and he discusses a new wet end cylinder being installed on one occasion and the demolition of the factory wall to insert it into the machine. He tells the story relating to his team which started the new machine after the day shift had failed, and the trouble that this caused. He recalls some of the so-called experts he met in his time, though in his opinion they did not have the practical paper-making experience of the men in the factory. On the night shift as foreman, he had responsibility from the beating loft down. He describes the complete process of making the paper from imported pulp, and explains that in his grandfather's time, the paper was made from jute and rags, with straw added in during WWI. The noisy working environment is remembered, as Ray talks about the hand signals used by the men and how his own hearing was affected. The lack of environmental regulation in relation to the River Camac is recalled. He and some others visited various sites where Clondalkin paper was being used, and he tells an anecdote about visiting the *Irish Independent* and a problem being addressed there, owing to the visiting men's skill and experience.

Track 2: The size of the factory is recalled, and Ray remarks what when he began, over 900 people worked there with another 100 people in the bag-making factory. He talks about the two chimneys on the paper mills when it was fully operational, and the layout of various parts of the factory is described. The First Aid section run by Miss Ryan and a doctor was accessible only during the day with no provision for night time. After 5 p.m. he was responsible for about 100 people during the night, he says. He explains that the mills' own pulp would be used for making wallpaper and envelopes as these were softer papers, but imported pulp came from such places as Africa and Sweden for printed papers. He recalls the yard and the 'groundwood', where the telegraph-pole style logs were stacked up high. He says that Clondalkin paper was known worldwide and had a good reputation. The paper travelled through the machines at about 1,000 feet per minute, and industrial accidents did occur, particularly when the paper was fed by hand, though he explains that most accidents

occurred when the machine was going slowly. His own brother had a very serious accident on the No. 3 machine and was lucky to survive, though left with severe injuries. Ray tells a story about a fire in the No. 3 machine and he also considers the factors which contributed to the downturn at the paper mills. The relationship with the ESB is recalled, as are the difficulties caused by power being cut. He explains that starting up the machine cost thousands of pounds, but the running of the machines generated electricity back to the grid. This expense meant that management wanted to run the machines on a 24-hour basis.

Track 3: Ray talks about the closure of the paper mills and the difficulties experienced by him, as foreman on the night shift, by people attending union meetings. In his opinion, the shop stewards did not consider the work, and some men seemed to be continually at union meetings and not turning up to work. He remembers Dr Cusack and his visits to examine the machines, but his successor, Mr Lund, was not seen on the factory floor. Ray recalls a man who worked a treble shift and was half-way through the fourth shift before he could go home, and explains that at that time there were no maximum working hours. Another example of the hard work is provided when he describes the broken paper being taken by the men, over their shoulders, up to the beating loft to be recycled. In the later years, a new generation came in who would not do the work in the same way as before, which caused problems. After the paper mills closed in 1981, Ray worked at ACT in Citywest for a period, and when that business closed down, he ran a petrol station in Inchicore for many years until that was closed by Maxol. He had been asked to go back to the paper mills as Production Manager but as he did not want to go back on shift work, he did not take up the offer. He recalls what he heard about the paper being made by the new company and that it ended up as waste. He considers that the new people did not know how to make paper in the correct way.

Name: Richard Farrelly and John Sexton

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 26
Interview location: Belgard, Co. Dublin
Subject: The sales role at Swiftbrook and Clondalkin Paper Mills
Date: 2014
Length: 42:18

Track 1: The Farrelly family originated in Co. Meath, but Richard (Dick) Farrelly was born in Edenderry, Co. Offaly where his father worked as a butcher. Having finished national school he served his time as a butcher, but was sacked by his father. He then spent some time serving behind the bar of Pattersons public house before moving, in 1945, to Rathcoole, again working in the bar trade. In 1951, he began work at Swiftbrook Paper Mill, working on one of the machines. He describes what each of three machines produced, including all the paper for Oifig an tSoláthair (the Stationery Office), Swiftbrook bond paper and the lighter bank paper. His first job was as a sizer man on the No. 2 machine and Dick describes this work, and remarks on an interesting fact relating to the requirement in the GAA rulebook that Irish watermarked paper must be used. He explains that Swiftbrook mills was a very busy place to work, with three shifts employing mainly local people. He relates an anecdote involving smoking and explains the necessity of complying with this rule. The owner of the factory, Mr Horgsburgh, lived on the grounds and was strict with his employees. Unlike Clondalkin Paper Mills, Swiftbrook bought in pulp which arrived in bales, and Dick describes the process of turning the pulp into a liquid, ready for making paper. He recalls Jeff Smurfit, father of Michael Smurfit, arriving in a truck to buy waste from the pond to bring to his cardboard factory in Clonskeagh. Dick discusses the water which came from Brittas ponds where Joe Dowling, the water bailiff, controlled its flow down to the River Camac.

Track 2: John Sexton started in the paper mills in 1972, working in the Standards Office, and he describes the work done by this office. Later, he moved to export sales where he was to remain until the mills closed in 1981. His job was to co-ordinate export sales, so he dealt with the mills' agents in the UK, Holland and Germany. He explains that the paper mills was quite small by European standards, but the quality produced was very good. He describes the various kinds of papers made by the machines and he remarks that the capacity from the mid-1970s was about 40-45,000 tons a year and, on occasion, the factory might close on a weekend owing to lack of orders. It was only in the last years that export sales increased, he says, and explains how the overseas agents operated on behalf of paper mills. The machine-glaze paper was sold to manufacturers as a brown bag paper generally. He remembers Superior Packaging in Finglas which made much of the bread packaging from Clondalkin paper, which was then printed and waxed. In his opinion, at that time the paper mills was quite small and quite old, and heavily dependent on the labour force, whereas continental mills were much larger and were automated.

Track 3: Dick talks about his move to sales at Swiftbrook, and explains that he generally sold in bulk to merchants rather than printers. These merchants were middlemen such as Irish Paper Merchants, Wiggins Teape, Spicers and Glen Valley. He moved to Clondalkin Paper Mills in 1971, doing the same job. As far as he recalls, most of the newsprint was imported from Scandinavia and the quantities produced by Clondalkin were not huge. He considers the reasons why Swiftbrook closed, and he feels that it may have been related to the small amount of pulp being purchased. Swiftbrook was bought in the late 1960s and remained open

for about another two years. He remembers that many of the men were taken on by the Co. Council as roadmen and the site was taken over by Brittas Plastics, a much smaller operation. He recalls the fine papers produced at Saggart mills from rags, such as loose-leaf ledger paper often used in offices. The rags and china clay produced a strong paper, suitable for ledgers, he explains.

Track 4: John remembers the business in the 1970s and considers that the market was, to some extent, insulated by a preference for Irish-made paper. He recalls the different kinds of paper imported and not made in Ireland, and he explains that by the time the paper mills closed, he was heading the export sales office. With hindsight he considers that the competition from abroad was too intense, and there was no chance of survival. He mentions Freedman McCormack, the Canadian company which took over Clondalkin, and Dick recalls this period. He was very disappointed when the paper mills finally closed as it provided a great job, he maintains. John remembers that about 650 people, many of them from the same families, were employed at the time of the closure. Dick talks about the role of the shop stewards and the contentious issue about whether they supported the workers properly. He remembers the subsidy that paper mills could avail of at one time in order to sell paper more cheaply than any imports. He describes the furnishing of the paper produced by the Canadian company as too rich, and in his opinion it destroyed the Swiftbrook bond reputation. John explains how Clondalkin paper mills produced the Swiftbrook products from the early 1970s but then, from 1977, a minimum order for paper was introduced. Because of this, Swiftbrook began again in the old premises as a paper merchant, and this company still exists today as part of Clondalkin Group.

Name: Tom Hogan

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 27
Interview location: Dublin
Subject: The Clondalkin Group
Date: 2014
Length: 56:01

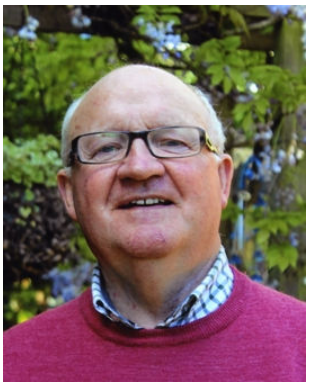
Track 1: Following his return from London, Tom Hogan began work at Bailey Gibson as an accountant in 1966, and initially he provides a brief history of Bailey Gibson. He was appointed Financial Controller and within four or five years, in the early 1970s, he was appointed Managing Director of the business. At this stage, the Gibson Guy Group consisted of Bailey Gibson, Guy & Company in Cork and Cherry & Smalldridge in Fairview. He explains the circumstances under which Clondalkin fought with the Smurfit Group about the purchase of Bailey Gibson in around 1972. As the only qualified accountant in Bailey Gibson, Tom was very much involved and he gives some details here about the situation at that time. Sidney Gibson was the chairman of Bailey Gibson and he favoured Clondalkin as purchaser, owing to the Gibson family connection. Tom talks about their meeting with George Overend of A. & L. Goodbody, solicitors, and explains that, within three weeks, Clondalkin was the owner of Bailey Gibson. Tom reflects on the changes in the packaging industry and the Smurfit business of corrugated boxes at this time. He recalls that most of the pulp was imported from Finland or Sweden. He would buy paper from Clondalkin Paper Mills, converting 2-3,000 tons into packaging, but he realised that the paper mills was quite uncompetitive. He says that technically, Dr Albert Cusack was excellent. When a new Group Managing Director, Henry Lund, was appointed he sent Tom around Europe to inspect other mills, and while travelling, he realised that CPM was extremely uncompetitive, particularly in producing too little of several products rather than concentrating on a single product, as did many Scandinavian mills. He remembers the various options put forward by Henry Lund and explains that, as executives, they made the decision to close, though the board did not concur. Tom recalls the political interest in the mills and the visits by politicians at election times, as there were so many possible votes in one place. The board of the time is discussed, as is the highly political nature of the decision to close. With enormous difficulty Henry Lund sought and got agreement that the paper mills section of the Clondalkin Group would close, as there was no cashflow with the mills running. The talks about closure went on for months with the board and unions and ultimately the Irish government bought the paper mills. Tom says that the Smurfit Group had no interest in the mills. He reflects on the takeover of Swiftbrook and says that though a high quality paper was produced, there was no market for such a product at that time. He remarks on the difficulty in letting people go, but says that if the paper mills had remained open, the whole Group would have closed down. The character of Albert Cusack and his abilities as an engineer, though not as a Group Managing Director, are touched upon. Tom became good friends with Henry Lund, and says that he was very effective as the manager of a group of companies.

Track 2: Tom recalls the composition of the Group board after the closure of the paper mills. He was appointed an executive member of the board, and with Henry Lund, looked for acquisitions. He talks about the first acquisition; APB at Portishead near Bristol in the UK. Following further acquisitions, the Group became profitable and was quoted on the stock exchange. It is still in existence today although owned by a US investment group, and has been taken private. Tom recalls the origins of Clondalkin Paper Mills in the 1930s and the effects of competition in the 1970s from Scandinavia. The Clondalkin Group became a packaging group in competition with Smurfit, he explains. He became responsible for CB

(Clondalkin Bishop) Packaging, which produced cement, provender, potato and fertiliser sacks from different materials, and this company became very profitable. Tom talks about Goodbodys in Clara, Co. Offaly which produced jute sacks until relatively recently, and he refers again to the government purchase of Clondalkin Paper Mills before the election. From memory, he says that the business required £100m at that stage to bring it up-to-date, and in addition, the pollution to the river was horrendous. Tom talks about his wife, Eileen Gogan, and her family and their connection with the 1916 Rising. He and Eileen married in London in the 1950s and returned after five years to what seemed to be a changing Ireland under Taoiseach Seán Lemass. He recalls doing his first set of accounts for Bailey Gibson and showing a large loss. His colleagues in the business were Adam Field, Production Director; Norbert McDermott, Financial Controller; John Hamilton, a former SAS soldier inWWI1; Arthur Beatty, Paul Gascoigne and others. Tom outlines his rules of management and describes Henry Lund as being very clever and seeing the potential in self-adhesive labelling. Tom and Henry worked together on the English and American acquisitions. Tom recalls John and Gerry Guy, sons of the founder of Guy & Company in Cork, and describes them as country gentlemen, running an efficient business which still exists today. Gerry Guy was on the board of Clondalkin Group with him, and he also recalls Billy McMullin who turned Guy & Company into a very successful part of Clondalkin Group. Sam Smalldridge is remembered and the contrast between these men with people such as Michael Smurfit is remarked upon. Tom tells some anecdotes about Michael Smurfit and the pressurised, new manner in which he operated.

Track 3: In the late 1980s Tom retired at the age of 53 to study French and Irish at UCD, and he discusses the reasons for his retirement. He talks about his brother, Pat, who held a very senior position in Northern Telecom, and Pat's attitude to corporate life which differs from his own. Tom began studying for a doctorate on Mairtín Ó Cadhain but he became unwell, and his supervisor, Alan Harrison, passed away. He reflects on the effects of developing cancer on one's thoughts and attitude to life, and he considers that he is fortunate to have survived to this day. He emphasises the importance of having some humanity in our dealings with others. He recalls teaching Irish to civil servants and politicians at Leinster House, and he further recalls the PAYE strikes of the 1980s and taking part with his own staff. He describes his politics as left wing.

Name: Tommy Keogh



Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 28
Interview location: Clondalkin, Co. Dublin
Subject: Payroll at the Paper Mill
Date: 2014
Length: 44:49

Track 1: Tommy Keogh describes his family background and explains that his grandfather, John, came from Wicklow to Clondalkin, where Tommy's father Joe was born in 1901. In the mid-1880s his grandfather was injured in a paper mills building and lived the remainder of his life confined to a wheelchair. Tommy recalls his father's family home which was situated directly opposite the gates to the paper mills. When the mills was re-opened in 1937, his father worked as a labourer and he then became the mills lagger, working to maintain the pipe lagging throughout the mills, along with his helper Dan Kelly from Tallaght. Tommy mentions the asbestos construction of the lagging but says that his father was unaffected and survived until the age of 96. Tommy's mother was Ann Cummins from Terenure. His sister, Marie, worked in the shipping office with Mr Casey for about 15 years, and his brother, Kevin, was stores assistant. Following his retirement, Joe returned to work at the mills as a nightwatchman for a further seven years, and Tommy remarks that the cumulative length of service by his family was not unusual among millworkers. After leaving school in June 1956, he began work as a clerk on £2 a week, progressing to full employment in the accounts department. He remembers the more formal nature of work in those days, which involved manual systems and filing. He later moved to the wages office after some years working for Paddy Johnson, and later still he was promoted to Payroll Manager. He tells an anecdote about the robbery of the cash wages one Friday in the 1970s by a gang wearing balaclavas, and as a result, payments by cheque were introduced soon afterwards. Tommy's job at this time was to deliver the salaries to the administrative offices every Friday. He recalls the different grades, the effect of shiftwork on the mills employees' income and the happy atmosphere which prevailed in all sections. He discusses the introduction of trade unions to the paper mills and explains that in 1966, he and the other office staff passed the picket line as they were not unionised at that stage. His father was on strike during this period. Tommy further explains that the four-shift system would affect only the paper makers, but all the mills workers were affected by the strike. The pleasant working environment and co-operative nature of the workers is recalled as are the social outings, including the annual dinner dance and the golf society outings. The acquisition of Bailey Gibson, Dublin Print & Paper, Cahills and Guys of Cork meant an increase in payroll work in his department, he says. He mentions the fact that many couples met through their work at the paper mills. Tommy's wife, Bridget, is from Clondalkin and she worked in Molly Reilly's shop in Main Street in the 1950s and 1960s. The paper mills provided a social hub and employment for areas around Clondalkin such as Saggart, Rathcoole, Drimnagh, Lucan, Palmerstown and Newcastle, and a building project in the 1960s employed another 100 men in construction, some of whom remained in the village. Tommy talks about knowing every corner of the mills because of his job, and he remarks that the scale of the operation was huge. The computerisation of the payroll at the mills in the mid-1960s was a great leap forward in terms of technology, and he recalls that due to the newness of the computer to Ireland, staff were given training in its use. His job was to create the pay packet envelopes and put in the exact amount required, and he says that he was the decimalisation officer on the introduction of decimal currency in 1970.

Track 2: The innovative nature of Dr Cusack with regard to technology is recalled, as Tommy remembers a large roller brought in from England and the work involved in its installation. He remarks that there was always something happening which made the work interesting. The papermakers went on holidays for the August fortnight and the maintenance group worked overtime on the paper machines during this time. Tommy remembers many foreigners working on and upgrading the equipment during these weeks. He recalls the 'sooting' of the boilers by the boilermen who were on double time for a week cleaning out the boilers, and he remarks that his father-in-law, Joe Brown, was a boilerman. The social club and the pitch-and-putt course which survived the existence of the paper mills are mentioned. From 1972 until 1979 Tommy was the Office Manager with responsibility for the office staff, and Mr O'Farrell, the accountant, was his boss he explains. After Dr Cusack's retirement, Brian Molloy became General Manager in the paper mills and Tommy applied for the position of Credit Manager. This position held a lot of responsibility as it involved the collection of money from debtors. After the paper mills closed, he received a redundancy payment but was kept on by liquidator Bernard Somers until in May1982, when he left to take up a new position elsewhere. He says that of the £3.5m owing to the mills, only £10,000 remained unpaid at the end of the liquidation process. His new job was as a Credit Controller with Traynor Farm Machinery in Finglas, and he went on to work with an Aer Lingus company – CARA the Computer People, becoming Company Secretary. He took early retirement in 2001 after Aer Lingus sold CARA, which had had its origins in the CPM through the hiring of the computer after hours. He remarks that the loss of salaries from the paper mills must have hit local businesses very hard. He talks about the efforts to revive the paper mills and the general belief that the only paper mills in Ireland to produce such a quality product would never be allowed to close. He considers the effect of the trade unions, the various strikes in the 1970s and the consequences of wage demands and inequalities which arose over time. The intransigence of the workers over work practices and the poor reflection this had on the unions is discussed. He recalls Eamon Tully's visit to Sweden to study paper production there in 1966. Tommy explains that he is now involved with the Round Tower Heritage Group in creating an exhibition space, coffee shop and monastic garden at the round tower site in Clondalkin, which it is hoped will be a great attraction for tourists.

Name: Tony Reynolds and Gertrude Reynolds (née Small)

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 29
Interview location: Palmerstown, Co. Dublin
Subject: An engineer fitter at the paper mills
Date: 2014
Length: 69:23

Track 1: Tony Reynolds is from Castleknock. His father had a shop and was also a waiter at the Wicklow Hotel on Wicklow Street in Dublin city centre. Having finished school, Tony worked at the Great Southern Railway works at Inchicore, where he qualified as a fitter. He later went to work as a fitter at Clondalkin Paper Mills in 1948, remaining there until his retirement. He explains that he was seconded for three years to Drimnagh Paper Mills. In his opinion, the sole reason for the closure of the paper mills was Ireland's membership of the European Union. At the mills, he was responsible for anything connected to engineering and he says that there were about 20 men working on engineering works at Clondalkin. He remembers Drimnagh as having antiquated and slow-running machinery compared to that operated at Clondalkin, and recalls that there were about 250 people working at Drimnagh on much smaller paper machines. Each machine there was run by a stationary steam engine, in comparison to Clondalkin where electricity was used. A problem for Drimnagh was its situation downstream from Clondalkin paper mills, and Tony explains that he was one of those involved in the drilling of three new water wells. However, he says, not enough water was produced even from water wells. He tells an anecdote relating to the red paper produced for the *Little Messenger* magazine, and the pollution produced at the time.

Track 2: Gertrude Reynolds joined the paper mills as a shorthand typist in about 1950, working mainly in the typing pool. Her father was from Drumcondra and worked as a painter and decorator, while her mother came from Tipperary. One of her brothers worked for a period in the paper mills. Gertrude and Tony met at a dance and married in 1957. Gertrude then gave up her position to rear their family. She considers that she should have been allowed to work after her marriage, and says it was very difficult at the time for married women to get employment. However, she feels that she was fortunate to be in a position to stay at home once the children arrived. Tony reflects on the condition of the Drimnagh Paper Mills before it was closed, and remembers that the plant had been modernised to a great extent. The history of Drimnagh Paper Mills is discussed, and Tony recalls taking out the remains of the pump relating to the paddle wheel. In his time, the paper mills was being managed by Dr Cusack who visited regularly, and Warren Pentz, an engineer, headed up the engineering section of the Drimnagh plant. The previous owners had been the Dock Milling Company, and some of their employees remained in Tony's time there, people such as Danny Keane, Harry McGlone and Tony Browne. When Drimnagh closed, Tony returned to Clondalkin where he was shortly thereafter promoted to foreman.

Track 3: Gertrude talks about the typing pool which consisted of four women, and she explains that at first she spent some time on the switchboard. She recalls the work involved with typing up documents for shipments where accuracy was crucial, also typing letters and doing some filing. The atmosphere was very pleasant and the other workers were helpful, and she recalls the seniors being Evy Archbold, Betty O'Reilly, Kathleen O'Neill, Miriam O'Hanlon, Kitty Whelan, and the juniors included herself, Dolores Looney, Ann Bradley, Dolores Behan and Freda Ryan. She talks about these women, many of whom were local, and

how they kept in touch over the years. She describes the social outings they enjoyed and their closely interrelated social lives.

Track 4: Tony reflects on the effects of Ireland's entry to the EEC. He tells an anecdote about a meeting in the boardroom in 1977, where Dr Cusack spoke to the men and announced that 'the place was finished.' Tony recalls the closure of all the large employers in the area, and says that he was against Ireland's membership of the EEC from the very beginning. He feels that the decision to close had been made in 1977 because the competition from abroad was too intense. Gertrude talks about the closure of the big industries in the area, such as Lamb's Jams, Nugget Boot Polish, Weatherwell, Clondalkin Concrete, Glen Abbey and Urneys Chocolates over a period and she says that employment for the village was gone.

Track 5: Tony looking at a group photograph of his colleagues taken at the time of Bill Brant's retirement, and talks about the men featured. He reflects on the question of whether the trade unions effected the closure of the paper mills. Gertrude remembers the export of paper to London companies, via Liverpool, after WWII. Paper was also sent to Northern Ireland every week, to be used in the manufacture of cement bags. She recalls the Remington manual typewriters used in the typing pool, and says that she also used a cylinder Dictaphone and was kept very busy, mainly with export documents. She remembers that the work became intense when the time came for the shipments to go out. It was important to be accurate because, if the paperwork was incorrect, the shipments would be left on the quayside and 'quay charges' would be payable. She remembers Mr Buggy and Mr Curry who were drivers, and the Minihans from Clondalkin who were haulage contractors. When she resigned, she says that she missed the companionship of her work colleagues.

Track 6: Tony further recalls the warning made by Dr Cusack in 1977. There had been a strike in the previous year he says. After the paper mills closed in 1981, Tony and John Geraghty, both engineering foremen, with engineer Bruce Shaha, re-joined the paper mills under Canadian ownership. Tony recalls the closure of the mills in 1987 and describes how this came about, and he discusses the many closures of Clondalkin Paper Mills during its history. Under the Canadian ownership, the mills was renamed Leinster Paper Mills, a name which had earlier been used. He recalls Seamus Rowntree, an Irish company director of this new company, who was connected to the Rowntree chocolate firm and, in Tony's opinion, had probably interested the Canadians in Clondalkin.

Track 7: Tony considers that the opening of the pulp mills was one of the errors made in the history of the Clondalkin Paper Mills. He talks about the Fianna Fáil policy of the 1930s, relating to reafforestation, and says that the pulp mills was built in the 1960s with a view to processing the timber. The various methods of making pulp are described, and he explains that the groundwood method was used at Clondalkin, producing a very fine pulp, though this did not make good paper. He remembers the construction of the large plant by two Swedes, and the poor opinion of Irish timber held by a Swedish man. The quality of the timber is related to the time of maturation, Tony explains. The groundwood method was replaced with an American machine that shredded the timber, though Tommy Keogh remarks that this American machine used too much electricity. Tony recalls the huge consumption of energy and the system of turbines involved. He describes the cylinders in the paper machines: the Fourdrinier and the machine-glazed (MG) machines. At one time, a cylinder was replaced, and Tony was sent to England to bring it back for installation. The old cylinder had to be sold at a low price to a scrap merchant, as it was too large to be transported in one piece for break up. The new cylinder was 85 tons in weight, and Tony describes the police escort which accompanied the low-loader truck from the foundry in Lancashire to the port in Liverpool, and the logistics involved in the route planning and transport. The pumps on the paper-

making machines are recalled, and Tony explains that though he had been constantly repairing the pumps, they were replaced by Bruce Shaha. He remembers that every time the groundwood plant was started up in the early days, the ESB would have to be informed so that the network would not be closed down. Tony remembers the busy time the fitters and engineers had during the first fortnight in August, maintaining the machinery. Other than then, the machines ran for a week or weeks on end. Tony reflects on the fact that he was better paid as a fitter than as a foreman, as the fitters received overtime but the foremen did not. He remembers dealing with the engineers out of hours and the difficulties of getting them to come in. He explains that the foremen fitters grouped together and decided to join the Draughtsmans and Technicians Association (DATA). He tells an anecdote about meeting a union representative, and the demands for pay for Saturday and Sunday work and call ins. He recalls his uncle Philip who was killed at the Battle of the Marne during WWI, and the family story which described the fact that his older uncle, Tommy, had found his brother's body.

CPM Engineering Group at Retirement Party for Bill Brant - circa late 60's
Back: L/R Tony Reynolds, Jim Pluck, Tom Mc Govern, Brendan Glennon, Warren Pentz.
Jack Lynch, Jim Wilkinson, Barney Fitzpatrick, Terry O'Neill,
Front:Bill Brant,Sean Carroll,John Geraghty, Doctor Cusack,Hugh Hurrell, John Campion.
Photo Courtesy Tony Reynolds.

Name: Vera Crofton and Jean Byrnes (née Reilly)

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 30
Interview location: Saggart, Co. Dublin
Subject: Working at Swiftbrook Paper Mills
Date: 2014
Length: 45:15

Track 1: Jean Byrnes begins by talking about the great times she had going places and meeting people with her brother, singer Paddy Reilly, and she recalls Mick McCarthy (of *The Kerryman*) giving him a start in the Embankment public house. Vera Crofton is from Saggart and on her return from Birmingham she started work in Saggart Paper Mills in 1956. She was a general worker on the factory floor, tidying up the area and collecting waste paper for recyling. Jean comes from Rathcoole village, and she explains that her father, Jack Reilly, and her mother, Nellie Whelan, both worked in Swiftbrook paper mills. She recalls her grandmother Jane, a milliner who lived in Fortunestown Lane, and her visits to Saggart to visit. Her parents' musical parties when her uncle Owen Reilly came home from England for a visit are also recalled. The familial relationship between Vera and Jean is explained, and Jean recalls the row of houses in Rathcoole where she was brought up.

Track 2: Jean talks about her father, Jack Reilly, being on the run during the Civil War with Jimmy Butler and John Tyndall, and explains that her father used to tell the family his stories of those times. The split between the brothers during the war is described, and Jean remembers hearing about the family history while hiding under the kitchen table. The effect of politics on Jack's ability to get work, because of his IRA connection, is also described. Vera's grandfather, Joseph Walsh, had been a British soldier who was wounded during WWI, but she says there was no animosity between him and Jack Reilly. She recalls Joe talking about the trenches and Jack's running from the Black and Tans.

Track 3: After school Jean first worked at the Glen Abbey clothing factory and later she worked at Swiftbrook until the early 1960s, when she married. She recalls a great atmosphere in the workplace, and Vera tells an anecdote about trying to listen to Ella Fitzgerald on the radio at work. Jean remembers having to pay to hear music at the Glen Abbey factory, and she remarks that they were very young when working at Swiftbrook and it seemed like great fun, but it was hard work with heavy loads to lift and with long hours. The Swiftbrook weekly 'hops' were organised by Jack Reilly, Jimmy Butler and Mr McDermott in the pavilion, initially using old 78 rpm records before bands were later introduced. Vera recalls bands such as Ralph Sylvester and Jimmy Dunny. Though there was no piped music at Swiftbrook, all the workers would be singing songs from films and popular music. The working hours were 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. with an hour for lunch. Jean remarks that for a long time, Newcastle people did not work in Swiftbrook as it was felt that a Saggart clique was employed there, though later on plenty of Newcastle people were also employed at the facility. The good money paid by Swiftbrook is recalled.

Track 4: Jean remembers that before her marriage she spent her earnings on clothes. The quality of the Swiftbrook paper is recalled, and Vera remarks that Swiftbrook was located at the start of the flow of the River Camac, while Clondalkin was located further down the river. The refurbishment of the old section of the mills is underway and Vera discusses this. Jean talks about her brother Pat who was working in Swiftbrook as a cutter, and his decision to go to America and follow his singing career full-time. She recalls the saying of the rosary in the mills and the collection for a statue in the Marian Year of 1954. Vera remembers Jack

Reilly's devotion to the rosary and how she and her friends would try to leave work before the prayers would start. In conclusion, Jean and Vera recall some stories about Jack and the mills workers.

Name: Brendan Callaghan

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 31
Interview location: Clondalkin, Co. Dublin
Subject: A Turbine Operator at the mills
Date: 2014
Length: 53:38

Track 1: Brendan Callaghan's father, Thomas Callaghan, worked at the old Clondalkin paper mills as a greaser, and later served with the Army Corps of Engineers at Baldonnell before being transferred to Islandbridge. Brendan explains that Thomas was involved in the War of Independence and the Civil War, taking the side of Michael Collins. Brendan initially attended school at the convent in Clondalkin, followed by his schooling at the monastery. Mr Ryan was the headmaster at that point, he says, and an unpleasant teacher, Jack Hassett, is recalled. It was a two-room school with three teachers, he explains. Brendan played football for the Round Towers on the team with Carl Welsh and Harry O'Brien with Oliver Larkin in goal, and the great support they received from the locals is remembered.

Track 2: Brendan started work with farmers, digging potatoes and making hay. He recalls the bombing of Dublin by German fighter planes and the prisoners interned at Glencree, and says that internees were also held at Newbridge. During the war, he was a member of the Local Defence Force along with his two brothers. His commanding officer was Joe Keogh and Brendan remarks that the Irish Army put them on exercises at the monastery. An occasion when the group went on manoeuvres at Newcastle is also recalled.

Brendan Callaghan (seated) and Joe Donaghy (Stores Manager) checking readings in the Turbine House, early 1960s.

Track 3: In 1946 he began work at Clondalkin Paper Mills where he worked as a turbine operator and he describes his work at that time. The turbines were used to generate electricity for the boilers which produced steam to dry the paper. He recalls Hugh Hurrel, his shift foremen. Brendan was living at No 1, St Brigid's Cottages on the Naas Road at this time, and

he says that he cycled everywhere. There was little road traffic in those days, though there were private buses, and Brendan recalls some accidents on the road. His mother was Julia Mooney from Robin Hood, and she reared ten children with no electricity in the house, just gas and paraffin oil lamps. Brendan recalls the dry battery radios and the cinema, and he has fond memories of the cowboy movies and the audience interaction during films. The older women who wore shawls would get a bus to Inchicore and a tram into the city centre to Thomas Street. He remembers people talking of the elderly being put into St James' Hospital, nicknamed 'the Spike'. He also remembers the food during the war, mentioning Shell cocoa and buying loose tea and fish at Thomas Street. Brendan worked at the paper mills for about 36 years, and he explains that he started work with the fitters on the night shift. He remembers the heat in the workplace, and he talks about disentangling the paper from the hood over the cylinder. The men took great pride in their work, he says, and he talks about the introduction of electricity to Clondalkin and the excitement this engendered, though there were also many blackouts. Before the advent of television, Brendan used to listen at a neighbour's window to the GAA matches on the radio and to music on Radio Luxembourg. The Callaghan genealogy is discussed, including the Fagan family from Kildare, and he remembers his grandmother Fagan who was good to him. Most of his own siblings emigrated to England, he explains. He recalls his young days playing soccer for Camac Celtic and Gaelic football for the Round Towers, and while examining old photographs, he names some of the players on his team. He also remarks on some photographs taken in the turbine room at the paper mills.

Name: Carl Welsh

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 32
Interview location: Lurgan, Co. Antrim
Subject: A life in paper-making
Date: 2014
Length: 45:39

Track 1: Carl Welsh joined Clondalkin Paper Mills in about 1946, and he explains that he grew up in Clondalkin where his father Jack was foreman in the bag factory in the mills. The manager at that time was Mr Dagnall, an Englishman. Carl's grandfather came from Limerick and was a friend of J. J. Walsh, one of the company directors of Clondalkin Paper Mills. Carl recalls the village of Clondalkin during his childhood, a lovely place with everyone knowing each other, he recalls. He played Gaelic football with the Round Towers and he remembers the Towers' field where they played and the great support of the village for their games. His father introduced Carl to Arthur Barrett at the paper mills, and he started there sweeping the floor. Later he moved to the pulping loft, the breakers, the beaters, the aftercutters and the reeler, and then to the paper-making machines. He remembers Dr Sherry, the chemist and Assistant Manager, as being very good with the young people, and he also remembers Dr Cusack, Manager at the time. The place was very busy in those days, and they would often work seven days a week. He remembers that the foreman was Hugh Hurrel from Larne, who lived in one of the mills houses on the Nangor Road, and also some Scottish men who had trained everybody from the beginning in the 1930s. He recalls the mills as being a good place to work, where everyone helped one another. He remembers Billy Quinlan from Celbridge who cycled in every day, arriving at 6 am. Carl's brother, Joe, also worked at the paper mills, serving his time as an electrician. Their sister, Mary, worked in the office as a typist before joining Aer Lingus. Carl also discusses the bag factory which manufactured cement sacks mainly.

Carl Welsh's family.

Track 2: Carl recalls his various jobs at the paper mills, and explains that his final position was that of machine man. He describes the various kinds of paper produced by the MG machine and the Fourdrinier. He remembers the pulp being made mainly of straw, cooked in a boiler for about eight hours. In about 1949, Carl went to England for a time, returning home to get married and then going to work for Durham Paper Mills in West Hartlepool, where he succeeded in getting a position as foreman in charge at the mills. He describes the Durham mills as old fashioned in comparison with Clondalkin. His wife Betty could not settle in England and the couple returned to Ireland, where Carl worked at Killeen Paper Mills for Mr Mumford, an Englishman. He tells an anecdote about being headhunted for a position in Northern Ireland at Lurgan Box Making Company (now Boxmore). A house was provided with this job, and Carl says that he has not a single regret about their move there. He recalls that even though they were the only Southern Catholics in the area, they never experienced any difficulty. He recalls working for his boss, Dermot Best, and the other workers there, and says that the company still exists although now taken over by an American business.

Track 3: The camaraderie amongst the workforce at Clondalkin is remembered, and Carl explains that the company in Lurgan purchased a lot of pulp from Clondalkin to make egg boxes and such products. He remembers Seán Carroll very well, saying that he learned the most from him. Seán worked his way up to senior foreman and then became foreman manager. Carl recalls the fights he had with Seán on the factory floor, and he remembers him as the mainstay of what he himself achieved in his own career. The working conditions of the late 1940s are considered, and Carl explains that work did not stop for breaks and that the men worked together even if they were on different machines. The employees mainly walked to work as they lived locally, and Carl describes a photograph of the paper mills in its location in the centre of the village. His family lived between Main Street and the Boot Road, and he lists out the various shops and public houses in the village at the time. A trip to Dublin city centre was a special occasion, as it was seven miles away. He remembers the Camac soccer team and the Round Towers Gaelic football club, but he says no hurling or rugby was played locally. He remarks that Clondalkin is now a town, and tells an anecdote about an incident that occurred years ago on the bus from St Michael's CBS in Inchicore. He later attended the O'Connell secondary school in the city centre. He remembers one year when he had just three Sundays off from work, but he considers that the hard work paid off. He met his wife, Betty Lynch, while playing tennis at the Garda Club in Rathfarnham and he relates the story of their meeting.

Name: Donal Casey

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 33
Interview location: Dublin city
Subject: The science of paper-making
Date: 2014
Length: 36:24

Track 1: Scientist Donal Casey begins by explaining the reason why he and his family now live in Donegal. He talks about organising the laboratory as executive chemist in Donegal County Council, his promotion before retirement in the early 1980s to senior executive chemist and his duties in this position. He recalls his youth as an only child in the family home in Nephin Road near the Phoenix Park. Prior to his work at Clondalkin Paper Mills his father had been involved with shipping, and his position as shipping manager at the mills is described. Donal recalls his father speaking on the telephone to customers abroad, and he remembers his excitement at the introduction of telex. Donal attended university and graduated with a degree in science, and in 1970 he joined the paper mills as a junior scientist, with responsibility for environmental monitoring. He explains that there was a new emphasis on treating the discharge from the mills, and he recalls that the Water Pollution Act did not come into force until 1977. He discusses the introduction of flocculants in the settlement tanks to improve the clarity of the water. He considers that the paper mills was highly developed in technological terms and he was learning how to treat water and waste, which was to be very helpful in his later career. He remembers his colleagues, including Catherine Murphy from Cork who was his boss, Eugene McKiernan, the mills manager, and his mentor, Dr Sherry who was also a chemist, recalled as an enormously talented man whom he greatly admired.

Track 2: Donal talks about the attempt to control the discharge into the River Camac, and he recalls complaints from the Fishery Board. In his work he became more concerned in process control, looking over the internal treatment in each of the paper machines which involved recycling fibre from the paper-making process. He explains this process, the draining off of the water and the retrieval of fibre. He feels that engineer Dr Cusack and chemist Dr Sherry were ahead of their time. He discusses the science of paper-making and recalls Sean Carroll and his ability to hear how a paper machine was working. Donal remained with the paper mills until it closed in 1981. The recession of the 1980s is recalled and he considers himself fortunate to have had a degree as at this time, he was newly married and had a young child. The price of paper in those days and the competition from abroad is recalled.

Track 3: Some photographs dating from his father's time at the paper mills are discussed by Donal, who explains that his uncle Godfrey also worked at the mills in the time and motion section. Donal surmises on the possible reason why his father left his employment with B. & I. Shipping during WWII. After the mills closed, Donal worked initially with a paper converters in Dublin, and later with Dublin Corporation laboratory in the environmental management area on a rolling temporary contract for five years. In 1988, he interviewed for a permanent post and was successful in obtaining a position with Donegal County Council. He recalls that there were checkpoints on the road to Donegal at that time and the difficulties, as his mother was concerned about him and his family moving there. He was the first chemist appointed to the Council and he set up the laboratory there. Because of his chemical knowledge, he was asked to advise the security forces on the best environmental disposal of a fertiliser bomb. In the early 1990s he and his colleagues became involved with a cross-border

environmental management initiative, and through this he worked with scientists in the Northern Ireland service over the following years. He talks about the effects of the peace process and the difference this has made to life there compared to that lived in the 1970s. The work which he and his counterparts did, the European funding achieved and the skills required to apply for this funding are recalled. The question of whether the paper mills would have survived much longer is considered and although there were highly skilled people involved, globalisation is having a huge effect on manufacturers. He remembers the large synthetic fibre plant and the Fruit of the Loom textile company, both in Donegal, which moved to other parts of the world. In conclusion, he recalls the camaraderie which existed between the workers at Clondalkin Paper Mills.

Name: John Kilduff

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 34
Interview location: Clane, Co. Meath
Subject: From quality control to sales
Date: 2014
Length: 52:30

Track 1: John Kilduff is one of a family of seven from Sligo, and he attended UCD where he studied science. On graduation, he sought out a prospective employer which would provide a business training, and he joined Wiggins Teape in England and attended their project leader training course. His job was to carry out research and development on new products, for example magnetic coated paper used in the London Underground. In 1972 and early 1973, the IRA were active in England and John became concerned about an anti-Irish backlash, particularly as he had a young family. He successfully applied to Clondalkin Paper Mills where he initially worked in quality control management. He recalls the atmosphere at the paper mills at the time and explains that the Clondalkin Group was the seventh largest company in Ireland. In his position, he was answerable to Eugene McKiernan, the mills manager, whom he describes as being very supportive. Fortunately, he worked during the transition period with Ross Jameson, the outgoing quality control manager. John remembers many meetings also with Dr Bert Cusack, and his approach to quality product is considered.

Track 2: The role of the paper mills within the Clondalkin Group during the 1970s is remembered, and John recalls a decision made to focus on a particular direction at a meeting called by Joe Dolan, MD of the paper mills. John presented a more technical approach to the market which would utilise the very good technical skills available in the mills. He was offered the position of Sales Manager and was convinced by Joe to take up the sales role with appropriate training. John then became responsible for servicing every customer through the sales force, the majority of whom were based in Ireland. However, the larger opportunities were in the UK and John moved there in 1978 to build up the market. He recalls that Clondalkin Paper Mills had the ability to produce a range of technical papers, such as glazed imitation parchment used to wrap Wilkinson Sword shaving blades, envelopes, publishing papers and so on, and he explains the difference between printing papers and technical paper. The paper was sold to paper converters such as Smith Brothers in Whitehaven who sold on the processed product to businesses for purposes such as wrapping. John tells an anecdote about a meeting with Smith Brothers when he was seeking a 10% increase, but the customer offered 12%!

Track 3: Clondalkin Paper Mills manufactured paper and also sold it as a merchant, so the other paper merchants were competitors and customers, John explains. Swiftbrook Paper was then formed as a company to act as a paper merchant with the Clondalkin Paper Mills remaining as a manufacturer. Staff from the sales department were transferred to Swiftbrook Ltd and this company still runs today. In 1979 John recalls that he was contacted by Henry Lund, the new Managing Director of the Clondalkin Group, to meet with Brian Molloy, Managing Director of the paper mills, and he was promoted to Sales Director of the paper mills which marked his return home. He remembers much discussion and negotiation between the workforce, the trade unions and management, and he considers that the main issue was the right of management to manage. He recalls the day in November 1981 when Henry Lund called a management meeting at which the announcement was made. On that day, Dr Bert Cusack joined the meeting and his sense of surprise was obvious to John. The

liquidator requested that John and the sales team stay on so that an orderly sale of the stock and materials could be conducted. This period lasted from about December 1981 to April 1982. In his opinion, the sales team achieved about 70% of the full price which exceeded the liquidator's expectations. After the closure, John worked for some paper companies in the Irish market and also for a Spanish company. Then he was approached by Seamus Rowntree to consider working with a Canadian firm who were forming a new company to run Clondalkin paper mills. John met with Jim McCormack and Jack Freedman in Canada and their financial backer, and he explains that Jim McCormack was known to Dick Spring through both mens' wives. The new workforce signed up to an agreement negotiated by John and others with the trade unions.

Track 4: John was appointed Managing Director of the new paper mills and he explains that the first step was to work on paper conversion, in about 1984 for about nine months, in order to prove that the management, trade unions and workers could operate together. The resultant success triggered the release of government funds to renovate the factory. Machine No. 3 had been sold off but two machines remained and these were fully refurbished to standard. Paper-making was resumed at Clondalkin in 1985 or 1986, with a good deal in cheap energy. John discusses his belief in the trustworthiness of the workforce and the trade unions, particularly after all the negotiations which had taken place. Once the paper- making had started, huge increases in working capital would be quickly required, so bank facilities were set up. John describes what occurred when the banks discovered that the new Canadian owners had not invested greatly, and that the Canadian company was not as substantial as the banks had initially thought. Following further checks, the banks withdrew their support. John recalls that up to that point, the paper manufacturing was in a good state and, as he explains, because he was an employee of the company he had no ability to save the business. He remembers that the appointed receiver did try to sell the business as a going concern and he was asked to assist with this. He explains that he met with five different operations and some financial companies but that there were three companies which were serious about making a deal. A possible deal fell through due to the risky level of operation in a small company in a small country. After this, John worked for two years for a Canadian paper manufacturing company, later he worked in sales training and later still he ran a training and development operation for people with disabilities.

Name: Michael Honan

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 35
Interview location: Ballina, Co. Mayo
Subject: A life in management
Date: 2014
Length: 42:49

Track 1: Corkman Michael Honan explains his journey from there to Dublin and his career with Clondalkin Paper Mills as an engineer, Personnel Director and Executive Director, until its closure in 1981. He also discusses working in Killala, Co. Mayo, with the Japanese Asahi company. Following millions in losses over four years, the facility was on the verge of closure. The government of the day had wanted to send in Turlough O'Sullivan of the FUE (Federated Union of Employers) to restructure the business, and in order to help with this, Henry Lund of the Clondalkin Group was requested to release Michael Honan. After the initial year Michael successfully turned around the business and remained with it until its closure in 1998. He recalls starting out as an electrical engineer with the paper mills in 1967, and explains that he became very active in the Irish Engineering and Electrical Trade Union (IEETU) and was chairman of the joint strike committee, representing three unions, during national strike action from January to March 1969. Dr Cusack at the time was chairman of the FUE and Michael recalls that Dr Cusack did not hold a grudge and, in fact, promoted Michael within the electrical department and later to electrical planning manager. Michael's appearance with Dr Cusack and Dan Macauley on the political television programme, *Seven Days*, is recalled, and also recalled is the cause of the 1969 national strike and the success the unions achieved. The poor industrial relations atmosphere at the paper mills during Michael's time is remembered, and he also explains that in Dr Cusack's time, tariff barriers ensured that there was no competition. Applications to import paper had to be made to the Paper Mills Association, which blocked competition by imposing heavy levels of government duties. As Michael explains, Henry Lund inherited a business which was run in an environment of heavy losses to competition, was highly inefficient and which produced bad quality paper relative to imports. Dr Cusack retired at a point when the pulp and paper mills were losing money at a great rate. Michael recalls the history of the Clondalkin Group from about 1970 onwards, including the purchase of other businesses. Over 2,000 were employed, but unfortunately, the paper mills was a drag on the whole operation. Clondalkin Group survived after the closure of the paper mills. Michael describes his career options in the early 1980s but he was then recommended by the FUE to turn around the Asahi manufacturing plant at Killala. The closure of the paper mills is recalled as is the role of liquidator Bernard Somers in the members' voluntary liquidation. The rationalisation report compiled by Bill Scott is recalled, as also is the resistance of the employees' action committee to any change.

Track 2: Michael discusses further the belief amongst the trade unions that the government of the day would not allow the paper mills to close – a belief which he feels led to intransigence. He explains that much of his working life was devoted to the paper mills. He set up the sports and social club with Liam Stone, Gerry Courtney and others in the mid 1970s, which included 'The Gluepot' bar, a football pitch on the Nangor Road and the organisation of an annual dinner dance. He is proud of this achievement and also of the fact that he was appointed an executive director of the company. He says that the team he worked on with Henry Lund and Brian Molloy was the best on which he had ever worked. By the time the Canadians took over the paper mills he was very much involved with saving the Asahi plant.

He recalls what he heard at the time and mentions John Kilduff who was appointed General Manager of the new paper mills.

Track 3: The five executive directors during Michael's time are named: Brian Molloy was Managing Director, Michael was Personnel Director, John Kilduff was Sales Director, Bill Scott was Production Director and Jim Daly was Financial Controller. Michael explains that they have remained friends, and he recalls that those times were difficult and the five executive directors had to stand firm. They received some 'unsavoury threats' and for this reason a Special Branch Garda was stationed outside his home. He believes that his health suffered due to his work at Clondalkin Paper Mill and Asahi, and he received a quintuple bypass in 2007. He recalls his work at Asahi and the agreement he made with the president of Asahi Chemical Industry Company of Japan before he began work. He explains that his approach was to act in a straight-forward manner until the intransigence throughout the plant was sorted out. The Japanese company was initially attracted by the cheap site, copious quantities of water and the outfall into Killala Bay. However, cultural differences soon became apparent. Michael explains that he came under a lot of pressure from his family when the move to Mayo was announced, but the family eventually settled in. Arising from his work with Asahi, Michael was given government appointments and he still represents Asahi's interests in Ireland.

Name: Tim O'Brien

Series: Clondalkin Paper Mills Collection, 36
Interview location: Clondalkin, Co. Dublin
Subject: The Purchasing Department at the mills
Date: 2014
Length: 36:59

Track 1: Tim O'Brien outlines his family's history in relation to the Post Office in Clondalkin which stretches back to the period before the Great Famine. He recalls his early memories of helping out in the post office, particularly at Christmas time, and he explains that his grandmother, Josephine Whitty, was the retired Postmistress during his childhood and that her husband, James, had been the time keeper at the paper mills. Tim's aunt, Jo Whitty, and her sister were the last of the family to run the post office, and Tim remembers the ending of the family connection and the subsequent takeover by another business. His father, Brendan O'Brien from Fermoy, Co. Cork, moved with his family to Donnybrook, and Brendan worked for the Irish Insurance Company, collecting premia door-to-door in Clondalkin and the surrounding areas.

Track 2: Tim's mother, Dymphna, worked in the paper mills before her marriage, and to Tim's knowledge she was doing secretarial work and was possibly secretary to the Company Secretary. Tim joined the mills in late 1970, starting off in the Purchasing Office under John Campion, the Purchasing Manager, and he remained in this section until the Spring of 1977. His colleagues included Ollie Gleeson, John Sheehan, Liam Leonard and Jerry McDonnell. Their job was to source the raw materials for manufacturing and machinery spares, working very closely with the Stores Department. Tim details some of the work carried out, which he remembers as being very interesting. Much of the machinery spare parts and chemicals had to be imported from the UK and the Continent, so he was involved with currency exchange and customs declarations. He recalls the other large employers in Clondalkin, businesses such as Clondalkin Concrete and Weatherwell tile factory. This meant that the village had three exporting factories operating. He remembers that at one stage the mills was exporting wood pulp to Scandinavia. The pulp was produced at a Bauer plant set up in the early 1970s which produced very high quality pulp, but the 1970s oil crisis affected the cost. He believes that the plant was dismantled and shipped back to the USA.

Track 3: Tim describes his daily work in some detail. The office was always very busy with incoming post and the arrival of phone calls and telexes, and he recalls the time management required to align available machinery spare parts and time down on the machines to allow the engineers to maintain them. Much of the day would be spent liaising with engineers such as Barnty Fitzpatrick, Johnny Campbell, Brendan Halford, Terry O'Neill and Ger Rahilly. A lot of contact was maintained between Stores and Purchasing Departments, and Tim discusses the purchasing process and the experience and judgment used by his department. During his time at the mills, he studied courses at the Irish Institute of Purchasing and Materials Management, which he says were very good. He reflects on the fact that buying at the right price can directly affect the business's profit line, and he discusses the changes which have occurred over time, particularly in relation to customs clearances. The paper mills employed customs agents with expertise in the details of custom and excise duties. Import licences were also required, he explains.

Track 4: He recalls the state of the paper mills in 1977 when he resigned, and he explains the reasons why he left. He was offered a position as Purchasing Manager with Windsor Stationery in Bluebell. He could see that his colleagues who left the mills were not being

replaced, resulting in more work for those who remained. In his opinion, at that time, work which had previously been routine was not being done until the situation became critical, and he gives an example relating to licences which had to be applied for from the Department of Industry and Commerce in order to import certain materials. If these were not applied for, a shipment would not clear customs at Dublin docks. He recalls the effect of strikes on the local economy, such as on his father's insurance business. Tim met his wife, Cora Cantwell from Walkinstown, when she became a secretary in the Purchasing Department in about 1974. He recalls that at the time Clondalkin was still surrounded by fields. Having left the stationery company, Tim became Purchasing Manager for the Gowan Group, working in the motor trade, and he remained in this business for 31 years until he was made redundant five years ago.

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