Retrospect 2021

Journal of the

Irish History Students' Association

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Introduction

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The Irish History Students' Association (IHSA) annual conference in 2021 was unique within the organisation's history. The restrictions that the Covid-19 pandemic imposed, forced the Organising Committee at the Department of History, Maynooth University, to change the traditional format of this conference to a virtual setting. Conscious that the annual IHSA conference has remained, since 1950, an integral milestone in the organisation's calendar, the Committee was eager to uphold – despite the barriers to intra-personal contact and travel this year – the commitment to dialogue between early-career researchers. This was achieved, and more: the move to a virtual conference allowed the organisation to extend its reach across geographic borders, welcoming an international audience of early-career researchers, academics, professionals, diplomats, politicians, and a broad audience of those with a love of history. It was our great pleasure to welcome speakers from fifteen universities across the island of Ireland, England, and the United States of America each of whom provided an intriguing insight into their respective research area. We would like to thank them for their part in making this conference a well-rounded and fruitful event.

The benefits that can be extrapolated from virtual events can – we hope – provide lessons or guidance for future conference organisers. While we, like many others, are looking forward to a return to in-person conferences soon, there is now an appreciation for the potential of hybridised gatherings employing a blended approach where remote and in-person presentations are integrated into one cohesive event. Such a development might very well allow the IHSA to

expand its ability to facilitate discussion amongst history students and move the organisation's annual conference from a national to an international platform.

For providing such valuable insights to the learning opportunities that this forum presents to students, the Organising Committee is grateful to Darragh Gannon, Ann-Marie O'Brien, David Spreen and Hannah Murphy, all of whom splendidly regaled our delegates with stories of the trials and tribulations of their early academic careers. The thought-provoking discussion that ensued was a realistic and beneficial introduction into the challenges that we all face on the road towards an academic career. Broadening horizons was the overarching theme of the 2021 IHSA conference and, as such, the organisers sought to underscore the opportunities that a history degree provides outside of academia. With this in mind, we were honoured to be joined by three senior members of the Irish diplomatic service, each of whom eloquently described how their study of history has furthered their professional careers: Síle Maguire, Daniel Mulhall and Tim O'Connor all spoke in praise of the invaluable tools they acquired as students of the discipline and their applicability in meeting the various demands of a diplomatic career. Their time and effort and wonderful insights delivered with such good-humour were most appreciated.

It would be remiss of us not to acknowledge the postgraduate students and staff of the Department of History at Maynooth University who generously offered their time, good-will and invaluable words of wisdom in helping to make this year's conference a success. We are most indebted to the National Committee of the IHSA for granting us the opportunity to host this year's event at Maynooth University and for their support throughout the preparations and on the day. We would also like to express our thanks to Suzanne Redmond Maloco and Fiona Morley from Maynooth University library along with the peer reviewers for their help in the

release of this edition of *Retrospect*. Lastly, we are especially grateful to the authors who have contributed to this edition.

The collection of essays that follows represents the diverse range of themes and topics presented at this year's conference. All panels showcased the excellence of ongoing academic research, demonstrating unequivocally that the future of Irish historical study is in good hands. While we unfortunately cannot include all the papers within this journal, the following selection reflects the high standard of the conference proceedings and highlights some of the most promising research that we can look forward to in the near future.

Jim Deery employs an empirically based methodology to elucidate broader trends in Britain's relationship with Ireland during the Napoleonic Wars. He demonstrates the prevalence of military service in Ireland, and, by providing a socio-economic background of the Irish who served in the British Army from 1808-15, furthers our understandings of the impact of the Napoleonic Wars on the island.

Fiona Lyons examines two speeches given by Douglas Hyde – Irish language scholar and first President of Ireland – in the late nineteenth century. Comparing his earlier, and lesser known, 1891 New York address to his more renowned 1892 lecture in Dublin on the de-anglicisation of Ireland, Lyons argues that the former served as an 'intellectual stepping stone' in shaping the latter. She, therefore, emphasises the importance of transatlantic connections in the development of the Irish language revival movement.

Conor Murphy, in recognition of the seventieth anniversary of the Mother and Child Scheme, critically analyses the place this legislation has held in scholarship thus far. Honing in on some

of the prominent political and ecclesiastical figures involved in the controversy, Murphy provides an expansive account of this much debated area in modern Irish history.

Jane O'Brien's contribution focuses on the initial experiences of children upon their arrival at Irish industrial schools run by the Sisters of Mercy from 1869 to 1910, vividly describing the emotional toll that entry to these institutions had on new arrivals. Exploring the daily routines and common practises of the institutions (activities such as bathing and re-clothing of children), O'Brien suggests that these were seen by society as part of needed wider moral and physical transformations.

Sarah O'Hagan traces the high rates of employment among women in Derry/Londonderry during the nineteenth century, arguing that economic independence, and the social mobility that such self-reliance provided, led women to postpone marriage. O'Hagan also examines the impact of employment patterns in industrial Derry/Londonderry on men's sense of masculinity. Analysing the concept of masculinity as a fluid social construct, O'Hagan explores how perceptions of manliness reveal broader narratives about society and, further, how unemployment caused young men to seek alternative avenues outside the workforce in efforts to acquire a sense of self-identity.

It is to be hoped that, cumulatively, these essays inform on a variety of topics, highlight the richness of primary sources available for their study, illustrate the enduring strength of history as a third level discipline, and emphasise its continued relevance to our understanding of the present.

Wellington's Irish -
a socio-economic study of Irish enlisted men in the British Army, 1808-15

Jim Deery
Maynooth University

The preliminary findings presented in this article form part of an empirically based quantitative analysis of Irish society's response to recruitment to the regular British Army during the period 1808-15 of the Napoleonic Wars. While other research has examined Irish recruitment to the British Army during the period 1793-1815, these have been limited to Irish regiments only, or a small number of British regiments.[1] The database underpinning this research contains the details of Irish soldiers who served across fifty-two regular British Army regiments and will represent the largest quantitative analysis of Irish recruitment to the British Army during the period to date. This analysis, when completed, will address a gap in the historiography of Irish society and its relationship with the British State during this important period in Irish history. This article will demonstrate that the extent of military service across Irish society during this period was more widespread than previously understood. Ireland, with a population of four million, was a valuable manpower source for the British Army throughout the Napoleonic Wars.[2] While universal conscription was not introduced, the cumulative effect of the various recruitment measures resulted in a substantial proportion of Irish men of military age enlisted into the British Armed Forces (regular army, militia, yeomanry and Royal Navy).

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[1] Nicholas Dunne-Lynch, 'The Irish in Wellington's peninsular army – a debt neither acknowledged nor repaid' in Enrique García Hernán and María del Carmen Lario de Oñate (eds), *The Irish presence at the Cortes of Cadiz – politics, religion and war* (Madrid, 2014), pp 327-62; Peter Molloy, 'Ireland and the Waterloo campaign of 1815' (MA thesis, N.U.I., Maynooth, 2011), p. 26; Jim Deery, 'The contribution of the Irish soldier to Wellington's peninsular army, 1808-1814' in *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, vol. 98, no. 394 (Autumn, 2020), pp 239-62,

[2] Kevin Linch, *Britain and Wellington's army – recruitment, society and tradition, 1807-1815* (Basingstoke, 2011), p. 68.

In 1805 the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Liverpool, calculated that one in five males were serving in the Armed Forces across Great Britain and Ireland.[3] This article will initially present a geographical analysis of the place of birth of Irish enlisted men, demonstrating that every province, county and parish provided men to the regular British Army. The article will then provide an analysis of the former occupations of Irish enlisted men to identify the various socio-economic classes of Irish society impacted by the manpower requirements of the British Army. Finally, Irish women and children, who are not generally associated with service in the British Army, are also considered. Military records provide data in relation to the families of Irish enlisted men and can be analysed to understand their experiences within the British Army. The article will conclude that while existing research has primarily considered the impact of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815) on Ireland from the perspective of events such as the 1798 Rebellion and the Act of Union (1801), other changes occurred within Irish society as a result of the extent of military service in the British Army. [4]

A demographical database of Irish enlisted men was designed and constructed to provide empirical evidence to underpin this research. Enlisted men are defined as soldiers who held the rank of private or non-commissioned officer (corporal, sergeant, quarter master sergeant or sergeant major). While Irish born officers form part of the wider research, they are outside the scope of this article. The Irish militia and yeomanry have been the subject of other studies and do not form part of this research.[5] Artillery units have also been omitted from this article, as

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[3] K. J. Bartlett, 'The development of the British army during the wars with France, 1793-1815' (PhD thesis, Durham University, 1997), p. 107.

[4] Thomas Bartlett, 'Ireland during the Revolutionary and the Napoleonic wars, 1791-1815' in James Kelly (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Ireland* (3rd ed., Cambridge, 2018), pp 74-101; Thomas Bartlett, 'An end to moral economy: the Irish militia disturbances of 1793' in *Past and Present*, vol. 99 (1983), pp 41-64.

[5] Allan Blackstock, *An ascendancy army – the Irish yeomanry 1796-1834* (Dublin, 1998); Henry McAnally, *The Irish militia 1793-1816, a social and military study* (Dublin, 1949); Ivan Nelson, *The Irish militia 1798-1802: Ireland's forgotten army* (Dublin, 2007).

documentation related to these units are not digitised and it has not been possible to travel to archives in the United Kingdom due to Covid-19 restrictions during 2020 and 2021. The design and construction of the database adheres to the approach advocated by the Institute of Historical Research, University of London.[6] The primary source data was extracted from the fifty-two extant regimental description books of regular British Army cavalry and infantry regiments that served under the Duke of Wellington during the Peninsular (1808-14) and Waterloo (1815) campaigns: the two most strategically important campaigns for the British Army during the Napoleonic Wars.[7] While the database cannot provide analysis of changes in the pattern of Irish recruitment over time, due to the absence of a complete set of regimental description books, previous research by the author has focused on such patterns of Irish recruitment within specific regiments over shorter time periods.[8] Regimental description books contain a range of biographical and military service data for each enlisted man in the regiment such as age, height, place of birth, former occupation, rank, and reason for discharge. A random sample of every tenth Irish soldier was taken from each of the regimental description books. It is calculated that the database, when completed, will contain the details of approximately 6000 Irish enlisted men. Currently the details of 1300 men have been entered and statistically analysed to verify the robustness of the database (hereafter referred to as the Irish enlisted men's database). The preliminary findings selected for inclusion in this article are those that present strong empirical evidence of emerging geographical and socio-economic patterns of enlistment.

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[6] I am also indebted to Dr Georgina Laragy, Trinity College Dublin, for her advice and guidance in the design and construction of the database. Mark Merry, 'Designing databases for historical research' online at University of London School of Advanced Study (https://port.sas.ac.uk/mod/book/view.php?id=75) (17 Apr. 2020).

[7] Regimental description books (The National Archives, U.K. (T.N.A.), WO25/279 to WO25/541) (hereafter referred to as the Irish enlisted men's database).

[8] Deery, 'The contribution of the Irish soldier to Wellington's peninsular army', pp 256-60.

It is estimated that 150,000 Irish men served in the regular British Army during the wars with France, with recent research calculating that 28 percent of the regular British Army was Irish.[9] Kevin Linch states that on average 217 recruiting parties operated in Ireland at any one time and produced 'an average of 22 recruits per party per year'.[10] Analysis of the place of birth of the 1300 entries contained in the Irish enlisted men's database establishes that every province in Ireland provided men to the regular British Army (see Table 1).

Table 1: Irish enlisted men's province of birth versus population size

Source	Ulster	Leinster	Munster	Connaught	Total
Provincial place of birth as % of total Irish enlisted men – enlisted men's database	31.8	25.6	24.2	18.4	**100**
Provincial population as a % of total population - 1831 census	29.4	24.6	28.7	17.3	**100**

Source: Irish enlisted men's database; Brian Gurrin, 'Population and emigration, 1730-1845' in James Kelly (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Ireland* (3rd ed., Cambridge, 2018), p. 224.

Ulster had the highest level of recruitment at 32 percent, followed by Leinster 26 percent, Munster 24 percent, and Connaught the lowest at 18 percent.[11] Population density provides the most likely explanation for the disparity in recruitment numbers between provinces. The 1831 census figures have been used for provincial population sizes as these are generally accepted as the more accurate of the pre-Famine Irish censuses (1821, 1831 and 1841).[12] While the recruitment patterns for Ulster, Leinster and Connaught can be explained by the population sizes of these provinces, an anomaly arises with regard to Munster, however the variation of

[9] D.A. Chart, 'The Irish levies during the Great French War' in *English Historical Review*, vol. 32 (1917), pp 497-516 as quoted in Bartlett, 'Ireland during the Revolutionary and the Napoleonic wars', p. 76 and Linch, *Britain and Wellington's army*, p. 60.
[10] Linch, *Britain and Wellington's army*, p. 66.
[11] Irish enlisted men's database.
[12] Brian Gurrin, 'Population and emigration, 1730-1845' in James Kelly (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Ireland* (3rd ed., Cambridge, 2018), p. 224.

4.5 percent is not considered significant at this point of the research. Overall, Irish recruitment at a provincial level corresponds with the relative provincial population sizes.

Extending the geographical analysis of recruitment patterns to county level provides further evidence of the extent of military service across Irish society (see appendix 1). The five counties that provided the greatest numbers of men to the regular Army were: Cork (7.2 percent), Roscommon (6.9 percent), Dublin (5.7 percent), Limerick (5.5 percent), and Tyrone (5.2 percent).[13] A factor driving the number of enlistments in certain of these counties was the presence of the large urban centres of Cork, Dublin and Limerick cities.[14] The presence of a large urban centre was also found to have a positive impact on recruitment to both the regular Army and the volunteer corps in Great Britain.[15] When these urban centres are omitted from the analysis, the findings shift in favour of Roscommon (6.9 percent), Tyrone (5.1 percent), Armagh (5 percent), Derry (4.7 percent), and Tipperary (4.2 percent).[16] All of these counties, with the exception of Roscommon and Tipperary, are located in Ulster. The factors driving enlistments in these Ulster counties are mainly related to socio-economic factors, specifically the dislocation of the domestic weaving industry, discussed below.

While further research is required in the case of Roscommon, the high level of recruitment from counties Cork, Tipperary and Limerick may be explained by the occupation of men enlisted from these counties. Cork, and its immediate hinterland, experienced an economic

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[13] Irish enlisted men's database.

[14] The eight largest urban centres in Ireland during the Napoleonic Wars were determined using the 1841 census returns and defined as those cities and towns with a population of more than 10,000. These were Dublin, Limerick, Cork, Drogheda, Belfast, Galway, Kilkenny, and Waterford. Captain Larcom, 'Observations on the census of the population of Ireland in 1841' in *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, vol. 6, no. 4 (Dec. 1843), pp 323-51.

[15] Linch, *Britain and Wellington's army*, pp 65-8; Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, 2014), p. 299.

[16] Irish enlisted men's database.

boom during the wars with France.[17] The increase in the size of the British Army and the Royal Navy resulted in a corresponding increase in the demand for food supplies, such as beef and pork. Cork merchants and those involved in the livestock trade prospered. Bartlett estimates that cattle graziers' incomes increased by 1 to 2 percent annually over the course of the war.[18] However, as land use was switched to the more profitable livestock trade those who derived a living from tillage, particularly agricultural labourers, found themselves without an income. Most Munster men (55 percent) who enlisted in the regular Army were from the labouring class or those most affected by the change in land usage when the urban population of the cities of Cork and Limerick are excluded.[19]

In contrast, the five counties with the lowest recruitment levels were: Carlow (0.3 percent), Waterford (0.3 percent), Wexford (0.7 percent), Wicklow (1.2 percent), and Kilkenny (1.3 percent).[20] While none had urban centres, they are all located in the province of Leinster, with the exception of Waterford in Munster. Unlike Munster, there were increased levels of tillage in Leinster. This province also experienced an economic boom during the wars and competition within the regional labour market for agricultural labourers may have been higher than other regions of Ireland. Employment opportunities for these labourers, the most numerous occupation for Irish enlisted men (54 percent), may have been greater in this region accounting for the lower number of enlistments. Counties within Leinster also featured heavily in the 1798 United Irishmen Rebellion and this may have further contributed to a lower incidence of recruitment into the regular British Army.

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[17] Bartlett, 'Ireland during the Revolutionary and the Napoleonic wars', pp 77-8.
[18] Bartlett, 'Ireland during the Revolutionary and the Napoleonic wars', p. 77.
[19] Irish enlisted men's database.
[20] Ibid.

The regimental description books also record the parish or townland where each enlisted man was born. Parish based analysis has been conducted using the *OpenStreetMap* database, which lists 2508 civil parishes on its Irish Townlands website.[21] At a parish level, 861 or 34 percent of all Irish parishes are recorded in the enlisted men's database as having provided at least one man for service in the regular British Army (see appendix 2).[22] It is expected that a greater number of parishes will be represented when data-inputting is completed. This finding indicates the widespread nature of military service across the geographic landscape of Ireland. It should be noted that this finding does not include parishes or townlands which provided men for service in the militia or yeomanry. In Antrim, 17 out of 81 parishes are represented while in Cork, Ireland's largest county, 37 out of 248 parishes are featured in the database.[23] Similar patterns of recruitment at the parish level were evident across all counties in Ireland. While military service at a provincial and county level demonstrates the breadth of military service across Ireland, the preliminary finding that 34 percent of Irish parishes and townlands provided men for service in the regular Army indicates the widespread nature of recruitment across Irish society. The extent of such military service would have contributed to the communication of the positive and negative experiences of these Irishmen of life in the British Army across town, parish, and small community within Ireland. This finding underlies the need for further research into the impact of British Army service on Irish society and its relationship with the British State.

Certain parishes appear frequently within the database indicating that particular localities may have provided above average numbers of men to the regular British Army. This suggests that a tradition of enlistment to the regular British Army may have emerged within Irish society

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[21] Irish Townlands, (https://www.townlands.ie/) (1 June 2020).
[22] Irish enlisted men's database.
[23] Ibid.

during this period. Dublin city provided 78 percent of the county's enlisted men. Parishes such as St Catherine's, St Nicholas's, and St Michan's housed many of the city's poor, and provided many men for the regular Army. This pattern of military service among Dublin's poor continued throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century with one recent study concluding that the 'working class of Dublin were more rooted in the British Army than in republican ranks' during the period 1916-21.[24] Similar patterns are found in rural parishes. Within the nineteen square miles of Tullylish parish in County Down, seven men are listed in the database as having served in the regular Army: five with the 45th (Nottinghamshire) Foot, and one each in the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Foot and 28th (North Gloucestershire) Foot. In the 22.5 square miles of Elphin parish, County Roscommon, ten men enlisted in the 28th (North Gloucestershire) Foot, 88th (Connaught Rangers) Foot and 91st (Argyllshire Highlanders) Foot, while in the nearby town and surrounding area of Boyle a further eleven men served across seven regiments including the 23rd (Royal Welsh Fusiliers) Foot and the 71st (Highland) Foot.[25]

Furthermore, by the time certain men and boys enlisted, the war with France had been a continuous backdrop to their lives. Paul Higgins from Roscrea, County Tipperary enlisted in the 14th (Buckinghamshire) Foot in 1813.[26] He was two years old when Michael Riordan from the same parish enlisted in the 54th (West Norfolk) Foot in 1797.[27] Instances of military service from extended family members also appear in the database. Nine-year-old James Campbell from Enniskillen, County Fermanagh enlisted in 28th (North Gloucestershire) Foot in 1803 having followed an elder relative, John Campbell, from the same parish who enlisted in the

[24] R.S. Grayson, *Dublin's great wars – the First World War, the Easter Rising and the Irish Revolution* (Cambridge, 2018), p. 45.
[25] Irish enlisted men's database.
[26] Regimental description book 14th (Buckinghamshire) Foot, 1813-16, (T.N.A., WO25/ 340).
[27] Regimental description book 54th (West Norfolk) Foot, 1801-12, (T.N.A., WO25/ 320).

regiment in 1797.[28] Andrew Keeffe was thirty-nine years old when he enlisted with his sixteen-year-old son, Michael, in the 20th (East Devonshire) Foot on 6 May 1812. They were from Farahy parish in County Cork, and while Andrew was discharged in December 1812 there is no record of what happened to Michael.[29] In conclusion, the database provides evidence to suggest that a pattern of military service in the regular British Army may have begun to emerge at parish level and within extended families in Ireland that continued throughout the period 1793-1815. This finding is a starting point in appreciating how experiences of military service in the British Army were communicated by members of the community across various sections of Irish society.

Other patterns emerge when analysis shifts from geographical to socio-economic data contained in the database. These patterns assist in understanding what motivated Irishmen of military age to enlist when the impacts of the rebellions of 1798 and 1803 were evident in Irish society. The economic circumstances of potential recruits to the regular British Army during the period was one factor in their decision to enlist. Unlike France and other continental powers, Great Britain did not introduce universal conscription, but instead relied on voluntary enlistment. A financial incentive in the form of a 'bounty' was payable to every man or boy who enlisted. Charles O'Neil from Dundalk, County Louth received eighteen guineas as a bounty upon enlistment in the 8th (King's) Foot in 1810, a considerable sum for a seventeen-year-old runaway apprentice.[30] Irishman Edward Costello also received eighteen guineas when he volunteered for the 95th Rifles from the Dublin Militia in 1807.[31]

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[28] Regimental description book 28th (North Gloucestershire) Foot, 1812-17, (T.N.A., WO25/ 361).
[29] Regimental description book 20th (East Devonshire) Foot, 1809-17, (T.N.A., WO25/ 344).
[30] Charles O'Neil, *The military adventures of Charles O'Neil* (Worcester, 1851), p. 18.
[31] Edward Costello, *The adventures of a soldier of the 95ᵗʰ (Rifles) in the Peninsular and Waterloo campaigns of the Napoleonic Wars* (London, 1841), p. 2.

Analysis of the former occupations of Irish enlisted men finds that they were mainly from the poorer classes and recently unemployed sections within Irish society. While sixty-nine different occupations are listed in the database, some appear more frequently than others (see appendix 3). Four categories of occupation have been utilised for analysis. The two most numerous categories are 'Labourer', followed by 'Weaver' including those associated with textile production. The remaining sixty occupations have been categorised as 'Skilled' or 'Semi/Unskilled'. Skilled occupations were those that required expertise to carry out complex tasks and were characterised by higher education/expertise levels attained through training or experience, and commanded higher levels of remuneration. This category includes artisans and apprenticeship trades. Occupations, such as clerk, schoolmaster, student have also been included under this classification. Semi/Unskilled occupations are defined as those that required little or no training, were casual in nature, and attracted lower levels of remuneration. The occupations have also been analysed by provincial distribution to further understand how socio-economic factors and regional labour markets may have affected recruitment.

Table 2: Former occupation of Irish enlisted men in the regular British Army by province

Occupation	Ulster	Leinster	Munster	Connaught	Total
Labourer	160 (39%)	200 (61%)	179 (57%)	169 (70%)	**708 (54%)**
Weaver (including cloth dyer and flax spinner)	160 (39%)	35 (11%)	36 (11%)	25 (10%)	**256 (20%)**
Skilled[1]	51 (12%)	71 (22%)	68 (22%)	36 (15%)	**226 (17%)**
Semi / Unskilled[2]	42 (10%)	20 (6%)	30 (10%)	13 (5%)	**105 (8%)**
Total	**413 (100%)**	**326 (100%)**	**313 (100%)**	**243 (100%)**	**1295 (100%)[3]**

Source: Irish enlisted men's database.

Note1: Skilled includes cabinetmakers, tailors, smiths, clerks, schoolmasters, stonemasons

Note 2: Semi/Unskilled includes gardeners, servants, grooms and nailors.

Note 3: Total errors due to rounding and five men had no occupation listed.

The predominate former occupation for Irish enlisted men was labourer at 54 percent followed by weaver at 20 percent. Those who were employed in a skilled role such as carpenters, blacksmiths and clerks, accounted for 17 percent, while those from an unskilled occupation outside of labouring made up 8 percent. These findings indicate that an overwhelming number of Irish men who enlisted in the regular British Army may have done so for economic reasons with unemployed labourers and weavers accounting for 74 percent of all Irish recruits. The average wage for a labourer in Ireland was between 10*d.* to 1*s.* per day and in some instances as low as 6*d.* per day.[32] By comparison, in England agricultural workers earned between 8*s* and 10*s.* a week increasing to 12*s.* by 1812.[33] Glover notes that because Irish labourers were paid so much less than English labourers they enlisted more eagerly as the wage and bounty meant more to them.[34] A soldier's pay in 1792 was 6*d.* per day, and by 1800 his weekly pay was 7s.7*d.*[35] Although this amount was comparatively small, the war resulted in the introduction of several changes to a soldier's terms and conditions of service including the provision of free food from 1795. When it is considered that his accommodation was also provided, as barrack building programmes intensified over the course of the war, military service may have been a viable economic proposition for those in straitened economic circumstances. As the war progressed the real wages of the regular soldier increased in comparison to those of the poorest classes or unemployed civilian workers. In addition, unlike England, Wales and Scotland, a poor law system did not come into operation in Ireland until 1838 and no system of workhouses at parish level to cater to the needs of the destitute existed – in effect Ireland did not have that safety net that Great Britain had in place during the period.[36] In summary, enlistment may

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[32] Edward Wakefield, *An account of Ireland statistical and political* (1st ed., London, 1812)*,* p. 511, p. 515.
[33] Edward J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling- the British soldier under Wellington, 1808-1814* (Oklahoma, 2010), p. 74.
[34] Richard Glover, *Peninsular preparation – the reform of the British army 1795-1809* (Cambridge, 1963), pp 224-5.
[35] Glover, *Peninsular preparation,* p. 214, p. 221.
[36] Stanley H. Palmer, *Police and protest in England and Ireland, 1780-1850* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 38.

have made economic sense for many men in Ireland, particularly those at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder.[37]

Former weavers were the next numerous category of Irish recruits. Several Ulster counties had higher numbers of former weavers enlisting than any other occupation. Former weavers accounted for 50 percent of recruits from Down, Armagh, Antrim and Tyrone (double the number of labourers from that county), and 40 percent from Derry.[38] While former labourers were the more numerous in the remaining Ulster counties of Cavan, Donegal, Fermanagh and Monaghan, the percentages of weavers from each of these counties were above the national average of 20 percent.[39] Although weaving was undertaken throughout Ireland it was concentrated in Ulster, and most likely accounted for the higher numbers of former weavers enlisting in the regular Army from those counties. In 1810 it was calculated that the nine Ulster counties accounted for 81 percent of the total national flax production.[40] In Ireland flax was spun into yarn by women, which was then woven into cloth by men. Weaving was traditionally a domestic based industry among farming families who used it as a source of extra income, with many weavers located in Belfast city's hinterland and the surrounding counties. In 1808 weavers in Lurgan, County Down earned between 11*d.* to 13*d.* per day.[41] Unemployment increased among the domestic based weavers as the linen industry became centralised within the new factories in Belfast city. It was noted that Belfast city provided only 5 percent of all Irish urban recruits, while it accounted for 15 percent of the total Irish urban population; the low enlistment percentage probably due to the employment opportunities afforded by the new factories.[42] Another factor that may account for the high numbers of unemployed weavers from

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[37] Bartlett, 'The development of the British army', pp 135-7.
[38] Irish enlisted men's database.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Wakefield, *An account of Ireland*, p. 683.
[41] Wakefield, *An account of Ireland*, p. 688.
[42] Irish enlisted men's database; Larcom, 'Observations on the census of the population of Ireland', pp 323-51.

Ulster was that better quality linen was produced in these counties. As European markets became unavailable to Irish linen exports due to Napoleon's economic blockade of Great Britain, the Ulster weaving industry was particularly affected by the economic downturn. In contrast, coarser yarn used in the manufacture of maritime sailcloth was produced in Cork and Kerry from flax grown in Tipperary and Limerick: although former weavers from these counties enlisted, it was not to the same extent as weavers from Ulster.[43]

Forty-seven different skilled occupations are listed in the database, representing 17 percent of all Irish enlisted men.[44] The presence of skilled workers in the enlisted ranks of the regular British Army challenges the assertion that only those from the poorest elements of society enlisted in the regular British Army. When semi-skilled occupations such as servants, gardeners and grooms are included the percentage increases to 25 percent, or a quarter of all Irish enlisted men. The factors motivating those from a skilled occupation to enlist are difficult to determine. Thirty-five percent of men aged forty years and above who enlisted were former skilled workers, a disproportionately greater number than the total of 17 percent for all skilled workers who enlisted.[45] A probable explanation is that skilled workers enlisted in the regular Army due to an economic downturn, which reduced demand for their skills and products. Napoleon's blockade of British goods to European markets came into effect in November 1806 through the Continental System. The impact on British trade was immediate, and numerous sectors experienced a downturn in demand and resulting unemployment, particularly in the period 1810-12.[46] Although the Continental System did more damage to French ambitions for defeating Great Britain, Ireland was also impacted.[47] The years in which enlistments from

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[43] Wakefield, *An account of Ireland*, pp 690-1; Irish enlisted men's database.
[44] Irish enlisted men's database.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Roger Knight, *Britain against Napoleon - the organisation of victory 1793-1815* (London, 2013), pp 410-1.
[47] Knight, *Britain against Napoleon*, pp 400-14.

skilled trades in Ireland were highest were 1805-07 (8-10 percent), 1809 (10 percent), 1811 (13 percent) and 1812 (14 percent). These percentages increased each year as the impact of the Continental System took effect.[48]

In addition, new and additional levels of taxation were introduced within Great Britain and Ireland to finance the war. Goods and services such as lace, silk, windows, carriages and coaches, newspapers and domestic servants were taxed, which further compounded the downturn in demand.[49] The occupations required for the production of these newly taxed goods and services are found in the Irish enlisted men's database. Michael Barry, a stonemason from Cork city enlisted aged fifty into the 58th (Rutlandshire) Foot in 1806.[50] Barry had previous military service in the Marines from 1799 to 1803 and probably attempted to earn a living as a civilian before re-enlistment three years later. Patrick Ledwith, a thirty-two-year-old glazier from Dublin city, enlisted in the 2nd (Queens Royal) Foot in 1807, while James Allen, a nineteen-year-old hosier from County Down, enlisted in the 27th (Inniskilling) Foot in 1806.[51] Irish born clerks, glovers, cabinetmakers, hairdressers and bookbinders appear in the database, probably having viewed enlistment in the regular Army as a preferable economic alternative to unemployment brought about by the war.

Edward J. Coss found that the key economic stressors facilitating recruitment to the regular Army in Great Britain were the introduction of machinery into the textile industry and the impact of the various economic trade restrictions including the Continental System.[52] Analysis of the socio-economic data in the Irish enlisted men's data indicates that similar economic

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[48] Irish enlisted men's database.
[49] Knight, *Britain against Napoleon*, p. 388.
[50] Regimental description book, 58th (Rutlandshire) Foot, 1806-10, (T.N.A., WO25/443).
[51] Regimental description book, 2nd (Queens Royal), 1811-18, (T.N.A., WO25/318); Regimental description book 27th (Inniskilling) Foot, 1816-29, (T.N.A., WO25/356).
[52] Coss, *All for the King's shilling*, p. 66.

stressors were experienced across Ireland. Linda Colley in her study of the formation of a British national identity found that popular patriotism was not widespread across British society.[53] Although her study was limited to the various volunteer corps, or part time soldiers, raised in Great Britain during the wars with France, it can be inferred that popular patriotism would not have been a prime motivator for enlistment into the British Armed Forces across Irish society. In conclusion, socio-economic conditions specific to Ireland – absence of a poor law system, the displacement of agricultural labourers, and lower rates of pay for labourers - as well as economic stressors similar to those in Great Britain, provide a more plausible explanation as to the enlistment of Irish men into the regular Army.

In 1797 the British Army began to recruit boys. Males aged fifteen years and younger who were below the prescribed enlistment height of 5 foot 4 inches could be recruited if it was considered that they would grow in height.[54] The rationale for recruiting boys was that with regular food and outdoor exercise they would grow in height and physique and take their place in the ranks of the regiment. Irish males aged fifteen years and younger represent 9 percent of all Irish enlisted men contained in the database. While no exact comparator is available for all boy soldiers in the regular British Army, Coss identifies 75 instances of boy soldiers from a sample of 7250 soldiers of all nationalities serving in the regular British Army.[55] This provides a population size of 1 percent for boy soldiers. The finding from the Irish enlisted men's database indicates that Irish boys were over-represented in the regular British Army. Analysis of one battalion, the 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Foot, found that Irish boys were disproportionately represented at 68 percent within the battalion compared to English boys at

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[53] Colley, *Britons*, pp 292-306.
[54] Glover, *Peninsular preparation*, p. 226.
[55] Coss, *All for the King's shilling*, p. 250. While Coss excluded drummers from his sample, the same could not be completed for this research as the source documents do not consistently identify whether a soldier was a drummer or otherwise.

32 percent. The youngest boy was the previously mentioned nine-year-old James Campbell from County Fermanagh who was 4 feet 9 inches when he enlisted at Plymouth in 1803. Within the 45th (Nottinghamshire) Foot, 16 percent of the 302 Irish enlisted men were boys aged fifteen years and younger, although not all regiments had as many boy soldiers as the 45th (Nottinghamshire) Foot. Irish boys were mainly from a rural background with labourer and weaver as the predominate former occupation. The underlying factor as to the disproportionate numbers of Irish boys serving in the regular Army may again be related to the socio-economic conditions that prevailed in Ireland and the absence of a poor law system.

A distinct group often overlooked in the consideration of military service is the families of serving soldiers. Family formation in Ireland occurred at an earlier stage than other societies and was prevalent among the poorer classes of Irish society.[56] Maria Luddy states 'that in pre-Famine Ireland only a small proportion of the population did not marry, 8-12 percent of men and 12-15 percent of women over the age of 55 years'.[57] While little research has been conducted into family formation in Ireland during this period, military records provide data in relation to Irish families within the British Army.[58] The aggregated number of wives, and children under the age of sixteen years, were officially included in the regimental administrative records.[59] The total number of wives and children of Irish soldiers across the entire British Army is difficult to quantify due to the varying degree of exactness to which records were kept by individual regiments. However, an indication as to the number of Irish women and their children who accompanied a husband serving in the British Army is provided in the regimental description book for the 88th (Connaught Rangers) Foot when the unit was

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[56] Maria Luddy, 'Marriage, sexuality and law in Ireland' in E.F. Biagini and M.E. Daly (eds), *The Cambridge social history of modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2017), pp 344–62 at p. 345.
[57] Luddy, 'Marriage, sexuality and law in Ireland', p. 345.
[58] Luddy, 'Marriage, sexuality and law in Ireland', p. 344.
[59] Regimental annual inspection returns, (T.N.A., WO27 series).

stationed in Valenciennes, France in May 1816. The book confirms that 103 legally married women and ninety-three children 'are belonging to the regiment'.[60] As the 88th (Connaught Rangers) Foot was overwhelmingly Irish in national composition (93 percent), it can be stated with a degree of confidence that the majority of these women were Irish. With 1004 men in the regiment this equates to a 10 percent marriage rate for Irish enlisted men and 0.9 children per wife. In comparison the 35th (Royal Sussex) Foot, a mixed English, Scottish and Irish regiment, recorded 82 women and 104 children while stationed on Corfu in 1815.[61] Marriage rates can also be calculated for Irish militia regiments as a comparator. The King's County (militia) Regiment had a strength of 682 men in 1799 with 285 wives and 254 children, which equated to a marriage rate of 44 percent. The Armagh (militia) Regiment had a marriage rate of 29 percent and in July 1800 the Wexford (militia) Regiment had a marriage rate of 35 percent.[62] The disparity between the marriage rates in regular army regiments and militia regiments can be explained by the lack of provision of a married soldier's allowance to regular Army soldiers and the restrictions placed on the number of wives a regular Army regiment permitted to travel overseas. While further research is required, the data provided above indicates that Irish women and children, especially from the poorer sections of Irish society, were directly impacted by the war with France, and are largely absent from the historiography of Irish military service in the British Army.

The war with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France changed the political structure of Ireland. British fears of an Irish rebellion and French invasion were realised in 1798 and exposed the underlying divides within Irish society. The resulting Act of Union (1801), while intended to address many of the weaknesses in the Irish political system, gave a new focus for an emerging

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[60] Regimental description book, 88th (Connaught Rangers) Foot, 1814-16, (T.N.A., WO25/516).
[61] Regimental description book 35th (Royal Sussex) Foot, 1811-19, (T.N.A., WO25/370).
[62] Nelson, *The Irish militia*, p. 129.

nationalist separatist cause in the late nineteenth century. These events continue to be studied and debated by historians of Ireland and deservedly so. However, other changes occurred within Irish society during the period that have received less attention. The preliminary findings presented in this article show that the extent of military service was more widespread than currently appreciated. Geographical analysis indicates that every Irish county, city, town, and potentially every parish provided young men for service in the regular British Army. Analysis at a socio-economic level shows that while recruitment was mainly from the poorest class of Irish society such as agricultural labourers, other classes including weavers, artisans, craftsmen and even school masters and clerks enlisted due to the economic downturn that resulted from the war. The inclusion in this research of Irish women and their children as part of the British military system is a new departure and the nature of their experiences and extent of their impact on the military system warrants further study. Overall, military service drew men and women from different regions and classes of Irish society and transcended class and potentially sectarian divides. In effect, regiments of the regular British Army acted as 'melting pots' for the disparate geographical, social, economic and religious elements of Irish society in a manner that was probably not present in any other institution of the period. It could be argued that military service in the regular British Army offered the potential to bridge the various divides in Irish society in common cause and by this argument alone demands further study. In conclusion, it is intended that the findings of this research, when completed, will increase our understanding of the impact of military service on Irish society and Ireland's wider relationship with the British State during this period.

Appendix 1 - Percentage of Irish enlistments by county of birth

Ranking	County of birth	%
1	Cork	7.28
2	Roscommon	6.95
3	Dublin	5.68
4	Limerick	5.50
5	Tyrone	5.17
6	Armagh	5.00
7	Derry	4.74
8	Down	4.66
9	Tipperary	4.24
10	Galway	3.73
11	Mayo	3.47
13	Fermanagh	3.05
13	Longford	3.05
15	Clare	2.88
15	Antrim	2.88
16	Cavan	2.80
18	Kerry	2.71
18	Westmeath	2.71
20	Leitrim	2.63
20	Donegal	2.63
21	Sligo	2.46
22	Louth	2.45
24	Meath	2.12
24	Queens (Laois)	2.12
26	Kings (Offaly)	1.95
26	Monaghan	1.95
28	Kildare	1.27
28	Kilkenny	1.27
29	Wicklow	1.19
30	Wexford	0.68
32	Carlow	0.34
32	Waterford	0.34
Total		**100**

Source: Irish enlisted men's database

Appendix 2 – Parish (townland) of birth recorded in the Irish enlisted men's database

ANTRIM	ARMAGH	CARLOW	CAVAN	CLARE	CORK
Ahoghill	Armagh	Barragh	Annagh	Clonlea	Aglish
Antrim	Ballymore	Carlow	Bailieborough (Killan)	Clondagard (Lisheen)	Ballyhooly
Ballycastle	Clonfeacle	Oldleighlin	Castleterra (Kilnaglare)	Drumcliff	Ballymartle
Ballymoney (Coldagh and Kirkmoyle)	Creggan		Cavan	Dysert (Killcurish)	Ballymodan
Belfast	Drumcree (Drummenagh and Foy More)		Drumgoon	Feakle	Ballyoughtera (Ballynascarty)
Blaris (Lisburn)	Jonesborough		Enniskeen	Kilfearagh	Bandon
Carrickfergus	Keady		Killashandra	Kilfinaghta (Sixmilebridge)	Brigown (Mitchelstown)
Culfeightrin (Cushendun)	Killevy (Mullaghglass)		Killinagh (Cashelbane)	Killaloe (Ennis)	Buttervant
Killead	Kilmore		Kilmore	Killmurry (Kilkishen)	Carrigaline (Shannonpark)
Killyglen (Ballymallock)	Loughgall		Knockbride	Kilmanadee (Ennistymon)	Carrigtohill (Ballyregan)
Larne	Loughilly		Lurgan	Kilmihil (Glenmore)	Castlelyons
Portglenone	Montiaghs		Templeport	Moynoe	Castletownroche
Ramoan (Ballycastle and Maghermore)	Mullaghbrack		Tomregan	Ogonnelloe	Clenor (Annakisha)
Rasharkin	Seagoe (Lylo)			Quin	Desert (Clonakilty)
Skerry	Tynan			Tomgraney	Cloyne
Templecorran				Tulla (Kiltannon)	Creagh
Tickmacrevan					Doneraile
					Drishane (Mill Street)
					Farahy
					Ightermurragh (Ladys Bridge)
					Kilmocomogue (Bantry and Carran)
					Kilnagross
					Kilbrogan
					Kinsale
					Macroom

CORK condt:	DONEGAL	DOWN		DUBLIN	FERMANAGH
Magourney	Clonca (Templempyle)	Ballyculter	Tullylish (Drumnascamph)	Balrothery	Aghalurcher
Mallow	Clonleigh (Lifford)	Bright (Ballydargan & Bright)	Tyrella	Booterstown (Blackrock)	Aghavea
Middleton	Donaghmore	Comber		Finglas	Boho
Monanimy (Glannagear)	Donegal	Donaghcloney (Magherana)		Leixlip	Cleenish
Myross	Drumhome (Laghy)	Donaghmore (Lurganane)		Newtown	Clones (Coolnamarrow)
Rathcormack (Terramount)	Inishkeel	Dromore		Palmerstown	Derryvullan
Rathgoggan (Charleville)	Kilbarron	Drumballyroney (Ballyroney)		Rathcoole	Devenish
Ross	Kilcar (Kilbeg)	Drumbo		Rathfarnham	Enniskillen
St Finbarr's	Killea	Drumgooland		St Aughrim's	Killesher
St Mary's (Shandon)	Killymard	Garvaghy		St Catherine's	Kinawley (Aghnacloy)
St Michael's	Moville	Hillsborough		St George's	Kinawley (Drumbinnis)
St Nicholas	Raphoe	Holywood		St James	Magheracross
Timoleague	Raymoghy (Ryelands)	Kilcoo (Moneyscalp)		St John's	Rossorry
Youghal	Templemore (Templecrone)	Kilmore		St Luke's	
		Loughlinisland (Drumaroad)		St Margaret's	
		Maghera		St Mark's	
		Magherally		St Mary's	
		Magheralin (Drumlin)		St Michael's	
		Moira		St Michan's	
		Newry		St Nicholas	
		Newtownards		St Patrick's	
		Rathmullan (Islandsbane)		St Peter's	
		Saintfield		St Paul's	
		Seapatrick (Banbridge)			
		St Andrews			

GALWAY	KERRY	KILDARE	KILKENNY	LAOIS (QUEENS)	LEITRIM
Annaghdown	Ardfert	Carbury	Callan	Aghaboe	Carrigallen
Ardrahan	Ballyheige	Carragh	Castlecomber	Borris (Maryborough)	Cloone
Athenry	Castleisland	Kilcullen (Killinaun)	Freshford	Coolbanagher	Cloonclare
Aughrim	Currans	Kildangan	Graiguenamanagh	Dysartgallen (Ballinakill)	Drumreilly
Ballynakill	Dingle (Glin)	Kill	Kilkenny	Kilcolmanbane (Kilvahan)	Fenagh
Cargin	Killarney	Killmeague (Allenwood)	Knocktoper (Commons)	Kilmanman	Killarga
Cill Aithnin (Killanin)	Kilmore	Laraghbryan (Maynooth)	Muckalee	Lea	Killasnet (Castletown)
Clontuskert	Kilnanare (Fieries)	Morristownbiller (Newbridge)	St Johns	Mountrath	Kiltoghert (Barnameenagh)
Creagh (Ballinasloe)	Kilnaughtin	Naas	Tullaroan (Raheen)	Offerlane (Upperwoods)	Kiltubbrid (Clooney)
Duniry	Knockane (Churchtown & Kill)	Rathdangan		Rathdowney	Mohill
Dunmore	Listowel	Timahoe		Rosenallis	Oughteragh (Altakeeran & Ballinamore)
Kilcheest	Nohaval (Maglass)			Straboe	Rossinver
Kilcloony	O'Brennan (Listry)			Stradbally	
Kilcroan	Tralee				
Killererin (Castlemoyle)	Templenoe (Dromore)				
Killmorbologue (Killiane)					
Kilronan					
Loughrea					
Monivea					
Tuam					
Tynagh					
St Nicholas					
Tiaquin					

LIMERICK	LONDONDERRY	LONGFORD	LOUTH	MAYO	MEATH
Abbeyfeale	Aghadowny (Landmore)	Abbeylara	Carlingford	Aglish	Ardcath
Ardagh	Artrea	Columbkille	Drogheda, St Peters	Annagh (Ballyhaunis)	Athboy
Askeaton	Ballynascreen	Granard	Dromin	Ballinrobe	Ballymaglassan
Ballingarry	Ballyrashane	Kilcommock (Barry)	Dromiskin	Bekan (Kilknock)	Donaghamore
Bruree	Ballyscullion	Killoe	Dunaghmore	Breaghwy	Duleek
Caherconlish	Clondermot	Longford		Castlebar	Dunboyne
Cappagh	Coleraine	Mohill	Dundalk	Kilcolman	Dunshaughlin
Clonelty (Knockaderry)	Dungiven	Monstrim	Dunleer	Kilcommon (Hollymount)	Kells
Dromcolligher	Kilcronaghan	Moydow	Faughard	Kilfian	Killary
Emlygrennan (Kilmurry)	Lissan (Ashburn)	Shrule	Inishkeen	Killedan (Ballinamore)	Martry
Galbally (Ballygeana)	Maghera	Templemichael	Kilsaran (Greenmouth)	Kilmore (Drum)	Moynatty
Hospital	Magherfelt		Louth	Mayo	Navan
Limerick	Tamlagh finlagan (Ballykelly)		Monasterboice	Oughaval (Westport)	Oldcastle
Loghill	Templemore (Londonderry)		Tullyallen	Rosslee (Graddoge)	Painstown
Mahoonagh				Turlough	Slane
Nantinan					Stamullen
Rathkeale					Trim
Shanagolden					
Stradbally (Castleconnell)					
St John's (Killaloe)					
St Marys					
St Michael's					
St Munchin's					
St Peter's and St Paul's (Abbeyfarm)					

MONAGHAN	OFFALY (KINGS)	ROSCOMMON	SLIGO	TIPPERARY
Aughnamullen	Ballyburly (Road)	Ardcarn	Achonry (Curry)	Burgesbeg (Pollagh)
Ballybay	Birr	Athleague	Aghanagh	Caher
Clones	Castlejordan	Aughrim	Ballynakill	Derrygrath (Nicholastown)
Clontibret (Doohamlat)	Dunkerrin (Barna)	Ballintober	Ballysadare	Holycross
	Geashill	Boyle (Termon)	Dromard	Kilbaragh
Kilanny (Dunelty)	Kilbride (Clara and Tullamore)	Bumlin (Strokestown)	Drumcliff	Kilmore
Magheracloone	Kinnity	Cam	Easky	Kilvellane (Newport)
Monaghan (Killyvan)	Monasterois (Edenderry)	Castlemore (Drumnalassan)	Killoran (Carha)	Lattin
Muckno	Shinrone	Cloonfinlough	Kilmacallan	Loughmoe East (Skeagh)
Tehallan (Templetate)		Cloontuskert	Kilmactranny	Nenagh
Tullycorbett		Dysart	Kilmore	Newcastle
		Elphin	Rossinver (Gorteen)	Roscrea
		Kilbride	St John's (Sligo)	Solloghodbog
		Kilcolman (Banada)		St John's Baptist (Cashel)
		Kilglass		St Mary's (Clonmel)
		Kilkeevan		Templemore
		Killgefin		Templeree (Castleliney)
		Kilmeane		Thurles
		Kilmore		
		Kilronan (Mountallen)		
		Kiltoom		
		Kiltruston		
		Lissonuffy (Kilmacannon)		
		Moore (Liberty)		
		Roscommon		
		St Peter's		
		Termonbarry		
		Tumna (Cootehall)		

TYRONE	WATERFORD	WESTMEATH	WEXFORD	WICKLOW
Aghaloo (Annagh)	Drumcannon	Ballymore	Ardamine	Arklow
Ardstraw (Lisnacreaght)	Dysert (Churchtown)	Castletown Delvin	Ferns	Baltinglass
Bodoney (Glenchile and Glenlark)	Tallow	Clonarney	Kilmakillogue (Gorey)	Carnew
Carnteel (Golan)		Clonfad	St Mary's (Newtownbarry)	Castlemacadam
Clogher		Drumraney	Templeshannon	Boystown (Cross)
Clonfeacle (Drumgrannon)		Foyran (Tullyhill)		Donard
Desertcreat		Kilbeggan		Dunlavin
Donaghenry (Stewartstown)		Kilcleagh (Moate)		Kilranelagh
Donaghmore (Moghan)		Lynn		Powerscourt
Dromore (Drummallard)		Mayne		Rathdrum
Drumglass		Mullingar		
Errigal Keerogue (Fernamenagh0		Newton		
Killeeshil (Eskragh)		Rathaspick		
Killyman		Street		
Kilskeery				
Longfield				
Pomeroy				
Tullyniskan				
Urney				

Source: Irish enlisted men's database

Appendix 3 – Occupations recorded in the Irish enlisted men's database

Occupation	Number	Occupation	Number	Occupation	Number
Labourer	708	Whitesmith	3	Currier	1
Weaver	256	Cordwainer	3	Farrier	1
Servant	26	Bookbinder	2	Fisherman	1
Shoemaker	20	Breechesmaker	2	Glasier	1
Cottonspinner	18	Broguemaker	2	Glover	1
Tailor	15	Calico printer	2	`Gunsmith	1
Mason	12	Flax Dresser	2	Hairdyer	1
Clerk	10	Framework knitter	2	Hostler	1
Nailer	10	Hairdresser	2	Horncutter	1
Cabinetmaker	8	Hosier	2	Malster	1
Blacksmith	7	Printer	2	Miller	1
Chandler	7	Stonecutter	2	Muslin weaver	1
Baker	6	Tobacconist	2	Pipemaker	1
Gardener	6	Victualler	2	Potter	1
Hatter	6	Woolcomber	2	Schoolmaster	1
Musician	5	Yeoman	2	Smith	1
Clothdyer	4	Barber	1	Soldier	1
Painter	4	Bleacher	1	Stone Polisher	1
Slater	4	Butcher	1	Student	1
Bricklayer	3	Carpenter	1	Tanner	1
Roper	3	Cloth Draper	1	Threadmaker	1
Sawyer	3	Coachmaker	1	Turner	1
Wheelwright	3	Cooper	1	Tinsman	1

Source: Irish enlisted men's database

An analysis of Douglas Hyde's 1892 de-anglicisation lecture and his address to the New York Gaelic Society in 1891.[1]

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Introduction

Douglas Hyde's de-anglicisation lecture given to the New Irish Literary Society in Dublin, 1892, was a seminal occasion in Irish language history, leading directly to the establishment of the Gaelic League (*Conradh na Gaeilge*) a year later. Douglas Hyde, a prominent Irish language scholar and the first president of Ireland, was born in Roscommon, Ireland in 1860 into an Anglo-Irish family. A young Hyde learned Irish from his family's domestic staff in Frenchpark, particularly from Seamus Hart, a gamekeeper on his father's estate who fostered Hyde's interest in Irish language and folklore. Hyde was a keen academic, a talented linguist and an enthusiastic scholar in his early youth. He became a member of the Dublin Gaelic Union in the 1880s, having also been a member of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language (SPIL) from 1877 before this. The Gaelic Union was the offspring of SPIL which had split following disagreements regarding society output and publications in 1880. On 31 July 1893, Hyde attended a meeting organised by Eoin Mac Neill at 9 Lower O'Connell Street, Dublin, establishing the Gaelic League. The society aimed to revive the Irish language as a spoken tongue and to create a modern canon of Irish literature. Hyde was the League's first president and served from 1893-1915. Hyde's de-anglicisation lecture given in Dublin to the New Irish Literary Society in November 1892 has been widely acknowledged as the catalyst for MacNeill to organise the initial meeting, resulting in the establishment of the Gaelic League

in Dublin in 1893. Hyde has noted in his personal diaries, having received an invitation from Eoin MacNeill to attend what turned out to be the inaugural meeting of the Gaelic League in June 1893, of the importance of his previous 1891 New York lecture as an initial articulation of the core principles he had adopted for the revival of the Irish language.[2] Douglas Hyde was offered a year-long lecturing post in the University of New Brunswick, Canada, for 1890-1 covering for W.M. Stockley, while Stockley took a vacation abroad. On his return journey to Ireland, Hyde visited the language societies in New York in June 1891. These language societies had been established in New York as early as 1860 with the New York branch of the Ossianic Society. Interest in the language had been fostered in the United States (US) as early as 1857 with the creation of an Irish language column in the New York *Irish American*. By the end of 1897 approximately fifty societies and language classes had been established to teach and promote the Irish tongue. This was a network of well-organised, structured language societies which provided classes to teach the language but also held entertainment for their members. Hyde was no stranger to this growing Irish language community in the US and he sometimes communicated with the Irish-American press regarding their efforts to revive and preserve the language. He also contributed Irish language material of his own to be printed in various Irish-American media fora. During his stay in New York, Hyde was asked to give an address to the New York Gaelic Society, based on his own perspective of the contemporary state of the Irish language. It is this lesser-known address which provides the comparative basis in this article for examination, alongside Hyde's renowned 1892 Dublin address.[3]

This article, therefore, seeks to analyse more in-depth the content of both the New York and Dublin speeches highlighting Hyde's usage of the former address as an intellectual stepping

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[2] Breandán Ó Conaire, *Language, lore and lyrics: essays and lectures* (Dublin, 1986), pp 44-9.
[3] Ó Conaire in his book, *Language, lore and lyrics*, similarly gives the full text of the New York lecture from the *Irish American* before also giving the text of the better known de-anglicisation lecture of 1892. See pp 145-70.

stone in the development and fine-tuning of his later, and better known, 1892 lecture. It also shows that the basis for Hyde's aspirations and ideologies for the Irish language revival movement as set out in his famous 1892 lecture were articulated in a transatlantic context. As the 1891 New York address was also printed in Irish-American journalistic fora, in both the New York *Irish American* and the Chicago *Citizen*, it similarly complements recent scholarship regarding the Irish-American Gaels and their usage of the media as a forum to promote and further the Irish tongue in the pre-revival of the language.[4] Journalistic platforms would later be key in the contextual and conceptual success of the Irish language revival movement, as seen in the utilisation of *Fáinne an Lae* and *An Claidheamh Soluis* by the Gaelic League.[5]

When analysing both of these addresses, similar themes, rhetoric and methodology with reference to the Irish language are prevalent. This article provides a comparative study and argues that the 1891 address given in New York was clearly a pre-cursor for Hyde in his writing of the 1892 de-anglicisation lecture. The similarities in themes, syntax, analogies and methodologies regarding the revival of the Irish language present in both speeches are discussed and contextualised in the wider narrative of the revival movement, conveying the importance of these dialogues in further discussion of the Irish language cause. When analysing the 1891 New York address, two newspapers are central to this study; the Chicago *Citizen* and the New York *Irish American*. The Chicago *Citizen* published a report of the event on 27 June 1891, which narrated the content of Hyde's address through the words of the paper's unidentified contributor. The *Irish American* reported that Hyde spoke in both Irish and English and the newspaper printed Hyde's full English address word-for-word. For the purposes of

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[4] See Fiona Lyons, '"Thall agus abhus" Irish language revival, media and the transatlantic influence 1857-1897' (PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 2021); Matthew Knight, '"Our gaelic department": the Irish-Language Column in the New York *Irish American*, 1857-1896' (PhD thesis, Harvard University, 2020), for example.

[5] See Caoilfhionn Nic Pháidín, *Fáinne an Lae agus an Athbheochan (1899-1900)* (Dublin, 1998); Regina Uí Chollatáin, *An Claidheamh Soluis agus Fáinne an Lae 1899-1932* (Dublin, 2004).

clarity and simplicity, the address given to the New York Gaelic Society in 1891 will be referred to as 'Hyde's 1891 New York address', and his lecture on the 'Necessity for the de-anglicisation of the Irish language', given to the New Literary Society in Dublin in 1892, will be described as 'Hyde's 1892 Dublin address'.

Themes

A prominent theme in both addresses is commentary surrounding Daniel O'Connell and O'Connell's non-promotion of the Irish language when he was an important public figure in Irish society in the 1800s. O'Connell was by far the most prominent Irish politician of his generation and an advocate for the rights of Catholics in the early 1820s. A native of Kerry, he could speak Irish, however, his lack of enthusiasm for speaking the language publicly was precisely the attitude the language revival movement of the latter half of the nineteenth century hoped to change. When O'Connell featured in revivalist discourse in late nineteenth or early twentieth century, he was often criticised for not having done enough for the promotion of the Irish language. Hyde emphasised in both of his addresses that the majority of the Irish population chose to refrain from speaking Irish in favour of the English language so that they could instead read and understand O'Connell's speeches. Hyde even delineated in the New York 1891 address that O'Connell had the 'cynicism to address mass meetings of his countrymen in a language which not one in five of his audience understood'.[6]

The usage of 'countrymen' here conveys ideas of community and being connected to one another. This ideology regularly featured in speeches or journalistic writing during the language revival movement. It was a means to bring the Irish speakers across Ireland together

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[6] *Irish American*, 27 June 1891.

and eradicate any feelings of not belonging to Irish society these Irish speakers might have had. At this time in Ireland the English language was a language of prosperity and the Irish language was often seen as the complete opposite. An aim of the revival movement was to show these native speakers that there was nothing to be ashamed or embarrassed about speaking the Irish language and that they should be proud of the rich heritage and tradition associated with it. Hyde also mentioned here in his address how O'Connell was speaking a language his audience could not understand, i.e. a language which was not the native tongue of the Irish people; the English language. By emphasising the fact that O'Connell was not speaking the native Irish tongue to his fellow countrymen, it is possible that Hyde hoped to spark emotion and patriotic sentiment amongst his audience at this 1891 address to encourage people to take an interest in the native tongue of Ireland once more. As Tom Garvin has noted, 'self-respect and self-confidence were important fruits of participation' in both the Gaelic Leagues in Ireland and Britain.[7] Therefore, if O'Connell had addressed his crowd in his native Irish tongue, it could have given many Irish speakers listening the confidence to speak their native language more frequently and not to be ashamed of using it in a public setting. Later, in Hyde's 1892 Dublin lecture, the same rhetoric was employed and Hyde wrote of the Irish language dying out with O'Connell due to his abandonment of the language. Hyde strengthened his claim further and exclaimed that O'Connell had brought about the end of Gaelic civilisation due to his 'neglect of inculcating the necessity of keeping alive racial customs, language, and traditions'.[8] Hyde also referred to the participation of Maynooth with regard to the lack of Irish language training in the Kildare college, however, this will be examined later in this article.

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[7] Tom Garvin, *Nationalist revolutionaries in Ireland 1858-1928* (Dublin, 1987), p. 88.
[8] Douglas Hyde, 'The necessity for de-anglicising Ireland' in *The revival of Irish literature, addresses by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G., Dr George Sigerson, and Dr Douglas Hyde* (New York, 1973), pp 117-61.

The relationship between race and the Irish language was also often found in revivalist ideology as Brian Ó Conchubhair's *Fin de Siècle na Gaeilge* study has shown.[9] Language was portrayed as a key feature of identity, defining a race and distinguishing a country and its people from any other country or nationality in the world. Such rhetoric was deployed by many writers of the revivalist period to encourage the Irish people to learn, show interest in, and to speak their own vernacular once more. Hyde utilised similar ideals in his New York 1891 address when talking of O'Connell's refusal to use the Irish language in his public speeches, noting the power O'Connell wielded over the Irish population at this time: 'Perhaps, gentlemen, you may think this language hard or exaggerated; but when we see an O'Connell, wielding a power over the race which no man ever exercised before or since'.[10] Encouraging societal figures who held sway over the Irish public, members of the Catholic clergy, for example, to speak out in favour of, or further the language cause, would later be a key objective of the Gaelic League, as part of the overall revival movement.

Another aspect mentioned in both addresses was the discourse surrounding the Irish version of names. Hyde argued that the Irish were slowly becoming English because the Irish speaking population was changing their names and surnames from the Gaelic version and spelling to the English. One reason for this was that at this time Irish society was slowly becoming accustomed to functioning as a bilingual state and, as Liam Mac Mathúna argues, anglicising both your first and surname showed a conformity to 'the new linguistic reality' of the era.[11] Surnames, however, were also a key link between language and identity and therefore, Hyde readily

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[9] See Brian Ó Conchubhair, *Fin de siècle na Gaeilge: Darwin, an Athbheochan agus smaointeoireacht na hEorpa* (Connemara, 2009).

[10] *Irish American*, 27 June 1891.

[11] Liam Mac Mathúna, 'What's in an Irish name? A study of the personal naming systems of Irish and Irish English' in Hildegard L.C. Tristram (ed.), *The Celtic Englishes IV: the interface between English and the Celtic languages; proceedings of the fourth international colloquium on the "Celtic Englishes" held at the University of Potsdam in Golm (Germany) from 22-26 September 2004* (Potsdam, 2006), pp 64-87.

criticised this process of anglicisation in both addresses. In the 1891 New York address, Hyde remarked that the O's and the Mac's, referring to Gaelic surnames, were being educated, by preference, in English schools, and were being taught that the Irish language was a language of 'cads':

> . . . - even the "O's and the Mac's" – educated by preference at English schools whenever their parents are wealthy enough, and taught to say as I have often heard them say – I almost blush to repeat it – that Irish is the language of "cads;" when we find English sermons preached, Sunday after Sunday, in chapels and cathedrals, where at least every second sermon should be in Irish . . . – I ask you am I too severe in my condemnation? If you still think that I am, then I pray you to pardon me, and to ascribe it to the natural partiality of anyone for a noble language which he has spoken as a child, and which he sees threatened with contemptuous extinction.[12]

During the Irish language revival movement, in order to foster a sense of patriotism and place, the Irish were encouraged to play native Irish sports, such as Gaelic football or hurling, and participation in, or support for, perceived English sports, such as soccer or rugby, was discouraged.[13] Within this narrative there was a desire to prevent the Irish from being 'Anglicised cads,' i.e. Irish speakers playing English sports.[14] In an informal manner 'cad' also referred to a man who was not behaving in a gentlemanly manner towards others. Correlation between the Irish language and it being a language of 'cads' would have probably encouraged people to look down upon the Irish language and discouraged people to speak it; exactly what the revival movement was trying to change. It is also likely that Hyde in this instance intended to play on the heartstrings of his listeners hoping that they would reconsider attempts to anglicise their names and to discourage this idea that the Irish language was a language used by those looked upon as different by society.

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[12] *Irish American*, 27 June 1891.

[13] See Cathal Billings, 'Speaking Irish with hurley sticks: Gaelic sports, the Irish language and national identity in revival Ireland' in *Sport in History*, vol. 37, no. 1 (2017), pp 25-50.

[14] *Kerry Sentinel*, 11 Jan. 1902 cited in David Hassan and Richard McElligott (eds), *A social and cultural history of sport in Ireland* (London and New York, 2018), p. 12. My thanks to Dr Cathal Billings also for his advice on this.

Hyde made reference to name change again in a later part of his 1891 New York address, deploring the fact that upon arrival in the US the Irish 'drop their honorable Milesian names' for something more subtle, for example, O'Shaughnessy to Chauncey and O'Byrne to Burnes. One reason for this, in an Irish-American context, and with reference back to Mac Mathúna's previous remarks, was that this change could have been employed by Irish people entering the US so that they could assimilate more efficiently into American society and not be labelled as an outsider, as their immigrant and Catholic status already bestowed upon them. Speaking a foreign tongue or having a different sounding surname to most Americans could have also strengthened a feeling of not belonging. An example of changing an Irish name to the English form was referred to in an anecdote Hyde gave in his 1891 New York address about two young Irishmen from Mayo, Ireland, whom he had met on his way over to the US. Hyde remarked that one of the men's surnames was Brehony, which showed his descent from one of the most distinguished members of old Irish society, the Brehon or the judge: 'One brother remains a Brehony, showing his descent from one of the very highest and most honorable titles in Ireland, a Brehon, a law giver and poet'.[15] Hyde argued that this anglicised variant showed complete disregard for the tradition and history of the name and it led to him criticising the way the Irish were conducting themselves in the US, remarking that their ignorance of the history of their native culture was appalling: 'It is a most disgraceful shame the way in which Irishmen are brought up. They are ashamed of their language, institutions, and of everything Irish. I met two young Irishmen from the County Mayo, coming over here'.[16]

In his 1892 Dublin address Hyde used the exact same examples to note his disappointment of the decline of the Gaelic names in favour of the English form. In fact, the similarity between

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[15] *Irish American*, 27 June 1891.
[16] Ibid.

the New York 1891 and the Dublin 1892 address is almost word-for-word perfect, despite the fact that in his discussion of the 'Mac's and the O's' there is no reference to the Irish language becoming a language of 'cads'. This raises the question as to whether Hyde used this particular example only in an Irish-American context to evoke stronger emotions of nationalism and patriotism amongst Irish immigrants. Hyde paid particular attention to his New York audience in the 1891 address perhaps knowing the support the Irish in the US had given to previous Irish causes, the Irish-American Fenian movement, for example, and hoped that they would aid Ireland once again with regard to the language cause. Hyde was very much aware that the US was a land of progress and prosperity, yet was also one which could value the Irish language that had long been regarded as reflecting neither of these aspirations in Ireland. It also shows that Hyde was using the New York 1891 address as a stepping stone to develop his ideas on the subject, and perhaps employed it as a means to gauge the reaction of his audience. In his commentary on the other examples of Gaelic surnames becoming anglicised, Hyde goes into much more detail in his 1892 address in Dublin providing lists of Gaelic names that have been changed to their English forms across the island of Ireland, placing emphasis on the moral injustice of it all. In his Dublin address, similar to his New York address, Hyde also noted how the Irish were changing their names upon arrival to the US. However, a clear contrast presents itself in the manner in which Hyde told both anecdotes. In his New York address, Hyde outlined that he met the two brothers on his way to the US, whereas in his Dublin lecture he acknowledged that he was only told the story of the two brothers. Although there is no definite explanation for the difference, it can be argued that the speechwriting process often involves a desire to formulate a story and communicate with the audience in a personal or intimate manner. As Cody Keenan, the former speechwriter for Barack Obama, former President of the United States notes, Obama himself always wished to tell a story and Hyde in the 1890s would

have been no different. [17] By alluding to the fact that he knew the men in his New York address, Hyde could play on the emotions of the Irish in the US and empathise with his audience on a personal level. Perhaps his audience even knew themselves of some Irish immigrants who had changed their names in this manner. In telling the story in a more objective manner in his Dublin address, Hyde, nevertheless, prefaced the anecdote of the Irish in the US who translated their names by describing this practice as a 'vile habit' that no one had yet protested against. This formulation of words may well have been designed to challenge the Irish in Ireland to prove that they would not be like those in the US who anglicised their names and to encourage them to do more to protect the future of their native tongue.

Hyde's use of examples of the anglicisation of Gaelic surnames in both addresses highlights the relevance of this issue to Irish people regardless of their geographical location in the world, or regardless also of any linguistical boundaries which may have been evident in an emigrant context. Issues surrounding Gaelic surnames would also be a point of contestation later in the revival movement in Ireland with Patrick Pearse taking a court case in 1905 on behalf of the rights of the Irish language and the revival movement when Neil McBride from Donegal was fined for having his name in Irish on the side of his donkey cart.[18] To Hyde's regret and frustration, Pearse ultimately lost the case. Hyde even noted in his unpublished 1918 memoir that Pearse had '[bolted] and [barred] the door against Irish names for ever.'[19] Pearse took on a similar case in 1906 when he defended Domhnall ua Buachalla, a Gaelic League activist, who ended up in the 1930s being the last Governor-General, for also having his name in Irish on his

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[17] Cody Keenan, 'The download: writing speeches with Barack Obama' in Brian Murphy and Donnacha Ó Beacháin (eds), *From whence I came: the Kennedy legacy, Ireland and America* (Kildare, 2021), pp 189-99.
[18] Neil McBride was better known as Niall Mac Giolla Bhrighde. The basis of the court case was to assert the right for McBride to be known as Niall Mac Giolla Bhrighde. My thanks to the reviewer for bringing my attention to this.
[19] Douglas Hyde Memoir, 1918, (U.C.D., Department of Irish Folklore, MS SOD/4/X/1961).

delivery cart. Pearse similarly lost the case.[20] But, as we can note in the revival movement both in Ireland and the US, there was a tendency amongst key revivalist figures to use both linguistic forms of their name, Douglas Hyde (Dubhghlas de hÍde), Michael Logan (Mícheál Ó Locháin), and Thomas O'Neill Russell (Tomás Ó Néill Ruiséal), for example.[21] Douglas Hyde and the Gaelic League would also later fight various campaigns to allow people to address post in the Irish language, which the British authorities had prohibited.[22]

A final theme present in both addresses relates to Maynooth College and the Catholic Church. Hyde was critical of Maynooth College in County Kildare, Ireland, in his New York 1891 address which was, and still is today, a training college for Catholic priests. He deplored the fact that Maynooth was turning out priests with no Irish language training, which he believed was a direct correlation to the lack of sermons across Ireland in the Irish language. As reflected in the communicated article in the Chicago *Citizen*, however, Hyde was hopeful that some of the younger priests in Ireland were beginning to show interest in the language. He particularly praised Fr James Keegan, a Catholic priest from St Louis, Missouri, and Fr Eoghan O'Growney, an Irish Catholic priest and scholar. O'Growney himself would later move to California and promote the Irish language there until his death in 1899. Later in his New York address, Hyde noted that Catholicism would not bind the Irish in the US together forever and emphasised that the Irish needed other ties to stay connected to one another, such as knowledge of the Irish alphabet and of Irish history:

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[20] See Adhamhnán Ó Suilleabháin, 'Domhnall ua Buachalla, from the GPO to the last Governor-General', 27 May 2015, online at *Irish Times* (https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/domhnall-ua-buachalla-from-the-gpo-to-the-last-governor-general-1.2227646) (23 June 2021); Adhamhnán Ó Súilleabháin, *Domhnall ua Buachalla: rebellious nationalist, reluctant governor* (Kildare, 2015), pp 30-5. My thanks to Dr Brian Murphy for bringing my attention to this.
[21] See also Mac Mathúna, 'What's in an Irish name?', pp 64-87.
[22] See Gareth W. Dunleavy, 'Hyde's crusade for the language and the case of the embarrassing packets' in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. 73, no. 289 (1984), pp 12-25. See also The Post Office and the Irish Language, [cc 423-5] H.C. 6 Mar. 1905, cxlii as the matter was discussed in the House of Commons in 1905.

Here in America, as far as I can see, the one link that binds the Irish together is Catholicity. In time past that has proved an almost sufficient link, because Irishman and Catholic were synonymous. But that will not be so in the future. The influx of German and Italian and other European Catholics will put an end to that; and if the Irish race is to hold together at all, it will have to cultivate other ties. It will have to again adopt in a foreign land the music, songs, traditions and games of the race, and all Irishmen should at least know the Irish letters and something of the past history and glories of their land . . . Respect yourselves and America will respect you.[23]

This touches on the idea of race, identity and a sense of community, as mentioned previously, which were key elements in the later revival movement. Revival figures wished to incorporate all members of society into the language movement so its importance and worth could be realised by all. The ordinary person was encouraged to join and support the cause by attending entertainment events and lectures, just like Hyde's in New York.[24] This would later be a key outcome from the Oireachtas festival in Dublin in 1897 which, as Timothy McMahon has noted, allowed the League to popularise the ideas of the language movement amongst ordinary people, and allowed them to become involved in the language cause without having to simply attend language classes. Thus, they could ultimately feel a part of something which was greater than themselves.[25] The idea of comradery, such as that noted by Hyde, regarding the need to stay connected was likewise important in a psychological sense for the Irish speaking community in the US. They regularly identified themselves as a transatlantic community in journalistic writings, which was neither exclusively in Ireland nor in the US leading to the formation, as Regina Uí Chollatáin has indicated, of a hybrid identity.[26]

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[23] *Irish American*, 27 June 1891.
[24] See Timothy G. McMahon, *Grand opportunity: the Gaelic Revival and Irish society, 1893-1910* (New York, 2008).
[25] McMahon, *Grand opportunity*, pp 165-7.
[26] See Regina Uí Chollatáin, '"Thall is abhus" 1860-1930: the revival process and the journalistic web between Ireland and North America' in Vera Regan, Chloe Diskin and Jennifer Martyn (eds), *Language identity and migration* (Oxford, 2015), pp 353-78; Regina Uí Chollatáin, 'Athbheochan trasatlantach na Gaeilge: scríbhneoirí, intleachtóirí agus an fhéiniúlacht Éireannach' in Ríona Nic Congáil, Máirín Nic Eoin, Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail, Pádraig Ó Liatháin and Regina Uí Chollatáin (eds), *Litríocht na Gaeilge ar fud an Domhain. Cruthú, caomhnú agus athbheochan. Imleabhar 1* (Dublin, 2015), pp 277-309. See also Lyons, '"Thall agus abhus"'.

Hyde also referred to Maynooth and the Catholic clergy in his 1892 Dublin lecture. He began by noting that due to both the rise of O'Connell, as already previously noted in this article, and the establishment of Maynooth, many began to lose their training and knowledge in the Irish tongue.[27] However, despite this initial criticism towards Maynooth and the Catholic clergy, Hyde did give great credit to Fr Eoghan O'Growney for his work for the Irish language and literature in Maynooth: 'Maynooth has at last come splendidly to the front, and it is now incumbent upon every clerical student to attend lectures in the Irish language and history during the first three years of his course'.[28] O'Growney had been appointed Professor of Irish at Maynooth in the period between Hyde's two address in October 1891, four months after Hyde's initial New York address. Therefore, we see the change in Hyde's commentary on Maynooth and its role in progressing and supporting the Irish language changes between the 1891 and 1892 addresses due to O'Growney's presence and influence in Maynooth at this time. It also shows how Hyde used the 1891 New York address as a stepping stone to later develop and fine-tune his core ideas and concepts for the revival movement in his more well-known Dublin address. It must also be acknowledged here that O'Growney was a friend of Hyde.

Methodologies

In both the New York and Dublin addresses, Hyde suggested house-to-house visitation techniques to encourage and promote the speaking of the Irish language. Hyde, however, went into more detail about this suggestion in his 1891 New York address, as printed in the Chicago *Citizen.* In this speech, Hyde actually proposed that these visitations could be implemented by Irish speakers from the US:

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[27] Hyde, 'The necessity for de-anglicising Ireland,' pp 130-1.
[28] Hyde, 'The necessity for de-anglicising Ireland,' pp 137-8.

He said that if, say six men, good Irish speakers, were sent over from America for one winter, and go through the Irish speaking parts of Ireland, making visits to the houses of those who spoke Irish and showing them the necessity of teaching it, and above all, of speaking it to their children, more good would be performed than by any other means within reach at present. The Irish at home have now got to look on America as a sort of fatherland from which they are to take their teaching. If some or all of the envoys were Americans, born in America, their influence would be all the greater in Ireland . . . Dr Hyde said men from America would have a weight and an influence with the Irish, scores of times greater than men from any other country would.[29]

Contextualising this 1891 address with the influence of the Irish in the US upon the Irish in Ireland regarding the Irish language revival movement is important given the timeframe. The New York address was given almost two years prior to the foundation of the Gaelic League and this shows that Hyde clearly recognised, in the early planting of the ideological and methodological seeds of the revival movement, the importance of the aid and support that Irish-Americans could give to the Irish back in Ireland. It also provides evidence that Hyde was very much aware of just how progressive the Irish-American movement for the revival of the language was and how this could be used as a positive example for the Irish in Ireland to follow. Such positive examples had already arisen from the well-established influences the Fenian movement and Irish-America had given to Ireland, as previously noted. Hyde in his 1891 and 1892 addresses, for example, also referenced James Stephens' house-to-house 'visitations' and later noted in his personal diaries that the Irish people seemed to have a newfound spirit about them arising from Stephens travelling throughout the country meeting people and speaking to them when he was founding the Fenian movement.[30] Hyde believed, following Stephens' example, that there was no better way to revive the language than by also going out and 'personally interviewing the bilingulate [*sic*] themselves.'[31]

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[29] *Citizen*, 27 June 1891.
[30] See Ó Conaire, *Language, lore and lyrics*, pp 45-6.
[31] *Irish American*, 27 June 1891.

Interestingly, Hyde never mentions this exact idea in his 1892 Dublin lecture. He does suggest house-to-house visitation in the areas where Irish was still spoken, but he does not mention that these visitors should come from the US. Despite this, it was suggested in both addresses that gold medals should be given to families after a year of speaking the Irish language and promoting its usage in the family home.[32] The idea of incentives was not something which was uncommon to see in articles in Irish-American print media and in the context of the Irish-American cultural organisations in particular, they regularly suggested offering prizes to students to encourage them to learn the Irish language and attend classes.[33] Various instances of financial aid given to Ireland from the US have also been noted previously by other scholars, however, in this context this was support at an ideological and practical level. [34]

The example of visitation techniques in both addresses to Irish speaking areas to promote the speaking of the Irish language is somewhat resemblant of the later movement of the *timirí*, who were Irish language travelling teachers in Ireland in the early 1900s. These *timirí* travelled around Ireland, often by bicycle, to form Irish classes and branches of the Gaelic League, to promote Irish music and literature, and to raise funds for the language revival. [35] Although the context in which Hyde was suggesting that Irish speakers from the US come to the Irish speaking areas in Ireland to promote the tongue varies from the position that the *timirí* had in the promotion of the Irish language during the Revival, there is a similar basic commonality between the two; they were both to visit Irish speaking areas and to raise the profile of the Irish language amongst its current speakers. Looking at this in another context, the idea of having Irish speakers come from the US would have given the Irish in the Irish speaking areas the

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[32] Hyde, 'The necessity for de-anglicising Ireland,' pp 117-61; *Citizen*, 27 June 1891.
[33] See for example *Irish World*, 6 Nov. 1874; *Irish World*, 19 Nov. 1874; *Irish American*, 15 Feb. 1879.
[34] The US is often noted as 'Tír na nDollar', the country of the Dollar, in this context. See Úna Ní Bhroiméil, 'American influence on the Gaelic League: inspiration or control?' in Betsey Taylor FitzSimon and James H. Murphy (eds), *The Irish Revival reappraised* (Dublin, 2004), pp 63-70.
[35] McMahon, *Grand opportunity*, p. 119.

feeling that they too were connected to something larger than themselves, especially as these speakers were coming from the US; a country that Hyde had noted the Irish looked towards for inspiration and support, 'nothing has done more to help the cause of the language in Ireland than the interest that is being taken in it in America'.[36] This further emphases the fact that if the Irish in the US, a country of success, were able to recognise the importance and value of the Irish language, then the Irish in Ireland could look to them for encouragement and as an example of what they too could achieve. Acknowledging the fact that the US was also supportive of the language cause would have meant that the Irish in Ireland were not alone in their endeavours. This suggests that Hyde was, thus, aware of the need for transatlantic support for the overall success and implementation of the revival movement, highlighting that this was a transatlantic and collective effort rather than a solely domestic one.

Conclusion

There are similarities in ideas, ideology,[37] and methodology on a transatlantic basis in both of Hyde's addresses, which leads to new questions surrounding the transatlantic participation and influence of the Irish in the US on the linguistic revival movement. While both addresses do differ in other places, and perhaps were written with two separate audiences in mind, comparable sentiments, examples, and methodologies to advance the cause of the Irish language are present in both speeches. The fact that the 1892 Dublin address has been given such prominence in scholarship surrounding the Revival to date almost pinpoints this moment as the beginning of the revival movement in Ireland, arising from an accumulation of factors. These include the success of the Gaelic Journal (*Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge*) (1882) as a bilingual periodical, showcasing the Irish language in print, and also the establishment of the

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[36] *Citizen*, 27 June 1891.
[37] For a conceptual study of revivalism see Fionntán de Brún, *Revivalism and modern Irish literature* (Cork, 2019).

Gaelic Athletic Association (1884), which Billings has shown was an organisation influential in the revival movement alongside the Gaelic League as a means to inspire Irish-Ireland ideals and cultural nationalism.[38] However, given the similarities between the 1892 Dublin lecture and the earlier 1891 New York address, the ideological roots of the Irish language movement now need to be reassessed to incorporate transatlantic, as well as the domestic, attempts to revive the language. While the Irish in the US were aware of their influence on the movement in Ireland in other aspects, the founding of the Dublin periodical *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* in 1882 arising from the establishment of the Brooklyn *An Gaodhal* in 1881,[39] and the later naming of the Dublin 1893 as a 'Gaelic League', despite the fact that there had been a society established in Brooklyn prior to this in 1890,[40] for example, this New York address in 1891 sheds new light on transatlantic relationships with regard to the revival movement. Many factors leading to the success of the movement in Ireland found their ideological and methodological roots in the US and, as the textual analysis of these two addresses in this article shows, the genesis of Hyde's Dublin 1892 lecture is rooted in transatlantic connections between both Irish speaking communities on opposite sides of the Atlantic.

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[38] Billings, 'Speaking Irish with hurley sticks', pp 25-50. See also Aoife Uí Fhaoláin, 'The *Irish Independent* agus ábhar Gaeilge 1905-1922: peirspictíocht stairiúil ar theanga agus ar chultúr na hÉireann i gcomhthéacs idé-eolaíocht "Irish-Ireland" agus athbheochan na Gaeilge' (PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 2015) for commentary regarding 'Irish-Ireland' ideology and the Revival.
[39] *Irish World*, 27 Jan. 1883. See also *An Gaodhal*, July 1883.
[40] *An Gaodhal*, Feb. 1890.

The Mother and Child Scheme 1950-1: a historiographical review

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Implicit in Irish public life for much of the twentieth century and, perhaps, beyond has been an obligation for politicians to abide by the 'moral ethos and teachings' of the Catholic Church.[1] This essay shall review the circumstances and subsequent historiography surrounding a 'major cultural event' which capsized, for many, the 'overweening political claims of the Catholic Church', the Mother and Child Scheme of 1950-1.[2]

The State, following its formation, and in conjunction with the Church did not dawdle in espousing Catholicism, beginning with a series of investigations leading to gross intrusions into the private lives of some its citizens. Commencing in 1925 with the Inquiry Regarding Venereal Disease, and in 1927 with the Committee on Evil Literature, by 1928 the Commission on the Relief of the Sick and Destitute Poor Including the Insane Poor had recommended that unmarried mothers be categorised as those 'amenable to reform' and 'less hopeful cases' and arguably suspending *habeas corpus* by recommending the empowerment of the Board of Health to detain women at the board's 'discretion'.[3] The Carrigan Report of 1931, argues James Smith, was a 'formative moment' in the establishment of an official state stance on 'sexual morality' and the subsequent authorisation of Ireland's 'containment culture'.[4] Interestingly, there are two facets of the Carrigan Committee's operation which are redolent of twenty-first

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[1] Tom Inglis, *Moral monopoly: the rise and fall of the Catholic Church in modern Ireland* (Dublin, 1998), p. 74.
[2] Tom Garvin, *Preventing the future: why was Ireland so poor for so long?* (Dublin, 2004), p. 117.
[3] Report of the Commission on the Relief of the Sick and Destitute Poor, including the Insane poor (Dublin, 1927).
[4] J.M. Smith, 'The politics of sexual knowledge: the origins of Ireland's containment culture and the Carrigan Report (1931)' in *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 13, no. 2 (2004), pp 208-33 at p. 209.

century inquiries. Firstly, on being elected to the chairmanship of the Committee, barrister William Carrigan speculated that the 'work of the Committee would be rendered simple[…because] a valuable English report on this very subject' had already been published in 1926.[5] It is not unfair to suggest that Carrigan was not the only Inquiry chairperson to commit this fallacy over the next century. Secondly, and more remarkably given the controversy surrounding the 2020 Mother and Baby Homes Commissions of Investigation (MBHCOI), the Carrigan Report's summary of its witness testimony prompted a Department of Justice internal memorandum to adjudge that the Committee's conclusions were presented to the reader without access to the 'evidence on which the conclusions were based' making it difficult to 'asses the value of the report'.[6] Catriona Crowe, among others, has laid a similar charge against the MBHCOI arguing that the Commission 'wasn't aware of the importance[…]of properly representing [survivors'] testimony'.[7] And the continuing political fallout surrounding the Mother and Baby Homes Commission Report is just the latest embodiment of a long line of 'Church and State' controversies. Indeed, Carole Holohan's beautifully crafted response to the Ferns, Ryan, Murphy, and Cloyne reports, *In plain sight,* identifies 'issues of power [and] accountability[…] within the Irish political system' that contributed to 'the systemic failures that enabled the abuse of children by agents of the Catholic Church'.[8] However, John Cooney comments that in 1951 Archbishop McQuaid believed that by defeating the Mother and Child Scheme he had 'successfully defended the right of the Catholic Church to[…]practice Catholic medical ethics against the encroaching and potentially totalitarian powers of the State'

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[5] Diarmaid Ferriter, *Occasions of sin: sex and society in modern Ireland* (London, 2009), p. 136.

[6] J.M. Smith, *Ireland's Magdalen Laundries and the nation's architecture of containment* (Manchester, 2007) p. 10.

[7] Catriona Crowe, 'The Commission and the survivors' in *The Dublin Review,* no. 83 (2021) online at *The Dublin Review* (https://thedublinreview.com/article/the-commission-and-the-survivors/) (10 June 2021).

[8] Carole Holohan, *In plain sight: responding to the Ferns, Ryan, Murphy and Cloyne reports* (Dublin, 2011), p. 17, p. 27.

evidenced in the 'insidious form of "socialised medicine"'.[9] It is an examination of the historiography of the Mother and Child Scheme that shall concern this study.

Emanating from the proposal of a seemingly innocuous maternity health program and eventually portrayed as 'one of the most celebrated and vitriolic controversies of twentieth-century Ireland', the Mother and Child Scheme of 1950-1 would not only 'precipitate' the collapse of the first inter-party government but be the basis of a voluminous historiography.[10] Since the initial one dimensional depiction of the crisis as the theocratic 'domination of the State by the Church' an increasingly nuanced debate has developed, detailing more than a clash between the government and the Church.[11] While Roy Foster imputes an 'implacable' clerical opposition to the Scheme, Eamonn McKee warns of accepting the binary narrative of the time citing a 'complexity of factors' which gave the 'illusion of conflict'.[12] Among these factors were a burgeoning health policy, the internal political machinations of Taoiseach John A. Costello's government, a vociferous lobby group within the Irish Medical Association (IMA) and a Catholic Church that perceived itself as equal and not 'subordinate' to the State.[13] Ranging from Michael McInerney's 1967 thorough analysis of the Mother and Child Scheme and Noël Browne's resignation, to Daithí Ó Corráin's assertion, in 2018, that the crisis weakened the influence of the Catholic Church, the historiography has attributed blame to

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[9] John Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid: ruler of Catholic Ireland* (Dublin, 1999), p. 252.
[10] Diarmaid Ferriter, *The transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London, 2004), p. 502; Ronan Fanning, *Éamon De Valera: a will to power* (London, 2015), p. 230. The first inter-party government was finally dissolved on the 7 May 1951. This dissolution was prompted by the refusal of a number of TDs to support Minister James Dillon's estimate for the Department of Agriculture and in particular his unwillingness to grant a higher price for milk. Most prominent among the dissenting TDs were Patrick Cogan, Independent for Wicklow; Patrick O'Reilly, Independent for Cavan; and Patrick Finucane, Clann na Talmhan TD for Kerry North. For further details see *Irish Times,* 5 May 1951.
[11] *Irish Times*, 12 Apr. 1951.
[12] R.F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London, 1989), p. 571; Eamonn McKee, 'Church-State relations and the development of Irish health policy: The Mother-and-Child Scheme, 1944-1953' in *Irish Historical Studies,* vol. 25, no. 98 (1986) pp 159-94 at p. 159.
[13] E.J. Coyne, 'The Mother and Child Scheme' in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review,* vol. 87, no. 348 (revised ed., 1998), pp 402-5 at p. 403.

different interests, and disagreed about its impact.[14] The extensive historiography, although at times disparate, does identify four principals in the crisis. Dr Noël Browne, Costello's government, the Catholic hierarchy, and the IMA have all been the subject of substantial commentary. Accordingly, to efficiently analyse the conflicting arguments, this essay shall address the historiography of the role of each of the protagonists separately. In advance of this examination, a brief discussion of the importance of some of the shared sources used in much of the historiography is necessary.

As Noël Browne began to realise, in early April 1951, that he was about to leave government, he contacted R.M. Smyllie, editor of the *Irish Times*, and endeavoured to have his side of the argument made public. Browne's intention, to which Smyllie acquiesced, was to publish sixteen letters which would ameliorate the public's understanding of the circumstances leading to his resignation. The letters, which included private correspondence between Browne, the Taoiseach, Archbishop John Charles McQuaid, Clann na Poblachta leader Seán MacBride, and others, were published to 'astonishing effect'.[15] McInerney observes that the dissemination was 'unprecedented in Irish political history' and it is, perhaps, fair to question if the Mother and Child Scheme would have gained such notoriety without the publication of these letters.[16] However, published they were, and they represent a remarkable primary source for historians. The entire historiography of the Scheme utilises, either directly or indirectly, the letters at some stage.[17] In addition to the Browne letters, many of the leading players have published autobiographies or have been the subject of biographies. Without exception these publications incorporate sections on the Mother and Child Scheme and are valuable sources.

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[14] Daithí Ó Corráin, 'Catholicism in Ireland, 1880-2015: rise, ascendancy and retreat' in Thomas Bartlett (ed.) *The Cambridge history of Ireland, vol. iv, 1880 to the present* (Cambridge, 2018), pp 726-64 at p. 734

[15] John Horgan, *Noël Browne: passionate outsider* (Dublin, 2000), p. 140.

[16] Michael McInerney, 'Church and State' in *University Review,* vol. 5, no. 2 (1968), pp 171-215 at p. 193.

[17] The letters are republished in their entirety as appendix B in J.H. Whyte, *Church and State in modern Ireland 1923-1979* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1980) pp 419-48.

The treatment of Noël Browne and his part in the Mother and Child Scheme has attracted contrary opinions over five decades of historiography. However, in the first in-depth examination of the crisis, McInerney, in an extended political portrait of Browne in the *Irish Times* in 1967 and an article published the following summer in *University Review,* betrays an admiration for Browne. McInerney, particularly in the peer-reviewed article, is painstaking in his recording of the crisis' minutiae making repeated reference to primary source material including the ubiquitous letters, Dáil debates and press reports. Interestingly, of all the protagonists, McInerney, during his research, appears only to have interviewed Browne. Much use of this interview, conducted in September 1967, is made. Browne appears to have been a forthcoming interviewee and McInerney equally accepting of his testimony. McInerney attributes Browne with 'political sagacity[…]worthy of a veteran'.[18] He lauds Browne's 'incredible moral courage' which, he argues, was vindicated in the election of 1953.[19] Perhaps the most comprehensively researched examination of the crisis is contained in J.H. Whyte's 1971 *Church and State in modern Ireland.* Basil Chubb extols Whyte's 'meticulous scholarship' and 'scrupulous fairness' and recommends the book as a 'piece of research to be taken seriously'.[20] Whyte refers frequently to a myriad of primary sources and conducted 'an extensive programme of interviewing' during which he spoke to 'virtually all the leading participants on all sides' many of whom took the opportunity to put the record straight.[21] Interestingly, Whyte's scholarship and factual retelling of the crisis' intricacies is used as a basis for much of the later historiography. Whyte is more critical of Browne than McInerney. He suggests Browne was unpopular at cabinet. Tellingly, he substantiates this claim not with evidence from a fellow minister who may have an inherent bias, but by quoting Seán Lemass

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[18] McInerney, 'Church and State', p. 179.
[19] McInerney, 'Church and State', p. 215.
[20] Basil Chubb, 'Church and State in modern Ireland, 1923-1970 by J.H. Whyte, Review by Basil Chubb' in *Irish Historical Studies,* vol. 18, no. 69 (1972), pp 115-7 at p. 117.
[21] Whyte, *Church and State*, pp viii-ix.

who supposes Browne must have been 'a very difficult colleague in the government at the time'.[22] Whyte further suggests that the hostility aroused by Browne within the IMA, Clann na Poblachta and the cabinet may well have had as much to do with his downfall as the influence of the hierarchy. Whyte's opinion was steadfast as the historiography grew over the years. A decade after the publication of *Church and State in modern Ireland*, Whyte authored the chapter addressing the Mother and Child Scheme in the *New history of Ireland.* He again asserts that the hierarchy's opposition to Browne was 'only one of the forces' against him.[23] The other long-form survey volumes tend to agree with Whyte's analysis. Brian Girvin, while praising Browne's 'determination, skill and enthusiasm' in tackling the tuberculosis epidemic, accuses him of acting 'ineptly' while dealing with the 'hierarchy, his colleagues and the IMA'.[24] Likewise, Alvin Jackson describes Browne's politicking as 'hamfisted' and as being strategically outclassed by Costello.[25] J.J. Lee, who makes particular use of *Church and State in modern Ireland,* lays blame for the crisis away from Browne's door, whom he describes as a man whose 'vision was generous[…and] instincts were decent'.[26] Perhaps Diarmaid Ferriter comes closest to capturing Browne's performance during the crisis when describing him as an 'admirable but difficult' man.[27] While echoing Jackson's assertions that in political dealings Browne was an innocent abroad, Ferriter castigates his subject for the 'many inaccuracies and deliberate omissions' contained in his autobiography, *Against the tide.*[28] Interestingly, Ferriter opines that Browne was evasive in his opinions towards the later stages of his life. However, this evasiveness was well hidden in a public lecture given by Browne in Belfast in 1991 during

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[22] Whyte, *Church and State*, p. 236.
[23] J.H. Whyte, 'Economic crisis and political cold war, 1949-57' in J.R. Hill (ed.) *A new history of Ireland, vii, 1921-84* (Oxford, 2003), pp 278-93 at p. 280.
[24] Brian Girvin, 'Stability, crisis and change in post-war Ireland' in Thomas Bartlett (ed.) *The Cambridge history of Ireland, vol. iv, 1800 to the present* (Cambridge, 2018), pp 381-406 at p. 393.
[25] Alvin Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998, war, peace and beyond* (2nd ed., Chichester, 2010), p. 307.
[26] J.J. Lee, *Ireland 1912-1985: politics and society* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 318.
[27] Ferriter, *The transformation of Ireland*, p. 503.
[28] Ibid.

which he described the Irish Republic as a 'conservative one-party Roman Catholic state[…where] on matters of conscience[…]Rome's archaic beliefs became and still are mandatory'.[29] The historiography of Browne's seminal role in the Mother and Child Scheme depicts a flawed but fair man. His biographer cautions that the generation Browne strove to help, should be loath to forget the 'fire that burned within [him]'.[30]

If Noël Browne and his part in the row has been portrayed as flawed but inherently honest in the historiography, then the same claim cannot be made for the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Ireland. There exist two opposing theories of the role played by the hierarchy. The first theory, observes Whyte, is that the backlash to the Scheme 'prove[d] Ireland to be a theocratic state' where the hierarchy was free to intervene and influence governmental policy where it wished.[31] In the wake of the controversy, Jesuit priest and academic, E.J. Coyne, defined the extent of episcopal authority. On matters where both the Church and the State have converging interests, Coyne contends that 'the bishop[…and] the bishop only' shall decide on jurisdiction.[32] McQuaid's biographer maintains that in the aftermath of the Scheme's demise the Archbishop defined the moral and social power of a bishop in 'absolutist terms'.[33] Indeed, Thomas Bartlett comments that to the *Irish Times* of 1951 'the Roman Catholic Church would seem to be the effective government of this country'.[34] However, Whyte offers an alternative interpretation which suggests that the hierarchy were a convenient stick with which the cabinet could beat Browne.[35] The rationale being that the government were, at best, reticent about the Scheme. Minister Jim Ryan's 1947 Health Act, in which health authorities would be compelled

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[29] Noël Browne, 'Church and State in modern Ireland', *Queen's Politics Occasional Paper No.4.* (Published public lecture, Dept. of Politics, February 1991) (Belfast, 1991), p. 20, p. 24.
[30] Horgan, *Noël Browne: passionate outsider*, p. 294.
[31] Whyte, *Church and State*, p. 231.
[32] Coyne, 'The Mother and Child Scheme', p. 404.
[33] Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid*, p. 276.
[34] Thomas Bartlett, *Ireland: a history* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 478.
[35] Whyte, *Church and State*, p. 232.

to 'make arrangements for safeguarding the health of women in respect of motherhood and for their education in that respect', had been opposed by Fine Gael.[36] Interestingly Ruth Barrington comments that the threat posed to the medical profession by the Mother and Children section of the 1947 bill was one of the issues that dominated the debate, exemplified by General Practitioner (GP) and Fine Gael TD Tom O'Higgins' assertion that free medical attention for children under sixteen would deny the GP of '70 to 80 percent of his income[…]wiping [the GP] financially out of existence'.[37] Allied to Fine Gael resistance to the proposal was Browne's unpopularity within cabinet. Not only did Browne's status as the cabinet's only graduate of Trinity College Dublin arouse suspicion in a government defined by 'ostentatious Catholicism', the minister's refusal to compromise and his inability to attend cabinet meetings due to an attack of tuberculosis in 1950 did little to advance his cause.[38] Browne's incapability to secure the government's support for his plan, and the hierarchy's opposition, was justification enough for the cabinet to reject the Scheme and its instigator.

As the historiography has developed, so too has the balance of opinion from 'the power of the Church' to the 'government's guilefulness'. Foster in 1989 is adamant that the hierarchy's opposition to the Mother and Child Scheme was 'implacable'.[39] James Staunton argues that the cabinet abandoned the Scheme because the bishops had denounced the plan as a 'ready-made instrument for future totalitarian aggression'.[40] However, Lee adopts a different perspective. He asserts that while ostensibly the Scheme reflected 'church dominance over the social policy of the State', it only served to conceal the hierarchy's relative lack of influence.[41]

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[36] Health Act 1947, sec. 21.
[37] Ruth Barrington, *Health, medicine and politics in Ireland 1900-1970* (Dublin, 1987), p. 183; Dáil Éireann deb., cv, 14 (1 May 1947).
[38] David McCullagh, *The reluctant Taoiseach: a biography of John A. Costello* (Dublin, 2010), p. 234.
[39] Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 571.
[40] James Staunton in Dermot Keogh, *Twentieth-century Ireland: revolution and state building* (revised ed., Dublin, 2005), p. 216.
[41] Lee, *Ireland*, p. 578.

While McQuaid may have boasted of his success in 1951 as the 'most important event in Irish History since[...]Catholic emancipation', Andrew Holmes and Eugenio Biagini suggest it was a hollow victory as the hierarchy had been perceived as having opposed 'essential welfare legislation' to retain control over maternity care.[42]

Perhaps of even greater relevance to the hierarchy was the manner in which Éamon de Valera managed to pass the 1953 Health Act, although the ease of the passage of this act is also contested in the historiography. Bartlett asserts that the Fianna Fáil government enacted 'substantially the same scheme', albeit with the notable abandonment of free medicine, as Browne's 'without opposition from the bishops'.[43] However, Ronan Fanning argues that the concessions granted to the bishops amounted to a defeat for de Valera. Paradoxically he also cautions that the episode should not be construed as a victory of Church over State but rather a blow to de Valera who, unlike Browne, was willing to accept a means test to ensure an avoidance of the bishops' 'public denunciation of his government's health legislation'.[44] De Valera's political acumen can be appreciated in his circumvention of the Irish bishops when he elicited an opinion from Rome which was unsupportive of the Irish hierarchy's position.[45] Lindsey Earner-Byrne contends that the surfeit of negative publicity generated by the hierarchy over their opposition to the Browne Scheme assisted in the passing of de Valera's revised version.[46] The historiography is somewhat split on the motives behind the hierarchy's opposition to the Browne proposal of free medical care for a mother and her child without a

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[42] Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid*, p. 252; A.R. Holmes and E.F. Biagini, 'Protestants' in E.F. Biagini and M.E. Daly (eds) *The Cambridge social history of modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2017), pp 88-111 at p. 106. McQuaid made this claim in a letter, marked 'Secret' and dated 16 Apr. 1951, to the Papal Nuncio, Archbishop Ettore Felici. MacBride had demanded Browne's resignation on 10 Apr. 1951.

[43] Bartlett, *Ireland: a history*, p. 479.

[44] *Irish Times,* 14 Feb. 1985.

[45] Keogh, *Twentieth-century Ireland*, p. 227.

[46] Lindsey Earner-Byrne in Leanne McCormick, 'Reviews and short notices, *Mother and child: maternity and child welfare in Dublin, 1922-1960* by Lindsey Earner-Byrne' in *Irish Historical Studies,* vol. 36, no. 142 (2008), pp 305-6 at p. 306.

means test.[47] Lee comments that the bishops were concerned that a system of state-controlled maternity services would allow non-Catholic doctors to offer advice on birth control and gynaecological issues to Catholic women.[48] And this, in context, might have been a predictable position for a Catholic bishop to assume. What was more dubious, perhaps, was the bishops' decision to take their stand on the absence of a means test. Foster observes that the Catholic hierarchy in Northern Ireland had no objections to Catholic women taking advantage of Aneurin Bevan's more 'sweeping provisions'.[49] The historiography agrees that the hierarchy exerted substantial influence over the workings of the State in 1950. Whyte advises that to evaluate this influence the wider social context must be considered. The devotion of the people coupled with the Church's control of education gave the hierarchy considerable political influence.[50] Ó Corráin argues that the crisis brought unwelcome public scrutiny on the role of the Church.[51] And perhaps in the handling of the Mother and Child Scheme, the politicians had the upper hand. Girvin comments that the Ireland of 1951 was 'heavily tinged with theocracy' because the public 'wished it so', but by the 1960s a new generation of better educated citizens was beginning to demand change in 'subtle ways'.[52]

If the historiography suggests the religious hierarchy and the IMA were against Browne, then the same historiography portrays his cabinet colleagues as his most formidable foes. The inter-

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[47] Browne, when formulating his proposals, obtained governmental agreement on two points of principle; to delete or amend sections 22-6 of the Fianna Fáil 1947 Act relating to the compulsory inspection of schoolchildren to ensure that parental rights would not be infringed, and secondly, in June 1948, the government decided to continue with a free-for-all scheme introduced in the 1947 Act in preference to a means test which may have assuaged the IMA whose 'opposition to a health act was hardening'. Whyte, *Church and State*, p. 201.
[48] Lee, *Ireland*, p. 316.
[49] Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 572.
[50] Whyte, 'Economic crisis and political cold war', p. 280.
[51] Ó Corráin, 'Catholicism in Ireland', p. 726.
[52] Girvin, 'Stability, crisis and change in post-war Ireland', p. 395. Girvin cites the 1950s as the decade which saw the appearance of Irish liberalism as a 'coherent movement', identifying, among others, Seán O'Faolain's *The Bell*, the emergence of the Irish Association for Civil Liberties, the activism of Senator Owen Sheehy Skeffington, and the establishment of *Tuairim* by UCD graduates in 1954, as liberal opposition to a conservative bulwark. For a detailed analysis of the lattermost see Tomás Finn, *Tuairim, intellectual debate and policy formulation: rethinking Ireland, 1954-75* (Manchester, 2012).

party government was led by a cabinet of 'talent, temperament and torpor'.[53] Although ideologically disparate and comprising nominally of parties of the left and right, it was fiercely Catholic. David McCullagh comments that the first meeting of the cabinet approved a missive from Costello to Pope Pius XII assuring the Pontiff of the government's 'desire to repose at the feet of Your Holiness' while striving to attain 'social order in Ireland based on Christian principles'.[54] Jackson notes that Costello's faith and his ambition for his government was founded on old Cumann na nGaedheal traditions. 'I am an Irishman second: I am a Catholic first' was his striking assertion during the crisis.[55] However this public profession of faith only 'echoed similar pronouncements from de Valera' and might also have been designed to reassure the hierarchy that a coalition with Clann na Poblachta would not dilute Fine Gael's piousness.[56] Notwithstanding, Dermot Keogh observes that at least four cabinet members were members of the Knights of St Columbanus.[57] This membership served not only to emphasise the strident Catholicism of the cabinet but also its right wing 'free enterprise mentality' which would favour no increase in state involvement in social affairs, particularly in the professions of medicine and education.[58] The cabinet's second action was to exclude the cabinet secretary, Michael Moynihan, from future cabinet meetings because of his disagreement with the Irish government, that any 'civil power should declare that it reposed at the feet of the Pope'.[59] Moynihan's fate would not have been helped by MacBride's paranoia when dealing with senior civil servants. Eithne MacDermott comments that 'democratic values [do] not always [co-exist] easily with Catholicism'.[60] Jackson observes that this abundance of bellicose Catholicism in the cabinet ensured that the Mother and Child crisis 'far from being a crisis in Church-State

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[53] Keogh, *Twentieth-century Ireland*, p. 191.
[54] Quoted in McCullagh, *The reluctant Taoiseach*, p. 232.
[55] Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, p. 308.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Keogh, *Twentieth-century Ireland*, p. 215.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Eithne MacDermott, *Clann na Poblachta* (Cork, 1998), p. 83.
[60] MacDermott, *Clann na Poblachta*, p. 85.

relations' was an indication of the consensus of social, political and moral values in the upper echelons of Irish society.[61] If, for Browne and his program of reform, this was not ominous enough, then surely what Jonathan Bardon and Keogh describe as MacBride's 'unparalleled sycophancy in his handling of Church-State affairs' rang alarm bells.[62] What is perhaps surprising is MacBride's inability to effectively deal with the Mother and Child crisis. In attempting to rid himself of his difficult and unpopular colleague and potential challenger for the party leadership, MacBride 'jettison[ed] the radical Clann na Poblachta vote'.[63] The party lost eight of its ten seats in the next election. The historiography unanimously agrees that Costello was in a considerably more comfortable position, happy to profess piety to the hierarchy's position in the knowledge that it coincided 'with the material advantage of the interests he represented'.[64] However, Ó Corráin is indirectly critical of Costello when he asserts that firm leadership in 1953 ensured the Fianna Fáil Health Act would succeed where Costello's failed.[65] Nonetheless Costello and Fine Gael were, asserts Girvin, close to the medical profession and the party had assisted the IMA during the crisis.[66] If, of all the protagonists, there was a party that emerged victorious, it was the IMA.

If the IMA were the ultimate winners, the historiography argues that the IMA believed they had had most to lose. Whyte maintains that the Mother and Child proposal was seen by the IMA as a 'free-for-all' scheme which would cripple private practice converting 'all doctors into salaried state servants'.[67] Lee is more cynical, wondering that if 'socialised medicine' would be likely to increase medic's incomes, would the IMA have endured its 'ideological

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[61] Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, p. 308.
[62] Jonathan Bardon and Dermot Keogh, 'Introduction, Ireland 1921-84' in J.R. Hill (ed.) *A new history of Ireland, vii, 1921-84* (Oxford, 2003), pp lv-lxxxiii at p. lxxx.
[63] Lee, *Ireland*, pp 317-8.
[64] Lee, *Ireland*, p. 317.
[65] Ó Corráin, 'Catholicism in Ireland', p. 734.
[66] Girvin, 'Stability, crisis and change in post-war Ireland', p. 392.
[67] Whyte, 'Economic crisis and political cold war', p. 279.

horrors[…]more stoically'?[68] Interestingly Kevin Rafter comments that to the IMA 'socialised

medicine' was a euphemism for loss of earnings, however, it may also be argued that the IMA

were concerned that the *de facto* nationalisation of some facets of general practice would

compromise the confidentiality of the doctor-patient relationship.[69] Whyte, in *Church and

State,* opines that Browne's strategy was not to take on the hierarchy but to initiate radical

social change. He sought to orchestrate a collision with one of the pillars of Irish conservatism,

the IMA. H.E. Counihan accepted Whyte's assertion that Browne was so intent with

destabilising the IMA, he 'failed to appreciate the political seriousness of the hierarchy's

objections'.[70] McKee also agrees with Whyte, asserting that Browne's Department of Health

was concerned with the most efficient delivery of public health services whereas the IMA was

lobbying for the benefit of its members. Browne subsequently confirmed this during a Dáil

debate in 1953 when he announced that 'it is the medical association we are fighting here on

behalf of the people'.[71] However Browne's refusal to seek an alliance with doctors highlights

his flawed handling of the Scheme, blamed by John Horgan on a 'self-dramatisation' which

made the forming of political alliances 'difficult – and in the end impossible'.[72] The IMA had

considered the development of socialised health services in Britain and commissioned a report

which, according to the *Irish Times*, found that 'more pay and less patients [would] enable

doctors to provide a higher standard of medicine'.[73] Counihan also notes that there is no

evidence corroborating allegations of an alliance between the IMA and the hierarchy.[74] And

neither is there evidence of an alliance between the IMA and the government. But these three

institutions were certainly linked. The four cabinet ministers who were also members of the

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[68] Lee, *Ireland*, p. 316.
[69] Kevin Rafter, *The clann: the story of Clann na Poblachta* (Dublin, 1996), p. 140.
[70] H.E. Counihan, 'The Medical Association and the Mother and Child Scheme' in *Irish Journal of Medical Science,* vol. 171, no. 2 (2002), pp 110-5 at p. 113.
[71] Quoted in McKee, 'Church-State relations and the development of Irish health policy', p. 191.
[72] Horgan, *Noël Browne: passionate outsider*, p. 293.
[73] McKee, 'Church-State relations and the development of Irish health policy', p. 162.
[74] Counihan, 'The Medical Association and the Mother and Child Scheme', p. 113.

Knights of St Columbanus would most definitely have been close to supreme knight and medical doctor, J. Stafford Johnston. McKee identifies that by 1951 the Knights of St Columbanus boasted sixteen bishops among their membership.[75] Costello had also been a member in the 1920s. Although the Knights had no calculable influence over government policy, their soft power was formidable. Bartlett comments that although Browne's target was the IMA, it was the hierarchy that would be viewed as 'obscurantist and elitist' by the public, as 'the IMA walked away blame free'.[76] Liam O'Bríain was more direct in being unable to 'resist the feeling that the bishops were pulled by the doctors who want to remain gentlemen and not let officials near them or their tax returns'.[77] Most direct of all was Bishop Herlihy who lamented that 'we allowed ourselves to be used by the doctors, it won't happen again'.[78]

The vast historiography of the Mother and Child Scheme, and its prominent inclusion in all the long-form history surveys of modern Ireland, bear testament to its importance in the evolving relationship between the Church and State in the twentieth century. Historical interest has been continually piqued by the release of fresh primary and original secondary material. Browne's initial publication of his letters in April 1951 was an incendiary inauguration to the commentary. A plethora of contemporary comments in the letter pages, editorials and feature pages of the national press added to this cache of primary material awaiting the future historian. From 1986 onwards a slew of biographies and autobiographies featuring the main protagonists including Browne, Costello and McQuaid were published adding more material for analysis. The release of the Dublin Diocesan Archives in tranches beginning in 1998 offered new perspectives on the crisis with the McQuaid Papers amounting to 700 archival boxes. Significantly, this archive allowed Earner-Byrne to introduce another player to the already

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[75] McKee, 'Church-State relations and the development of Irish health policy', p. 177.
[76] Bartlett, *Ireland: a history*, p. 480.
[77] Liam O'Bríain in Ferriter, *The transformation of Ireland*, p. 503.
[78] Bishop Herlihy in Keogh, *Twentieth-century Ireland*, p. 219.

crowded stage. Letters to McQuaid reveal the voice of mothers, which while 'sometimes fearful [and] sometimes aggressive', are always vocal on the '"burdens of motherhood"'.[79]

It is not just the complex issues of Church and State, but that the protagonists on all sides were colourful and, perhaps, flawed that made the Mother and Child Scheme 'one of the great *cause célèbres* of Irish politics'.[80] Browne was 'naive', Costello overly pious, MacBride 'inept' and McQuaid 'obsessional'.[81] Desmond Williams surmises that these different personalities and the 'improbable series of coincidences' which bought them together, gave the Mother and Child Scheme a 'character it would have lacked under different circumstances'.[82] Indeed, Kevin Rafter observes that if it were not for the obduracy of Browne a 'compromise might have been arranged'.[83] Of all the historiographical commentary, perhaps the most insightful summation of the Scheme is that of Earner-Byrne who contends that both McQuaid and Browne used the Scheme for their own ends. This is surely equally applicable to the government and the IMA. Earner-Byrne, perhaps uniquely among commentators, places emphasis on what was achieved for women and their children during this period rather than the controversy and its 'star performances'.[84] Ruth Barrington attributes the health acts of 1947 and 1953 with a health service that 'improved quite dramatically'.[85] However, more importantly, Earner-Byrne opines that without the crisis of 1950-1 and the adverse publicity generated towards the Church, the 1953 Act may not have been passed. Crucially this act, notes

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[79] C.M. Mangion, 'Reviewed work: *Mother and child: maternity and child welfare in Dublin, 1922-60* by Lindsey Earner-Byrne' in *Journal of Contemporary History,* vol. 44, no. 2 (2009), pp 360-2 at p. 361; Lindsey Earner-Byrne, *Mother and child: maternity and child welfare in Dublin 1922-60* (Manchester, 2007), p. 79.
[80] Lee, *Ireland*, p. 313.
[81] Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, p. 308; Lee, *Ireland*, p. 318; Noël Browne in Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid*, p. 14.
[82] Desmond Wiliams in Lee, *Ireland*, p. 318.
[83] Quoted in Rafter, *The clann*, p. 140.
[84] Earner-Byrne, *Mother and child*, p. 144.
[85] Ruth Barrington in T.P. O'Neill, 'Reviews and short notices, *Health, medicine and politics, 1900-1970* by Ruth Barrington' in *Irish Historical Studies,* vol. 27, no. 105 (1990), pp 83-4 at p. 84.

Earner-Byrne, provided free maternity care for all women regardless of marital status, delivering a 'significant blow to the connection between morality and health'.[86]

Although the voluminous historiography has made a mockery of Costello's assertion that 'the public never ought to have become aware of the matter', there exist three areas where further research may be productive.[87] McKee comments that the Knights of St Columbanus provided a 'neat and potent' opportunity for State, Church, and the IMA leaders to meet and discuss strategy informally. [88] And while academic Sr Mary Angela Bolster's *The Knights of Saint Columbanus,* which is 'generally supportive of the Knights' work to maintain a Catholic Ireland', is the 'standard account' of the organisation, it would be interesting, albeit unlikely, to be granted access to the Knight's archival records for the early 1950s.[89] In a similar vein, Counihan bemoans that the IMA archives, including meetings between McQuaid and the IMA executive, are 'in storage'.[90] It is tempting to believe that these archives could shed further light on any complicity between the two organisations. A third potential area of study is first identified by John Horgan, in his biography of Browne, in which Ferriter suggests he 'demonstrates that class snobbery lay at the heart of much of the opposition to health reform'.[91] Ferriter, later expands on this theory, opining that the Mother and Child Scheme was one of 'entrenched class interests'.[92] With Labour Party leader Wille Norton a member of the right-wing Knights, and Jackson's assertion that 'even the Irish Trades Union Congress backed away

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[86] Lindsey Earner-Byrne in Leanne McCormick, 'Reviews and short notices, *Mother and child: maternity and child welfare in Dublin, 1922-60* by Lindsey Earner-Byrne' in *Irish Historical Studies,* vol. 36, no. 142 (2008), pp 305-6 at p. 306.
[87] J.A. Costello in Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 572.
[88] McKee, 'Church-State relations and the development of Irish health policy', p. 177.
[89] Patrick Maume, 'Bolster, Angela', *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (2012). Bolster published *The Knights of Columbanus* under the name Evelyn Bolster.
[90] Counihan, 'The Medical Association and the Mother and Child Scheme', p. 115.
[91] Diarmaid Ferriter, 'Reviews and short notices: *Noël Browne: passionate outsider* by John Horgan. *A makeshift majority: the first inter-party government, 1948-51* by David McCullagh' in *Irish Historical Studies,* vol. 32, no. 127 (2001), pp 451-3 at p. 452.
[92] Ferriter, *The transformation of Ireland*, p. 504.

from any endorsement of Browne' an examination of who, if anyone, on the left was supporting Browne may be of interest.[93]

In conclusion, Noël Browne was ostensibly the loser in the Mother and Child Scheme controversy. Many within Leinster House remained determined that there should be no recurrence of the discord, shying away from progressive legislation particularly in the realm of health, education, and social welfare. However, Tom Garvin suggests that the dispute did 'profound long-term damage' to the Catholic Church's status within the emerging middle classes.[94] And if this was the result of the first in-depth debate on the Church-State nexus, it might be reasonable to expect the hierarchy to have reappraised its message in response to their 'evident failure' to convince the Catholic middle classes of their position. However, the Church's response was to accentuate its stance with equal quotas of polemic and anti-intellectualism. Bishop Lucey, in November 1951, sermonised that state control in the wake of the Mother and Child Scheme ensured the populace were 'fast losing the will and the way to do things for [them]selves'.[95] Lucey continued, laying the blame for the 'eclipse of the individual person' with government departmental officials; 'experts, convinced that they know better than ourselves what is good for us'.[96] Interestingly Lucey, at the Christus Rex Congress in 1955, commented that during the Mother and Child crisis the Catholic hierarchy were the 'final arbiters of right and wrong even in political matters'.[97] An *Irish Times* editorial describes these remarks as 'unfortunate', giving credence to the charge that Ireland was being 'ruled from Maynooth rather than Leinster House'. Intriguingly the editor comments that the crisis was

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[93] Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, p. 308. In mitigation of the Labour Party leader, John Horgan comments that Willie Norton was 'most active in attempting to engineer a compromise' on the means test, his final suggestion being that the Scheme would only apply to families with an income of less than £1000 p.a. This offer was 'never seriously entertained' by Browne. See Horgan, *Noël Browne: passionate outsider*, p. 130 for details.
[94] Garvin, *Preventing the future*, p. 126.
[95] Cornelius Lucey in Whyte, *Church and State*, p. 271.
[96] Ibid.
[97] *Irish Times,* 14 May 1955.

precipitated not 'by an excess of zeal on the part of the hierarchy' but by the 'folly of certain politicians – not including Dr Browne'.[98] Finally, given the recent debates on hospital governance, and non-denominational education it is reasonable to question whether the Church has relented on its determination to retain a 'monopoly over morality'.[99] However, one facet of societal discourse has changed inalterably, and it is fitting that a mother should have the final word in any review of the Mother and Child Scheme. Mary Robinson finds it 'fascinating' that on this 'deeply significant political and social issue there appears to have been 'no public woman's voice expressed at all'.[100] This thankfully, due to years of hard work by Mary Robinson and her cohort, will not be allowed to reoccur.

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[98] *Irish Times,* 14 May 1955.

[99] Inglis, *Moral monopoly*.

[100] Mary Robinson, 'Women and the new Irish State' in Margaret MacCurtain and Donncha Ó Corráin (eds) *Women in Irish society: the historical dimension* (Westport, CT, 1979), pp 58-70 at p. 61.

'Oh that's grand, I never was washed like that before!': The experience of arrival at the Sister of Mercy run Irish industrial schools, 1868-1910.[1]

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Introduction

> 20 Feb. 1873 – Last Thursday at 4:00 o'clock arrived at the convent from Cork, two children, brothers[…]pet names Bonny and Goody (accompanied by Constable Cunningham and a jenny car driver) who escorted them through the hall into the cloister in an ecstasy of delight at the kind way in which they were received by the nuns. They were a great source of curiosity as well as amusement to the latter since they were the first certified for our industrial school. They had two more than soiled faces, which being the most prominent parts, seemed to have taken the deepest dyes. While Bonny amused us with his Cork accent, Goody being of four and a half years old was to all an object of sympathy. They at once got refreshments and were then conducted to the industrial school by the matron where warm baths were then given after which warm beds.[2]

The above extract is from the manager's diary of the Cappoquin Industrial School for junior boys in County Waterford and details the arrival of the first two inmates to that school.[3] The description of their entrance in an 'ecstasy of delight' and the recorded kindness, curiosity, amusement, and sympathy of their reception by the Sisters of Mercy, as well as the conveyed innocence and vulnerability of the two young boys, is both vivid and intriguing. Although such a description seems far removed from the oral and survivor accounts of twentieth century

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[1] This article forms part of a PhD which is currently undergoing completion. Jane O'Brien, 'Care and control: the experience of the Sister of Mercy run Irish industrial school system, 1868-1936' (PhD thesis, N.U.I., Galway).

[2] Cappoquin Industrial School, manager's diary, 20 Feb. 1873, (The Mercy Congregational Archives (M.C.A.), IND 2/4).

[3] Bonny and Goody were the first of 1483 children to pass through Cappoquin school during its time in existence. In order to afford anonymity to the inmates of the schools, first names have been maintained while surnames have been reduced to initials. It was a documentary requirement of a certified industrial school for the manager to keep a school diary or journal. Its purpose, according to the rules and regulations, was to record all 'important or exceptional occurrences' within the school and the journal was to be 'laid before the inspector when he visits.'

industrial school committal experiences[4] an analysis of its cultural context can provide some insights into the motivations, emotions, and experience of the past and the process of change.[5] The decision to transcribe the event in the official school diary, including the use of the boys' nicknames, suggests that despite their circumstances and appearance the nuns saw something of value in the boys' individuality and childish innocence. They believed their work was to remould and socialise children from a criminal or destitute past, but it appears there was also some recognition of the ideal of childhood on a level apart from class or background.[6] The excitement of these first arrivals for the sisters marked the climax of considerable physical and costly preparations by them to secure government certification and funding for their industrial school, and was no doubt also influenced by the zealous reformative ambitions they might have felt on the occasion.[7] The middle decades of the nineteenth century had seen an extraordinary growth in the number of young women joining the religious orders,[8] and on a spiritual level the care of homeless and destitute children had become an implicit part of the work of the Sisters of Mercy who also undertook the care of the sick and the education of the poor.[9] The prevalent belief that poverty was linked to morality was being challenged by the growing

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[4] For accounts of such experiences see Report of the Commission to inquire into child abuse, 2000-5, vols i-v (Dublin, 2009), (known as the *Ryan Report*). Also Paddy Doyle, *The God squad* (Dublin, 1988). It is noteworthy that Paddy Doyle's autobiographical account of his time in an industrial school details his arrival at the same school, St Michael's in Cappoquin eighty two years later in 1955 during which he recounts his terror of the nuns and his fear on being forced apart from his uncle.

[5] Drawing from the methodologies of the history of emotions and experience relevant works include Rob Boddice and Mark Smith, *Emotion, sense, experience* (Cambridge, 2020); Rob Boddice, *The history of emotions* (Manchester, 2018); William Reddy, *The navigation of feeling, a framework for the history of emotions* (Cambridge, 2001); Katie Barclay, Sharon Crozier-De Rosa and Peter N. Stearns (eds), *Sources for the history of emotions: a guide* (Oxfordshire, 2021).

[6] This idea is also explored in Karen Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent states*: *the child's part in nineteenth-century American culture* (Chicago, 2005).

[7] Under the 1868 Industrial School (Ireland) Act funding was made available by the Treasury to cover a capitation grant to maintain each child committed but was insufficient to cover the building and equipment of such schools which had to be privately funded.

[8] Between 1850 and 1900 the number of nuns in Ireland rose from 1500 to 8000. See Mary Peckham Magray, *The transforming power of the nuns: women, religion, and cultural change in Ireland, 1750–1900* (Oxford, 1998), p. 9.

[9] Under the encouragement of Cardinal Cullen there had been a continuous growth of Catholic institutions caring for homeless children. When the industrial school system began to be established in 1868 there was already in existence a widespread system of orphanages operated by the various religious orders and the Sisters of Mercy were particularly active in this area with over thirty orphanages in operation by 1875.

awareness and recognition of childhood as a distinct stage of life requiring protection, and a belief that removal from a background of destitution and criminality offered children both the chance of physical protection and moral transformation.[10] However, poor children were also progressively becoming targets for middle class theories and practices that resulted in the increased regulation of private family life, and public interest in them became as Linda Mahood has observed 'the wedge used to prise open families'.[11] Although there is little further information on the background of Bonny and Goody they may well have been pleased to enter the school and receive a warm welcome from the nuns in Cappoquin, although their youth and innocence may have meant they had little comprehension of the long duration of their industrial school sentence.[12] It seems they had suffered from poverty and possible neglect in their former lives, having perhaps experienced the deplorable living conditions that were prevalent in the city's worst slums during that period.[13] We know from the school's records that four-year-old Goody who had elicited such sympathy on his arrival had always 'suffered from great delicacy' and was transferred four years later to the incurable hospital in Cork where it was reported 'he died a very holy death.'[14] Rather than being interpreted as a failure of the industrial school, the culture of the convent run institution meant that his death became part of the religious discourse of salvation.[15]

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[10] Harry Hendrick, *Child welfare: historical dimensions, contemporary debate* (Bristol, 2003), p. 1.

[11] Linda Mahood, *Policing gender, class and family in Britain, 1800-1945* (London, 1995), p. 2.

[12] Most children were sentenced to industrial schools until their sixteenth birthdays.

[13] Henry Biggs, 'Report on the sanitary conditions of certain parts of the city of Cork' in *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, vol. 6, no. 4 (1843), pp 357-60. See also Frank Cullen, 'The provision of working and lower class housing in late nineteenth century urban Ireland' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature*, vol. 111C, (2011), pp 217-51; John O'Brien, 'Population, politics and society in Cork, 1780- 1900' in Patrick O'Flanagan and Cornelius G. Buttimer (eds), *Cork history and society* (Dublin, 1993), pp 699–720.

[14] Cappoquin Industrial School, manager's diary, 3 Jan. 1877, (M.C.A., IND 2/4).

[15] Such a culture was a common feature within convents and religious run institutions where the passing of either nuns or inmates are frequently noted in the annals or other institutional documentation as "good" or "holy" deaths.

After its establishment in Ireland in 1868 the industrial school system had by the end of the century surpassed the poor law workhouse system as the main repository for orphaned and destitute children and continued as the chief form of state childcare until well into the twentieth century.[16] This article uses convent archive sources from five Sister of Mercy run industrial schools to look more closely at how children may have experienced the period of arrival at the schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[17] While official records exist related to institutional admissions processes and the court orders that arose from this, the actual experience of entry to the school, and the point of institutionalisation from the perspective of children, is harder to find. Few records document the children's feelings and attitudes about the breakdown of their families, their subsequent arrival in the institution, and their experience of the admissions procedures and daily rituals. However, the convent archives that survive allow access to evidence of the experience of the schools and enable an exploration of that world within its historical context.

Getting at the experience of children within the industrial school system is not without its challenges and constraints. Much of the available documentation within the archives for the schools, including the managers' diaries for the institutions, were created by those in power. The sentiments they record for children remain an interpretation of those emotions by adults and such an interpretation could allow those in power to justify themselves and their work in terms of religious discourse and service. The true perspective of the child is usually excluded from the dominant discourse that is recorded and limits our access to children's full experience.

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[16] At its height in 1898 the population in the industrial schools was 7998 compared with 6000 in the same year in the workhouse – see Sarah-Anne Buckley, *The cruelty man – child welfare, the NSPCC and the State in Ireland, 1889-1956* (Manchester, 2013), p. 112.

[17] The schools used were located in Kinsale, Ennis, Dundalk, Cappoquin and Newtownforbes. They were chosen for their geographical, gender and archival content spread. The majority of Mercy run industrial schools catered to girls although they did also run four schools for junior boys, represented by Cappoquin.

However, the archives of the schools can aid in reconstructing the 'contexts of possibilities'[18] in which the understanding of the industrial school system was grounded in the late-nineteenth -and-early-twentieth century, and by honing our attention to the moments at which children become visable or hearable in the archives we can track the ways in which the system operated for them on a daily basis. Such moments can also emerge more sharply during instances of rebellion or exclusion, and these occasions are important as they give us an opportunity to shine a light on how power existed in the system and how that power was held, justified or used to control. In addition, we can amplify the voice of the child by listening for and recognising the silences in the archive that represent those outside or excluded from the emotional regime as well as by exploring the compliance of children from their own perspective. [19]

While seeking to understand the conditions which determine what was considered 'true' in the historical timeframe of this research it is necessary to acknowledge the more recent history of institutional child abuse within the system and the juxtaposition of divergent reports from survivors of the schools in the later twentieth century, which remain a powerful reminder of how we should always question the values, interests, and bias behind apparently objective depictions of reality. We must recognise that although the proven twentieth century institutional neglect and abuse of children in industrial schools cannot be identified for this earlier period, it may still have existed.[20] However, it is also important to be conscious of the

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[18] The phrase 'context of possibilities' was used by Fanny Hernández Brotons, 'The experience of cancer illness: Spain and beyond during the second half of the nineteenth century' (PhD thesis, Carlos III University, Madrid, 2017), p. 20, as cited in Boddice and Smith, *Emotion, sense, experience*, p. 50.

[19] The term 'emotional regime' refers to the modes, attitudes and rules that governed the expression of particular emotions and was defined by William Reddy as follows: 'The set of normative emotions and the official rituals, practices and emotives that express and inculcate them; a necessary underpinning of any stable political regime'; William M. Reddy, *The navigation of feeling: a framework for the history of emotions* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 129.

[20] Lesley Hulonce, 'The elephant in the room: questioning the absence of paedophilia in children's histories' online at *Journal of Victorian Culture Online* (http://jvc.oup.com/2013/01/03/the-elephant-in-the-room-questioning-the-absence-of-paedophilia-in-childrens-histories/) (30 June 2020). This could include problems with separation from family and siblings, an institutional upbringing, and lifelong challenges of self-development associated with identity and belonging.

pitfalls of anachronism when projecting current concerns onto the past and, in the quest to recover past experience and do justice to past realities this work strives to avoid imposing current realities on the subject.

Experience on entry

Entry to an industrial school was a significant event in a child's life. As the schools were originally set up as penal and corrective institutions they were closely aligned with the courts and the prison system. It has been shown how the industrial school system in Ireland had evolved from its original intention as a reform system for children from criminal backgrounds to a means of survival from poverty for many families,[21] with most children being admitted to industrial schools because of destitution, vagrancy, or the death of one or both parents.[22] However, the requirement of a committal through the courts system meant that children would often have to go through the courts process where a witness would give evidence as to their 'crime' and they would receive their sentence. Children would then be brought to the school, either by family or some other interested party, although they were also often brought by a constable, or someone connected with the courts system. They could be brought in groups, for example from the Dublin courts, sometimes arriving unexpectedly in the dead of night – the whole school being awoken by the repeated banging of the constable on the school door.[23] More often, however, children arrived either individually, or in family groups, or in small clusters of twos or threes.

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[21] Jane Barnes, *Irish industrial schools 1868-1908* (Dublin, 1989). For the years 1905-13, for which annual reports provide causes for committal, such causes that were related directly to a criminal environment – i.e. frequenting the company of thieves, frequenting the company of prostitutes, residing in a brothel, and children under the age of twelve charged with offences punishable by prison - never exceeded 8 percent. As cited in Cecilia Hallström Parker, 'Irish childcare, 1850-1913: attitudes and approaches' (PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2016), pp 172-3 referencing the Forty-Fourth [-Fifty-Second] Report of the inspector appointed to visit the reformatory and industrial schools of Ireland,1905-1913.

[22] Committal charges frequently included being 'found wandering without any home or settled place of abode, or proper guardianship, or visible means of subsistence', being 'found destitute, being an orphan', or being 'found begging'.

[23] See for example Cappoquin Industrial School, manager's diary, Mar. 1882, (M.C.A., IND 2/4).

The feelings of children on arrival to an industrial school would have depended very much on their prior experience.[24] Many children on entering the schools could find a refuge from poverty,[25] although this needs to be understood in the context of the lack of alternative, meaningful non-institutional welfare provisions for their families.[26] Some children could experience relief on entering the schools from backgrounds of neglect and violence: 'Now I am happy for I know there will be no one to beat me'[27] one girl was said to remark on her arrival to Kinsale Industrial School – while a group of children committed to that school were reported in the manager's diary to be 'delighted at finding themselves in a home with kind friends to look after them [which] showed how much they had needed such comforts.'[28] In some cases, the malleable nature of very young children could make it easier for them to adjust, and as time passed they might remember the school as their 'only home'. Thomas and David C were aged only six and four when they were committed to Cappoquin Industrial School. Initially it was 'impossible to reconcile them to their new home' but it was reported that 'in a very short time they were contented with their new life and would not leave for anything'.[29] The idea of 'home' was central to the aspirations of care provided by the schools.[30] It was a complex and dynamic concept, the understanding of which was shaped by domestic ideals and varied widely depending on the social and cultural interpretations of the time.[31] The frequent description within the convent sources of the industrial school as a 'home' was often used to

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[24] For a discussion of the relationships between children's family circumstances and emotional experiences see Jane Humphries, 'Care and cruelty in the workhouse: children's experiences of residential poor relief in eighteenth and nineteenth-century England' in Nigel Goose and Katrina Honeyman (eds), *Childhood and child labour in industrial England: diversity and agency, 1750-1914* (Farnham, 2013), pp 120-4.

[25] Cases within the industrial school convent archives contain details of this.

[26] Peter Gray, 'Irish social thought and the relief of poverty, 1847-1880' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 20 (2010), pp 141-56 at p. 148; See also M. E. Daly, *The spirit of earnest inquiry: the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland, 1847-1997* (Dublin, 1997), p. 33 regarding restrictions on outdoor relief.

[27] Kinsale Industrial School, manager's diary, 4 Dec. 1869, (M.C.A., IND 17/4).

[28] Ibid.

[29] Cappoquin Industrial School, manager's diary, 13 Apr. 1877, (M.C.A., IND 2/4).

[30] The term 'home' in the context of an institutional environment for children is contested by some of those who were committed to the industrial school system in Ireland in the twentieth century.

[31] For insights on ways in which the ideals of home permeated institutional ideology for different institutional populations see Jane Hamlett, Lesley Hoskins and Rebecca Preston (eds), *Residential institutions in Britain, 1725-1970: inmates and environments* (London, 2013).

convey the aspired values of a domestic environment within a religious institution which prioritised such qualities as neatness, cleanliness, order and piety over a recognition of the emotional needs of the child (and as opposed to the punitive model of the workhouse).[32] However, the schools also aspired to provide safety, permanence, and care within the institutional community. The doctrine of middle-class domesticity embraced by the system was perceived as the antithesis to the alleged disorderly and undomesticated homes of the poor.[33]

For many, however, despite the poverty of their backgrounds, committal to an industrial school was a traumatic experience involving separation from family and familiar surroundings. For those entering the schools who had surviving parents or family members the abrupt separation could be especially distressing and the reported upset and constant crying on entry was an indication of their fear and despair. Frequently, institutionalisation could follow shortly on bereavement of a parent or close family and so compounded the sense of grief or shock. A period of severe distress was not unusual and 'ceaseless tears' accompanied many new entrants to the schools such as William M reported as being 'blind from his unceasing tears for his kind relatives' when he was committed to Cappoquin after his mother died and his father was terminally ill.[34] Relations were not under an obligation to keep orphaned children and many believed that to be in an industrial school under the care of the religious orders was the best place for them. In 1882 seven-year-old James K was committed, charged as a destitute orphan. He had been living with his grandmother and although he seemed to have suffered want and was of a very delicate appearance he could not be reconciled to stay in the school, instead

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[32] For an insight into Catholic philanthropy and social thinking of the time see Frances Taylor, *Irish homes and Irish hearts*, ed. Mary McAuliffe (Dublin, 2013).

[33] This argument is also made in relation to poor law establishments in Lydia Murdoch*, Imagined orphans: poor families, child welfare, and contested citizenship in London* (New Jersey, 2006) and in Lesley Hulonce, *Pauper children and Poor Law childhoods in England and Wales 1834-1910*, online at Rounded Globe (https://roundedglobe.com/books/3b3a9a73-0518-487e-86b0-98d4c10f9af5/Pauper%20Children%20and%20Poor%20Law%20Childhoods%20in%20England%20and%20Wales%201834-1910/) (30 June 2020).

[34] Cappoquin Industrial School, manager's diary, 28 Mar. 1873, (M.C.A., IND 2/4).

wanting to return to his grandmother. He protested that she had no money to pay the rent and he wanted to go to help her and would cry out in the night 'Oh Gran, why did you let me go'. Although the child's voice is recounted through the adult, such an account still provides us with rare access to the child's perspective on, and response to, poverty. Children could feel shared responsibility for the economic burden of the family and suffer emotional stress because of this. His grandmother wrote to him, and it was reported that by degrees he became more contented and cheerful and grew stronger.[35]

The maternal bonds that could exist prior to entry did not always have to be for immediate family. Six-year-old John M was admitted as a destitute orphan to Cappoquin in 1873 and 'seemed to have an overflow of tears which he shed in an abundance for his old nurse Mrs Murray'. It seemed that Nancy, the laundress from the industrial school, bore a strong resemblance to her and was constantly pursued by him: 'Whenever he was wanted, he was sure to be found with her and if he heard a footstep coming towards him, he would turn to hide under her apron. It was only at the end of a fortnight that he gave her up and took to his companions.'[36] John could well have been boarded-out in foster care or attended the workhouse before becoming eligible for the capitation grant in the industrial school. The option of boarding-out was introduced under the Irish Poor Law Amendment Act in 1862. The benefit of 'a mutual attachment' developing between the child and the nurse or family with which they resided was recognised as an advantage over the rearing of children in workhouses and institutions,[37] although many counties were slow to take it up as a form of childcare.[38]

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[35] Cappoquin Industrial School, manager's diary, 15 Dec. 1882, (M.C.A., IND 2/4).

[36] Cappoquin Industrial School, manager's diary, 24 May 1873, (M.C.A., IND 2/4).

[37] The regulations of the Poor Law Board for boarding out pauper children: and the Paupers Conveyance (Expenses) Act, 1870, p. 4.

[38] Virginia Crossman, 'Cribbed, contained and confined? The care of children under the Irish Poor Law, 1850-1920' in *Éire Ireland*, vol. 44 (2009), pp 37-61. Crossman has argued how many local guardians, supported by ratepayers, were simply not prepared to devote either the time or the resources necessary to provide specialist services for children and a relatively high level of institutional childcare was something Irish society was willing to tolerate well into the twentieth century.

The first impression for many children on arrival at the schools may have been the physical size and imposing nature of the buildings. The frequently austere visual nature of the schools and their large communal spaces could make them forbidding, unhomely, and frightening places for children initially.[39] The schools, which were usually constructed to accommodate large numbers of children, as well as incorporating spaces for industrial training, were also in sharp contrast to the dwellings of the lower classes which were frequently small and congested.[40] High ceilinged dormitories, shared washing facilities and a spacious refectory for mealtimes would replace the kitchen hearth where poorer families not only cooked, washed and heated their homes but also slept and socialised.[41] Although it was envisaged that a home-like atmosphere should prevail within the schools – and the schools frequently proclaimed as such – the number of children normally resident and the physical nature of the buildings meant that it could be difficult to foster such an atmosphere in practice and it is unlikely that children felt immediately 'at home' in the institution which bore little or no relation to the homes from which they had come.[42]

The physical space of the institution also defined the authority and control that existed there, and this also helped shape the emotional experience of admittance for the children.[43] Often plucked from the city streets, the contrast to a relatively rural environment and close

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[39] Although we cannot say for sure that this was the feeling of child inmates during the time period under investigation, later twentieth century autobiographical accounts of industrial schools testify to such impressions of the schools by children. For more information on the relevance and use of sensory history in exploring the lived and felt experience of the past see Mark M. Smith, *A sensory history manifesto* (Pennsylvania, 2021).

[40] Jacinta Prunty, *Dublin slums 1800-1925, a study in urban geography* (Dublin, 2000); P. J. Meghen, *Housing in Ireland* (Dublin, 1963), pp 5-12.

[41] B. O'Reilly, 'Hearth and home: the vernacular house in Ireland from *c*. 1800', in E. Fitzpatrick and J. Kelly (eds), *Domestic life in Ireland, special issue of proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 111 (2011), pp 193-215.

[42] This was in contrast to the 'cottage-homes' and family-type environments that were used to house inmates in Britain. See Lydia Murdoch 'From barrack schools to family cottages: creating domestic space for late Victorian poor children' in Jon Lawrence and Pat Starkey (eds), *Child welfare and social action in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: international perspectives* (Liverpool, 2001), pp 147-73.

[43] See Hamlett, Hoskins and Preston (eds), *Residential institutions in Britain*.

supervision must have felt a most sudden extinction of all the freedoms they were used to. The shared rooms and the almost constant watchful eye of their overseers, even during recreation time, meant that their personal space was limited both physically and mentally and children who wished to escape their minders and companions would have few options – the schools' outbuildings sometimes providing the only solitude. A search in Cappoquin involving the local constabulary had located the missing John F 'behind some winter fuel in an outbuilding' while a few weeks later he spent two hours hiding 'behind a large hamper in a dark corner of the hen house'.[44] The use of such boundaries that designated acceptable spaces within the institution and regulated children's movement and behaviour contrasted with the relative freedoms of the communal rule of the streets or countryside that children were used to, and unsurprisingly many children wanted nothing more than to leave the schools as soon as they had arrived.[45] Early escapes attempts were common with newcomers succumbing to the temptation to bolt. Six-year-old John F from Cork had been living with his mother and two siblings when he was admitted to Cappoquin. His mother had been trying to earn a living making hair nets but had been unable to support her family. John was only an hour in the school when he reportedly got tired of the nuns, went out the hall door, met some person there and told them he was going home. He was 'at once of course brought back, put into a bath and when well washed got a new suit of clothes after which he only wished to know what his mother would say if she saw him so dressed'.[46] James and Peter P were aged six and seven when their father died, and their mother was forced to enter the workhouse with their younger sibling. Three days after entering the school James and Peter attempted their escape and were found on the road to Kilmacthomas 'with two sticks in their hands and a bad egg in one of their sleeves'. When asked where they

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[44] Cappoquin Industrial School, manager's diary, 19 Mar. and 4 May 1873, (M.C.A., IND 2/4).
[45] Kevin C. Kearns, *Dublin tenement life: an oral history* (Dublin 2006); Anna Davin, *Growing up poor: home, school and street in London, 1870-1914* (London, 1996), pp 57-74.
[46] Cappoquin Industrial School, manager's diary, 25 Apr. 1873, (M.C.A., IND 2/4).

were going, they replied 'we are going home to see our mother'.[47] The innocence of these youngest of inmates could have meant that they were unaware of the full impact of their family's destitution or the extensive term of their own committal but they also possessed an understandable determination to be reunited with family following the abrupt severing of family bonds.

Although early escape attempts by very young children would be treated with forgiveness the schools, and the state inspector, could take a more severe stance towards older inmates and attempted escape was officially classified by the rules and regulations of the schools as one of the worst possible offences.[48] Twelve-year-old Eliza E had been committed to Ennis Industrial School when her mother remarried and travelled with Eliza's stepfather and some of her siblings to America. Shortly after her arrival she attempted to escape on two occasions by jumping out a window of the school. The schools' inspector, John Lentaigne, ordered that she be committed to a reformatory school where he claimed she would be under 'proper discipline' although the nuns insisted that she should stay in Ennis.[49] In general escapes were relatively uncommon, especially in girls' schools. Across the system the vast majority of absconders were boys which supports the argument made by Jane Barnes that discipline in boys' schools was harsher and therefore, less tolerable.[50] Such incidents if reported were also included in the annual school reports and could reflect badly on the school administration and it is likely that there were other cases where children left institutions but were intercepted and returned without

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[47] Cappoquin Industrial School, manager's diary, 17 Apr. 1873, (M.C.A., IND 2/4).
[48] See *Rules and regulations for the certified industrial schools in Ireland* approved by the Chief Secretary, under the 1868 Industrial Schools (Ireland) Act 31 and 32, vict. c. 25 (29 May 1868).
[49] Ennis Industrial School, register for children and detention orders 1880-98, (M.C.A., XE/215, no. 89). See also Jane O'Brien, 'The industrial school child in Ennis 1880-1907' in *The Other Clare*, vol. 42 (2018), pp 61-7. The following year Eliza was granted early release from the school when she also emigrated and re-joined her mother and sisters in New York.
[50] Barnes, *Irish industrial schools*, p. 104. In the girls' industrial school in Ennis, for example, there were only two attempted escapes recorded between the years 1880 and 1907.

the inspector's office being notified.[51]

Although the distress of children on arrival to the schools and their initial desire to leave was understandable and appears to have been common, it was expected by the community that they would gradually 'become reconciled to [their] new home' and fall into the rhythm of life in the school. The value placed on the contentment of children through the immediate meeting of their material needs, safety and regulated daily life was viewed as far outweighed the happiness they could get from poverty stricken or immoral familial ties. It appears that after an initial settling in period little thought or credence was given to those pining for another life and little comprehension of why they would be, given that their material needs were being met within the school.[52] The often traumatic and painful experience for the child of removal from their previous circumstances and readjustment to school life was justified by the pervading view of their overseers that they were providing a 'safe home' and what they believed for many was 'a happy change' and that although the young inmates might not realise it initially they would eventually, on adapting to their new way of life, become happy as well as grateful and even devoted to their carers.[53] However, for those that had family and friends outside the trauma of committal as well as the memories and desire for contact with their loved ones, or a simple desire for freedom, would have remained strong.[54]

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[51] Twenty-seventh report of the inspector appointed to visit the Reformatory and Industrial schools of Ireland, [c. 5858] H.C. 1889, xliii.517, p. 16.

[52] This was a reflection of child rearing practices in the wider society of the late nineteenth century. See Barnes, *Irish industrial schools*, p. 98.

[53] Cappoquin Industrial School, Cappoquin correspondence, 21 Dec. 1892, (M.C.A., IND 2/13).

[54] During the 2009 *Ryan Report* into institutional abuse in industrial schools it was reported that 'the upset and associated loss of secure relationships that followed separation from parents and siblings was reported by almost all witnesses, including those who had no known family. In different ways this experience of loss of family left a mark on each witness's memory and was a background to their reports on life in the schools.'; See *Ryan Report*, vol. 3, chap. 5, sec. 33.

New relationships

Whether entering the schools was felt as a rift for children or a relief, one thing they all had in common was the shared experience of being plunged into an unfamiliar environment. Their experience, whether good or bad, would of course have depended particularly on the extent of the kindness and warmth shown to them on the part of their carers as well as the bonds they would forge with their fellow inmates. The convent archives make reference to feelings of affection between the nuns and the children in their care. When Mother Malachy of Dundalk Industrial School passed away following illness it was reported that 'the grief of these little ones was terrible to see, for they sincerely loved and venerated this kind mother'.[55] It is worth considering the worth of the daily care given to the children of the poor by the Sisters of Mercy within the context of how the child's social status informed their experience of care. While the Sisters managed and oversaw the care and training of the children, a matron was usually employed to provide their daily physical care – the position requiring reappointment at intervals – a monitress oversaw schooling, and officers (possibly previous pupils from the schools) also assisted with the day-to-day activities. While the nuns often portrayed their role towards the children as that of a loving mother towards her children – noting their 'moral influence' and 'motherly care' and 'devotion to the welfare of the children', it was not seen as necessary that the Sisters cared *about* each individual child – what was important within the 'social, cultural and temporal positioning' of the time was that they provided care *for* the children, in the form of a physically and morally safe environment – and the experience and nature of that care could then vary across individuals.[56] In being conscious of the lower class that the children by and large came from and in maintaining an emotional distance from them, the nuns were reflecting both the views and attitudes of society at that time as well as their own religious training. The

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[55] Dundalk Industrial School, manager's diary, 26 Sept. 1898, (M.C.A., IND 5/3).
[56] Katie Barclay, 'Love, care and the illegitimate child in eighteenth-century Scotland' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 29 (2019), pp 105-25 at p. 108.

social value placed on industrial school children, as well as the contexts of their backgrounds and expectations for their future, shaped how they were cared for in practice.

What *was* encouraged was that the children form bonds with their industrial school companions. Peer relationships were at the core of industrial school life and if the school was to be seen as the new home for a child, then its inmates were to be their new family. Sometimes it could be the other children who would provide support on arrival such as for the five sisters who arrived in Dundalk Industrial School in 1907 – described as being 'very desolate' but 'their companions are very kind trying to cheer them up'.[57] The development of a strong bond and feelings of love and affection between the children strengthened the community and encouraged the cooperation that was necessary for institutional life and children are mentioned as comforting new arrivals and sharing sweets and toys with their companions. The archives do not usually record any childish fighting or power struggles and the normal cruelty of youth frequently goes undocumented, although the appearance of a new entrant could be an object of interest and fun to those already in the school and a temporary relief from the boredom of the daily routine. Little Joseph F from Dublin was committed to Cappoquin in 1881, he was scarcely able to stand from want and weakness, but it was his teeth that were said to have aroused great curiosity amongst the children: 'having only two left in front, one at each side like spikes'.[58] The hierarchical relationships that would have existed between young people in the schools should also not be underestimated with older children assuming an authority over younger. Later twentieth century legislative enquiries into industrial schools and survivor accounts testify to peer physical and sexual abuse and bullying that occurred, in particular in industrial schools for boys, and that such occurrences of peer abuse are best understood as

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[57] Dundalk Industrial School, manager's diary, 5 July 1907, (M.C.A., IND 5/3).
[58] Cappoquin Industrial School, manager's diary, 20 Aug. 1881, (M.C.A., IND 2/4).

taking place 'within the psychosocial contexts of primary adjustment, collaboration and re-enactment.'[59] However, despite the troubles and tensions that must have existed within such large groups of children of varying ages, the perception conveyed within the archives of the Mercy schools is that a sense of unity and camaraderie was encouraged and often prevailed for children in the schools and persisted for some after release.

Cleaning and measuring

The religious run industrial schools were constructed and perceived as vastly superior healthy environments in juxtaposition to the settings in which the children of the poor were reared. Many of the children who entered the schools came from areas of acute poverty, both city slums as well as towns and countryside such as the counties of the Congested Districts Board, where poor sanitation and squalor were a part of everyday life.[60] Dublin suffered from particularly acute poverty while limited national industrialisation ensured that rural Ireland continued to experience conditions of intense and appalling hardship for decades after the Famine.[61] The admissions procedures of new inmates to the industrial schools would therefore, begin with a process of decontamination. Children entering the school from destitute backgrounds could be described as 'repulsive in appearance' and it was necessary to remove the grime associated with their previous surroundings. They also posed a threat to the physical well-being of other inmates as they could be verminous and carry ailments of the skin or eyes and the important rituals around cleaning of children on admission were necessary to maintain physical cleanliness and banish the risk of infection within the school community. What

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[59] Jeremiah Lynch and Stephen James Minton, 'Peer abuse and its contexts in industrial schools in Ireland' in *Journal of Aggression*, vol. 8, no. 2 (2016), pp 76-85.

[60] See Ciara Breathnach, *The Congested Districts Boards, 1891-1923: poverty and development in the west of Ireland* (Dublin, 2005).

[61] Mary Daly, *Dublin, the deposed capital: a social and economic history, 1860-1914* (Cork, 1985), pp 77-81; Breathnach, *The Congested Districts Boards*; Anon., 'Sanitation in the west of Ireland' in *The British Medical Journal*, vol. 2, no. 2232 (10 Oct. 1903), p. 926.

clothing the children wore when they arrived could be in a very ragged state. Mary-Anne M

was admitted to Dundalk 'a sad looking object, bare feet and scarcely clothes enough to cover

her'.[62] Clothing was a distinct element of first impressions and could be a significant factor in

committing a child to institutional care. On arrival all garments were removed, and children

were immediately plunged into hot baths. For the children themselves the experience of bathing

and the resulting feeling of being clean and well dressed for perhaps the first time in their lives

could be a unique and memorable experience, such as for seven-year-old Martin H whose

pedlar father was reported as having deserted to America. On his arrival at the school 'brave'

Martin was 'at once plunged into a warm bath which was indeed most acceptable, since he

never got the like before, he was then most fashionably dressed in white calico knickers and

breeches, a blouse and very strong boots, all of which he admired exceedingly and only wished

that his dear friends in Abbeyside saw him'.[63] Such fashionable items as 'calico knickers and

breeches' and the expense of 'very strong boots' conveyed a sense of respectability which

propelled the industrial school child beyond their destitute family backgrounds and marked

them out as superior to their workhouse equivalent.[64] In the nineteenth century, clothing and

the condition of attire was crucial to the making as well as the interpretation of such

characteristics as respectability, status, and identity, with the physical and the moral being

viewed as inextricably linked.[65] Clothing was also a vital signifier of the quality of care that

children received and communicated the ideals of the Mercy institutions.[66] The quality and

variety of clothing could vary from one institution to another however, and although there was

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[62] Dundalk Industrial School, manager's diary, 18 Nov. 1902, (M.C.A., IND 5/3).
[63] Cappoquin Industrial School, manager's diary, 26 May 1873, (M.C.A., IND 2/4).
[64] Shorts for boys were cheaper but were associated with low occupational status. See Clare Rose, 'Continuity and change in Edwardian clothing' in *Textile History*, vol. 42, no. 2 (2011), pp 145-61 at p. 154.
[65] Mairead Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland: a history* (Cork, 1999); Ruth Livesey, 'Reading for character: women social reformers and narratives of the urban poor in late Victorian and Edwardian London' in *Journal of Victorian Culture*, vol. 9, no. 1 (2004), pp 43-67.
[66] In later twentieth century reports it appears that clothing was better in girls' schools than in boys' with school managers making particular efforts in this regard but in general girls had to wear 'inadequate ill-fitting clothes' which led to stigmatising of the children as industrial school residents. See *Ryan Report*, vol. 4, chap. 5, sec. 46.

not one prescribed uniform for all the schools, the children of each school were dressed identically usually in plain useful clothing marked with the industrial school stamp which could identify a child as an 'industrial' and make escape difficult.[67] Despite being assigned new clothing, personal possessions, limited as they might be, could hold a connection with the child's former life. Little Joseph M was reported as having a 'particular attraction for his old clothes especially an old over coat which he would not give up for all the new ones in Cappoquin'.[68] Although limited information survives in the archives regarding the personal items that children were allowed to keep in the institution, the removal of such possessions from the children could cause distress and reinforce the power imbalance that existed for inmates.

As well as the casting off of objectionable clothing, bodily cleansing held particular significance during the admissions procedures. Mary B was described as a lamentable case when she was admitted to Dundalk. It was remarked how: 'The Bath however did wonders for the poor neglected child, in fact it had to be filled secondly to finish her properly. There were two or three assisting at the operation and when it was finished the poor child exclaimed in great delight, "Oh that's grand, I never was washed like that before!"'[69] However, the obsession with bathing and cleanliness that emerged amongst middle class child-savers in the mid-nineteenth century was also associated with a range of religious qualities with the role of water in the process infused with religious symbolism and its power to purify and regenerate – immersion dissolving the child's old life and doing away with the past.[70] The clean child was also a docile child who knew their place in society as a decent and respectable member of the labouring class and the concept of bathing and cleanliness was part of the middle-class

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[67] Ennis Industrial School, detention orders 1880-1898, (M.C.A., XE/215, no. 89).
[68] Cappoquin Industrial School, manager's diary, 22 Apr. 1873, (M.C.A., IND 2/4).
[69] Dundalk Industrial School, manager's diary, 27 Feb. 1902, (M.C.A., IND 5/3).
[70] Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in comparative religion* (London, 1958), p. 194.

discourse to civilise the labouring poor. Less documented within the archives are the occasions when children may have protested at the unfamiliar and perhaps frightening experience of being stripped and scrubbed by strangers, matted hair combed through or cut, and body sores rubbed. The pleasure of bathing, while familiar to the elite in society from whose ranks the religious orders were drawn, could be alien and upsetting for the child. Although the convent archives are often silent in this regard many of the new arrivals, already distressed from family separation, may have found the admission procedures difficult. Theoretically, the procedures of admission to the schools can be compared with Goffman's concept of the 'total institution'[71] and the 'mortifications' or series of rituals which would take place on entry to such institutions.[72] Despite the humanitarian and practical motivations behind the entry procedures, actions such as being decontaminated, assigned institutional clothing and being relieved of personal possessions could result in the stripping away of the child's sense of individuality. The result was also a merging of the individual identity with that of the institution and the process could involve other members of the community. Ten girls committed to Kinsale were described as 'real objects of charity'. It was reported that 'Their clothing was wretched, and it took all the ingenuity of the sisters in charge and the few orphans who had been in the house to make them fit to appear at mass next morning (Sunday)'.[73] The task of transformation of the new arrivals was described as 'not only agreeable but amusing and the air of delight and triumph with which the whole party surveyed each one as she was equipped, fully compensated for the labour'.[74] The involvement of the school community including existing school children in the process correlates with Mary Douglas' description of how societies seek to maintain a

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[71] Goffman developed the concept of 'total institutions' through his study of life at St Elizabeth's psychiatric hospital – being a place where one lives, works, sleeps and eats in the same location with the same people, under a general, rational planned system, and inmates are restricted from engaging with those outside. Erving Goffman, *Asylums: essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates* (Harmondsworth, 1961).

[72] Goffman, *Asylums*, p. 31.

[73] Kinsale Industrial School, manager's diary, 4 Dec. 1869, (M.C.A., IND 17/4).

[74] Ibid.

sense of purity and create a sense of unity and shared meaning through the expulsion of the impure.[75] The symbolic function of this external cleansing was not lost on contemporaries. The results could also amaze others such as Mary K's father who was 'greatly touched at seeing his child so metamorphosed' – there was such a change in her that he 'declared he did not know her.'[76] While the constable who often brought the boys to Cappoquin could scarcely recognise some of them to be the same he had brought, 'they were so improved and healthy looking'. The public display and representations of the industrial school children and their transformation from ragged existence to respectable citizens fed the philanthropic narratives of child rescue and reform. The endangered child represented innocence and their acceptance into 'respectable' society was seen to require a 'physical, religious, and civic conversion experience to transform them into productive workers.'[77]

As well as the religious orders that ran the institutions and the State which set the regulatory requirements, the admissions rituals were also shaped by the evolving medical world. The state inspectors for reformatory and industrial schools exerted great influence in the practical management of the institutions. John Lentaigne who held the role from 1869 to 1886 was a doctor by profession and while his awareness of medical advances in germ theory and disease prevention affected his recommendations around cleanliness, he also viewed the many ailments of children entering the schools – such as scrofula, ophthalmia, consumption, epilepsy as well as weak intellect – as symptomatic of 'imperfect nurture in early life' and which he believed could be overcome through an environment of individual care, a natural healthy lifestyle and a good diet generous in 'eggs, meat, cod liver oil and plenty of new milk'.[78] But as well as the

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[75] Mary Douglas, *Purity and danger: an analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo* (London, 1966), p. 2.
[76] Dundalk Industrial School, manager's diary, 23 Sept. 1891, (M.C.A., IND 5/3).
[77] Murdoch, *Imagined orphans*, p. 9. Similar to Barnardo's fund-raising literature and photographs including the infamous "before" and "after" photographs of children's transformation.
[78] Fourteenth report of the inspector appointed to visit the Reformatory and Industrial schools of Ireland, [c. 1494] H.C. 1876, xxxiv.777, p. 2.

physical transformation there also existed a deep and fervent belief in the concept of reinvention through moral transformation and the perception of change in the children ran deeper than their physical appearance. The post famine environment in which the industrial school system was established had resulted in growing concern about the impact of poverty on not just the health but also the moral welfare of the poor. Ian Miller has argued how 'the intersection of bodily concerns with institutional child welfare' is a crucial theme to consider when analysing the development of Ireland's reformatory and industrial school system and how the physical improvement of the child was bound up with psychological and moral reform.[79] On a practical level, the 'warm bath, clean clothing and good dinner' which the children could experience on arrival was seen as a significant first step on the road to their moral and habitual reformation. The dirtiness of the poor was viewed as symptomatic of a moral indecency seen as fundamental to their nature while the stripping and washing away of the outer layers of worldliness, as represented by the dirt and ragged clothing, acted as an initial break with the past and the first step towards resocialisation of the child.

Once washed and reclothed the children would also be measured and recorded in line with the State regulatory requirements. Their height, figure, and complexion were noted along with hair and eye colour, nose shape and any other distinguishing features. Their general health was assessed along with any educational progress and a judgement on their mental capacity. Such 'bodily itemisation' reflected a growing requirement to inspect and record child health – a step that was slowly being initiated across institutions and in schools more generally.[80] Although the categories employed by the industrial schools – such as "delicate" for general health and

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[79] Ian Miller, 'Constructing "moral hospitals": improving bodies and minds in Irish reformatories and industrial schools, c. 1851–1890' in Anne McLellan and Alice Mauger (eds), *Growing pains – childhood illness in Ireland 1750-1950* (Dublin, 2013), pp 105-22 at p. 107.
[80] See Harry Hendrick, 'Child labour, medical capital and the school medical service, c. 1890-1918' in R. Cooter (ed.), *In the name of the child: health and welfare, 1880-1940* (London and New York, 1992), pp 45-71.

"fair" for mental capacity – were somewhat crude, they nevertheless provided some measure of the extent to which they achieved their aims by the end of the committal period. It incorporated a Foucauldian display of bio-power and bio-politics that sought to govern and reshape institutionalised subjects through the regulation of the body.[81] What the new inmates themselves thought of such personal examination is not known, but the recorded inability of some children to speak or communicate effectively at admittance, and their resulting classification as being of 'very dull' mental capacity, may have been as much a reflection of their intimidation on arrival as a result of their destitute state.

The case files also included a log of the child's conduct and behaviours which assisted in monitoring them from arrival until eventual release with comments varying from 'careless', 'untruthful', and 'rather wild' to 'indifferent' and 'satisfactory' and often eventually 'improving' and 'doing well'. Such judgements reveal wider concerns around the cultural norms of respectability, discipline, and social order and highlight the moral conduct required by those in power as well as the extent of children's compliance and transgression.[82] A close reading 'along the grain' of the convent archives shows that the enforcement of such compliance and embracement of the emotional regime did not always come easy and the resistance of children frequently meant they had to be coerced, coaxed, and punished into particular patterns of behaviours.[83] However, the concept of agency can also be limiting, especially when we are seeking to explore the experiences of children.[84] The normative understanding of the way in which agency often functions as resistance can exclude many

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[81] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and punish* (New York, 1977).
[82] Chris Brickell, 'On the case of youth: case files, case studies, and the social construction of adolescence' in *Journal of the History of Children and Youth*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2013), pp 50-80 at p. 54.
[83] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the archival grain: epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense* (Princeton, 2009).
[84] Mona Gleason, 'Avoiding the agency trap: caveats for historians of children, youth, and education' in *History of Education*, vol. 45, no. 4 (2016), pp 446-59 at p. 457.

marginalised or dependent groups, such as children, and instead an analysis of the concept of agency by compliance can be useful in this regard.[85] Children could actively seek to abide by the expected and normalised behaviours demanded by the schools – their committal at a young age and their malleable nature ensuring that they embraced their situation, their role in it and the expectations for their future. Following their arrival to the schools, the variety and types of power dynamics that existed shaped the contexts of possibilities that existed and could lead to children's resistance, acceptance, or cooperation with the regime of the schools.

Conclusion

Although the arrival of new inmates to the school was a regular occurrence, for the children themselves the experience of their entrance to the school could remain seminal. The transition from their previous existence to the culture and regime of a religious run institution represented an emotional frontier which the child would have to navigate.[86] Children from different backgrounds and indeed at different life stages could experience and handle the boundary between their old and new lives, and the contrasting patterns of emotional formations and expectations of the schools, in varying ways. Some could perhaps instinctively adjust to the shifting emotional processes and discipline requirements of the new regime while for others the contrast between the institution and home could be felt sharply. The admissions procedures and rituals, including the sensory impact of baths, new clothing and physical buildings and boundaries, as well as the forging of new relationships within the social reality of the schools all effected the biocultural experience of arrival for the child. For school administrators, the bedraggled appearance of children on entering the schools was contrasted with the perceived

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[85] Susan A. Miller, 'Assent as agency in the early years of the children of the American Revolution' in *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, vol. 9, no. 1 (2016), pp 48-65.
[86] For the concept of 'emotional frontier', which has been described as a boundary or contrast between different patterns of emotional formation, see Karen Vallgarda, Kristine Alexander and Stephanie Olsen, 'Emotions and the global politics of childhood' in Stephanie Olsen (ed.) *Childhood, youth and emotions in modern history: national, colonial and global perspectives* (Basingstoke, 2015), pp 12-34 at p. 22.

transformation they could produce and was seen as a significant first step on the road to their reformation. However, the perception of change ran deeper than their physical appearance and the visible improvement of the child was also bound up with their habitual, psychological, and moral reform. During their committal period to the schools, children were expected to undergo a fundamental transformation, both physically and morally, and develop new ways of behaving and new ways of feeling that corresponded with their new emotional formation. For some children this may have been consciously learned and they were able to navigate the conflicting sets of emotional expectations but for others it may have been more difficult, and they could have felt torn, inadequate, confused, or alienated.[87]

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[87] Vallgarda, Alexander and Olsen, 'Emotions and the global politics of childhood', p. 25.

Derry Boys: crime and mental health among young men in Derry/Londonderry, 1840-1919

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Introduction

In 1840, William Scott opened the first shirt factory in the city of Derry.[1] By the early twentieth century there were thirty-eight factories employing a quarter of the city's population, 90 percent of which were women.[2] As the number of women in employment rose, so did their social and economic powers, with the first all women trade union in Ireland, the Fifth Branch of Gas Workers Union, established in 1891 in the city.[3] With women's labour in high demand and many younger women becoming self-reliant with their own income, many chose to delay marriage and children, whilst others had become the main provider of their respective households.[4] Where then, did this leave the young men of Derry in the nineteenth and early twentieth century? As David Gilmore argues, the key aspects of nineteenth century British masculinity, and thus, by extension its colonies, were mastery over one's outward appearance and emotions, as well as their domestic, professional and social spheres.[5] This mastery was acquired through gainful employment, marriage and fatherhood, milestones which were becoming increasingly unattainable to young men in the city of Derry at this time.[6] Using court records, asylum admission and discharge records, as well as a range of other contemporary sources, this work will explore the relationship between masculinity and unemployment among

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[1] John Hume, *Derry beyond the walls, social and economic aspects of the growth of Derry 1825-1850* (Belfast, 2002), pp 102-25.
[2] Eithne McLaughlin, 'Women and work in Derry city: a survey' in *Saothar*, vol. 14 (1989), pp 35-45 at p. 38.
[3] Hume, *Derry beyond the walls,* pp 102-25.
[4] Hume, *Derry beyond the walls,* p. 112.
[5] David Gilmore, *Manhood in the making: cultural concepts of masculinity* (London, 1990), pp 9-30.
[6] McLaughlin, 'Women and work', p. 39.

young men, and the extent to which this relationship affected the level of anti-masculine behaviours exhibited by this particular group in the city of Derry from 1840 to 1919.

The negative effects of unemployment on young men's sense of masculinity, following the decline of the mining and steel industries in the north of England during the 1970s and 1980s have been highlighted by Linda McDowell in her study published in 2011.[7] Here, McDowell demonstrates how young men, when faced with obstacles in acquiring those milestones deemed necessary to be considered masculine, they often adopt what are seen as anti-masculine behaviours, that is to say, behaviours that contradict the carefully cultivated image of the masculine gentleman, for example, excessive drinking, fighting, womanising, criminal behaviour or displays of mental ill-health.[8] If the white, working-class youth of northern England displayed anti-masculine behaviours as a response to the downturn in employment in the latter decades of the twentieth century, can the same be said about the young men of Derry in the later years of the nineteenth century when faced with similar issues?

Masculinity

For the young men of Derry in the mid-nineteenth century, the concept of masculinity was more of a social construct, which had been altered through time, and between cultures. According to R.W. Connell's work, a number of masculinities can exist at any one time, with social power and benefits often passing to the most validated form of masculinity.[9] In western society, D. Collinson and J. Hearn argue, the most validated form of masculinity is displayed

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[7] Linda McDowell, *Redundant masculinities? Employment changes and white working-class youth* (Oxford, 2003), pp 1-25.
[8] John Tosh, 'What should historians do with masculinity? Reflections on nineteenth century Britain' in *History Workshop,* vol. 38 (1994), pp 179-202 at pp 192-8.
[9] R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (2nd ed., Berkeley, 1995), pp 67-70.

by men who are 'economically successful, racially superior and visibly heterosexual'.[10] These dominant forms of masculinity are further reinforced by the 'othering' of those masculinities deemed as inferior, either through social class, ethnicity, physical/mental ill-health or sexual preference.[11] British masculinity centred on a man's ability to visibly demonstrate his manliness through his command over his social and domestic spheres. Manly men were well dressed, well spoken, stoic, and dispassionate, free of such vices as gambling and drunkenness, they were models of self-control and the self-perceived antithesis of the working-classes.[12] Working-class masculinity could be perceived (and judged) in a variety of ways throughout the Victorian and early Edwardian eras, such as through a man's physical appearance, his demeanour and his actions.[13] However, increased urbanisation, and industrialisation in Britain throughout the nineteenth century placed an increasing reliance upon the working-classes by the upper echelons of society, particularly in areas of transport, manufacturing and household maintenance and security. This new relationship between the socio-economic classes required an element of trust to be developed and fostered, and the narrative of the honest, hard-working labourer was developed. In her recently published work, Joanne Begiato describes how this narrative was reinforced through poetry and works of art such as Ford Maddox Brown's *Work*, as well as through various other ephemera and media, before being utilised by the Chartist movement and trade unions as an additional tool in their fight for votes for the working-class man.[14] As a result, by the end of the nineteenth century, one's masculinity and one's

[10] D. Collinson and J. Hearn, 'Naming men as men: implications for work, organisations and management' in *Gender, work and organisation,* vol. 1, no. 1 (1994), pp 2-22 at p. 3.
[11] Maxine Baca Zinn, Pierrette Hondagnue-Sotelo and Michael Messener, 'Introduction: sex and gender through the prism of difference' in Maxine Baca Zinn, Pierette Hondagnue-Sotelo and Michael Messener (eds), *Gender through the prism of difference* (3rd ed., New York, 2005), pp 1-10 at p. 4.
[12] R.W. Connell, 'Globalization, imperialism and masculinity' in Michael Kimmel, Jeff Hearn and R.W. Connell (eds), *Handbook of studies on men and masculinities* (London, 2005), pp 71-89 at p. 84.
[13] M. Cohen, '"Manners" make the man: politeness, chivalry and the construction of masculinity 1750-1830' in *Journal of British Studies,* vol. 44, no. 2 (2005), pp 312-29 at p. 324.
[14] Joanne Begiato, *Manliness in Britain 1790-1900* (Manchester, 2020), pp 168-202.

employment had become almost inseparable from each other in British society, with that idea also becoming prevalent in its colonies and territories, including Ireland.[15]

Despite some consensus on masculine criteria, the political situation between Britain and Ireland in the nineteenth, and early twentieth century, resulted in a major discord in their views of masculinity. Britain, as the colonial power, pushed the narrative that it was the 'manly father' merely keeping his unruly children in line, situating the British State as providers and carers.[16] For Irish nationalists, their status as colonial subjects meant that they were seen as an emasculated dependent of Britain, a view that was reinforced through various caricatures and negative imagery of the Irish's supposed moral, physical and intellectual inferiority, which were commonplace in British publications such as *Punch*.[17] As a result, a 'hyper-masculinity' began to emerge among Irish nationalists towards the end of the nineteenth, and beginning of the twentieth centuries.[18] This hyper-masculinity became bound to militarism, and the belief that dying for one's country was central to demonstrating that masculinity, and, as Stefan Dudink argued, it allowed young men to find their own masculine value through a call to arms.[19]

With separate ideas of masculinity emerging in Ireland during the nineteenth century, one key feature of the British narrative of masculinity, the 'masculine worker', dutifully providing for his family through honest labour, was also absent. With the exception of a small number of

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[15] Tim Barringer, *Men at work: art and labour in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, 2005), p. 142.
[16] Clíona O'Gallchoir, '"Whole swarms of bastards": a modest proposal, the discourse of economic improvement and Protestant masculinity in Ireland, 1720-1738' in Rebecca Anne Bar, Sean Brady and Jane McGaughey (eds), *Ireland and masculinities in history* (London, 2019), pp 39-67.
[17] 'Ireland, Irish cartoons from 'Punch' magazine' online at *Punch*, (https://punch.photoshelter.com/image/I0000pjj76M9fap8) (8 Jan. 2022).
[18] Jennifer Redmond, 'Masculinities in revolutionary and post-revolutionary Ireland' in *Irish Studies Review*, vol. 29, no. 2 (2021), pp 131-41 at pp 134-5.
[19] Stefan Dudink, 'Citizenship, mass mobilisation, and masculinity in a transatlantic perspective, 1770s-1870s' in Sonya Rose, Karen Hagemann and Stefan Dudink (eds), *The Oxford handbook of gender, war and the western world since 1600* (Oxford, 2020), pp 201-66 at p. 226.

outlying cities such as Belfast, Derry and Dublin, the island of Ireland had failed to industrialise

along with the rest of Britain, with agriculture being the primary form of employment for most

men.[20] Farm labourers and cottiers had little to no job security, and thus could not consistently

provide financial support for their dependents, nor could they claim mastery over a household

where their wife, and often children, brought in a supplementary income.[21] With those routes

to masculinity blocked, these classes of labourers adopted a 'noble worker' sense of

masculinity, in which the farmhand dutifully cared for his livestock and crops in order to

provide for the general populace, much like the patriarch would his family, which society duly

accepted.[22] What did this mean for the young men of Derry during the nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries?

A nineteenth century anomaly, Derry was a city where young working women had the

economic and social power among the labouring classes.[23] Working, financially independent

women saw no future in marrying young, and being economically, socially and emotionally

bound to an unemployed and financially undependable husband.[24] No wife meant no children,

and no domestic environment to claim mastery over, closing this particular rite of passage to

masculine adulthood to many young men in the city. An urban environment meant that there

was no land to till or animals to raise and, as such, the path of 'noble farmer' who tended to his

crops and animals was also blocked. Finally, unlike other industrial areas of the period, in the

city of Derry the demand for young's men labour was absent, as the city's expansion came not

from steel works or mines, but rather, a growing shirt industry which, like the linen industry

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[20] Kevin McKenna, 'Primogeniture strict settlement and the rituals of masculinity on an Irish landed estate, 1855-90' in Rebecca Anne Bar, Sean Brady and Jane McGaughey (eds), *Ireland and masculinities in history* (London, 2019), pp 89-109.
[21] K. Miller, *Emigrants and exiles: Ireland and the Irish exodus to North America* (Oxford, 1985), pp 48-9.
[22] John Tosh, 'Gentlemanly politeness and manly simplicity in Victorian England' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 12 (2002), pp 455-71.
[23] McLaughlin, 'Women and work', pp 35-45
[24] McDowell, *Redundant masculinities?*, p. 3.

before it, primarily employed women.[25] The role of labourer was separated into two categories in the city during the nineteenth century, building labourers who assisted the masons in construction, and the yard work labourers, employed in the grain stores and provision yards of the city. Whilst the former could expect to find some employment between the months of May to November, up to half of these labourers were unemployed come winter. For those in the yards and stores, they could usually expect their workdays to drop to two days per week during the less busy periods of the year.[26] The Poor Inquiry Ireland noted the distress that these young men were placed in upon losing their income, and the effects that this had on them.[27]

The detrimental effects that unemployment can have on a person's mental health was discussed more in depth by the British government in the mid-twentieth century. In his report published by the British House of Commons in 1944, the liberal economist, William Beveridge noted that 'difficulty in selling labour has consequences of a different order of harmfulness from those associated with difficulty in buying labour[…]A person who cannot sell his labour is in effect told he is of no use.'[28]

With the limited employment options available to them, a large proportion of the city's young could not sell their labour for a reliable income, leaving the masculine employment roles depicted on trade union banners, and in works of art, out of reach for many young Derry men. The lure of acquiring those jobs elsewhere prompted some labourers to emigrate, with 281 listed labourers leaving the port of Derry in the spring of 1833.[29] Those labourers that remained were, according to an Inquiry commissioned into the condition of the poorer classes in Ireland,

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[25] Hume, *Derry beyond the walls,* p. 110.
[26] Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the condition of the poorer classes in Ireland, appendix C, part 1, [c. 35] H.C. 1836, xxx, p. 63. Hereafter cited as Poor Inquiry Ireland.
[27] Ibid.
[28] William Beveridge, *Full employment in a free society: a report* (London, 1944) p. 19.
[29] Poor Inquiry Ireland

'prevented by want of funds from emigrating'.[30] In his work on Derry during the early twentieth century, Adrian Grant notes that, despite 6808 people leaving Derry's port for Canada or the USA in 1911, only 1037 emigrants, throughout the whole of Ireland, listed their address as being from the county or city of Derry in that year.[31] This low number of passengers leaving Derry would suggest that emigration was still out of reach for many of Derry's lower-income residents. Unsurprisingly, those younger men who were left behind, began to seek other outlets in which to demonstrate their masculinity.

For a number of male youths in the city of Derry during the 1800s, that outlet came in the form of social groups which were usually divided along lines of religious and political affiliations. These organisations, including the Apprentice Boys and the Land League, offered a space similar to that of the trade unions for those young men excluded from any such organisation due to their lack of employment. Membership of these groups provided young men an environment in which they could meet and socialise, as well as partake in visual displays of their manliness through their participation in parades, commemoration marches and political demonstrations.[32] With membership of these groups increasing, masculinity among the labouring classes in Ireland began to shift, and as the nineteenth century progressed, it often became conflated with one's political identity. The displays of manliness became more intense, and were increasingly culminating in violent outbursts from both sides of the political spectrum, and the type of masculinity being demonstrated in Ireland began to be viewed as a threat to the British nation. However, as Vincent Comerford argues, it was the social draw to

[30] Poor Inquiry Ireland
[31] Adrian Grant, *Derry: the Irish Revolution, 1912-23* (Dublin, 2018), p. 149.
[32] The Apprentice Boys of Derry, a Protestant fraternal society, was officially formed in 1814 by Benjamin J. Darcus, and over the next four decades grew large enough to establish eight 'parent' clubs within the original organisation. The Ancient Order of Hibernians grew from older societies involved the Catholic agrarian movements of the previous century and was formed in 1837 in the United States of America. The society became more prevalent in Ulster in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

one particular side of this spectrum that worried the State more.[33] For male nationalists, Comerford suggests that Fenianism provided a chance for socialising and excitement, offering the men an environment in which they could better themselves through military-style drills and parades.[34] As activities within the Fenian groups became more overt, Britain's reputation as the stern but fair patriarch overseeing its colonies as a caring father would his household, was being called into question through the actions of its unruly Irish child. A firmer approach was applied with the implementation of a set of Coercion Acts in Ireland between 1866 and 1892.[35] The legislation within these acts ensured that membership of such political and social groups was illegal, thus criminalising those aspects of masculinity which did not align with society's narrative, and further isolating these young men from an alternative means of acquiring a masculine self-identity.

Britain's implementation of these acts also served to deepen the already developing division between Irish and British working-class views on masculinity. Whilst British working-class masculinity continued with its narrative of the 'aspiring poor' – those born into poverty but who were hard working and morally upright and aspired to be like their social betters – in Ireland, working-class masculinity became more closely linked with one's politics. Irish nationalist working-class masculinity began to centre around the Irish man's opposition to Britain, with notions of marriage, fatherhood, employment and even personal appearance becoming of secondary concern.[36] For working-class Protestants, their sense of masculinity was defined in their defence of what they perceived to be an erasure of 'Orangeism' through

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[33] See Vincent Comerford, *The Fenians in context. Irish politics and society 1848-82* (Dublin, 1998).
[34] Ibid.
[35] O'Gallchoir, '"Whole swarms of bastards"', p. 41.
[36] Kathryn Conrad, 'Queer treasons: homosexuality and Irish national identity' in *Cultural Studies,* vol. 15, no. 1 (2001) pp 124-37 at p. 134.

the judicial shake-up of the courts, the ban on marches and demonstrations and the threat of Home Rule throughout the nineteenth century.[37]

Crime

The Victorian's emphasis on a person's morality often placed the failure to conform squarely on the individual, with any deviancy to tolerated social and gendered norms being met with increasingly sterner discipline as the century progressed.[38] Punishment for deviating from gendered social norms was applied to both men and women throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century.[39] For the young male residents of Derry there were few avenues open to the labouring classes in which to conform to the ruling British view of hegemonic masculinity, which led to a large proportion of the young men in Derry during the era developing their own masculine 'norms', manifesting in competitiveness and aggression, aspects which had become linked with criminality.[40] With both sides of the political divide engaging in anti-hegemonic reasons such as passionate tempers, criminality and a loss of control of their own behaviours and senses, the punishment of incarceration was meted out more often to young men in the city. In the final years of the nineteenth century there was a marked difference between men and women entering incarceration, as during the years 1895-1900, only one woman for every ten men was convicted in the courts, and by the 1870s, males aged fifteen to twenty-five was the most common demographic in the city's asylum admission records.[41]

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[37] Darragh Curran, '"Loyal to the crown but not the crown's government": the challenge to policing posed by the Orange Order in 1830s Ulster' in Kyle Hughes and Donald MacRaild (eds), *Crime, violence and the Irish in the nineteenth century* (Liverpool, 2017), pp 193-211 at p. 196.

[38] John Tosh, 'The old Adam and the new man: emerging themes in the history of masculinities 1750-1850' in Tim Hitchcock and Michelle Choen (eds), *English masculinities 1600-1800* (1st ed., London, 1999), pp 227-48 at p. 230.

[39] Elaine Farrell, 'Infanticide of the ordinary character: an overview of the crime in Ireland, 1850-1900' in *Irish Economic and Social History*, vol. 39 (2012), pp 56-72 at p. 71.

[40] Clive Emsley, *Crime and society in modern England* (Oxford, 2005), p. 92.

[41] City of Londonderry, Crown quarter books at quarter sessions/county court, later Londonderry recorder's court, 1895-1900, (Public Records Office of Northern Ireland (P.R.O.N.I.), LOND/1/1/A/1/1); Register of patients in Londonderry District Asylum, 1829-1875, (P.R.O.N.I., HOS/17/7/6/1/1).

One of the few Irish cities to undergo large industrial and population changes, the 1841 census shows that the populace of Derry had grown from approximately 9000 to over 15,000 from 1820-40, as many rural inhabitants moved into the city.[42] As population increased, so too did poverty and crime.[43] As early as 1825, meetings were called by concerned citizens to discern what was to be done about the vagrancy problem.[44] With little in the way of stable employment, a number of young men in the city of Derry found themselves at a loss both financially and socially. With little money and an abundance of spare time, young men began engaging in high-risk activities such as recreational fighting and other violent crimes, perhaps as an attempt at demonstrating their masculinity. Recreational violence, according to Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, appears typical of a number of pre-industrial societies, with examples found not only in Europe, but also in Australia, South America and the western United States,.[45] The past-time differed from 'mob' violence as all members were willing participants, engaging in long-established customs, and unwritten rules which had been set by participants throughout the year.[46] The ultimate goal of recreational fighting was to display one's strength and fighting prowess, not murder or mutilation, and the use of guns or knives was heavily frowned upon.[47] Fights began when one party issued a challenge to another through calls or good-natured insults, and if the 'wheeling' was reciprocated, then the challenge would be deemed to be accepted, and all willing participants would engage in the faction fighting.[48]

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[42] Report of the Commissioners appointed to take the census of Ireland for the year 1841, [c. 504] H.C. 1843, xxiv, p. 44.
[43] For more on this, see Hume, *Derry beyond the walls,* pp 84-102.
[44] Report of the Commissioners appointed to take the census of Ireland for the year 1841, [c. 504] H.C. 1843, xxiv, p. 44; *Derry Journal*, 12 Apr. 1825.
[45] Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, *Quest for excitement: sport and leisure in the civilising process* (New York, 1986), p. 4.
[46] Carolyn Conley and Ira M. Schwartz, *Melancholy accidents. The meaning of violence in post-famine Ireland* (Oxford, 1999) p. 20.
[47] Michael Huggins, *Social conflict in pre-famine Ireland: the case of county Roscommon* (Dublin, 2007), pp 117-24.
[48] Conley and Schwartz, *Melancholy accidents,* p. 20.

Whilst never addressed as such, evidence of this activity is observable within the nineteenth century Derry courts, such as the case of James Mc C, James M and Jon D who were each sentenced to one month imprisonment with hard labour for assembling and making a riot, and assault, following an altercation in Derry in August 1889.[49] For a third of young men aged fifteen to twenty entering the court system in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, it was the charge of common assault which brought them to the gaol, particularly in the years 1889-1900.[50] Common assault continued to remain the most prevalent offence, accounting for around 32 percent of crimes committed by young men in the years 1880 to 1900, followed by breaking and entering, and theft.[51] Further research will be required to discern whether these acts of common assault are related to the practice of recreational violence or if they were individual, spontaneous acts of violence. Records for the Quarter Sessions at the Londonderry court would appear to indicate an increase in common assault, as well as a slight increase in theft and breaking and entering as the century progressed.[52]

Once convicted of their crimes, younger males aged between fifteen and twenty-five years old were sentenced, on average, to one to three months imprisonment with hard labour, as Joseph G discovered when he was convicted of assaulting an on-duty constable in June 1893 and sentenced to two months with hard labour, and also Robert Mc S, who was sentenced to three months for his assault on William W in the city in 1890.[53] Initial examinations of the records also show arrests pertaining to breaching the peace as well as crimes which included the selling of food and drink not fit for consumption, which for William P resulted in a hefty £10 fine.[54]

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[49] Crown books quarter sessions, Londonderry City, 1889-1900 (P.R.O.N.I., LOND/1/1/A/2/2).
[50] Ibid.
[51] City of Londonderry Crown book indictments and pleas at quarter sessions, 1878-89, 1889-1900 (P.R.O.N.I., LOND/1/1/A/2/ 1-2).
[52] Crown books quarter sessions, Londonderry City, 1889-1900 (P.R.O.N.I., LOND/1/1/A/2/2).
[53] City of Londonderry Crown book indictments and pleas at quarter sessions, 1878-89, 1889-1900 (P.R.O.N.I., LOND/1/1/A/2/ 2).
[54] Ibid.

There was also the occasional, unconventional crime, such as the case of Mr William R, who, in 1909, was charged with fraud for impersonating a member of the clergy, in order to gain room and board at a local hotel, and that of Thomas D and James H in 1910, who's false claims of being photographers also landed them with charges of theft and attempted fraud.[55] Whilst crime rates in the city fluctuated throughout the nineteenth century, by the 1880s they had appeared to decrease, with an average of 6131 total offences committed between 1883-92, a drop of 113 crimes on average when compared with the previous decade.[56] Of these offences, lesser crimes such as drunkenness and breaching the peace were still visible in the court records, resulting in hefty fines or imprisonment if payments were defaulted upon.

With regards to punishment, three to six months imprisonment with hard labour would appear to be the most common sentence passed down to those convicted of common assault at the turn of the last century, as evidenced in the court records for the years 1878-1900.[57] Lesser crimes, such as those previously mentioned, were usually met with fines under £5, however, those who defaulted on payments of their fines were imprisoned with hard labour for a duration of two weeks to a month.[58] It would also appear that sentencing in Derry is slightly higher than the national average duration of imprisonment. According to the Irish annual Criminal and Judicial Statistics, submitted to the British government, the mean sentence for these offences in the other counties of Ireland was between one and two calendar months for men and boys during the years 1880 to 1900.[59] Although no immediate explanation presents itself, it is hoped that

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[55] *Derry Journal*, 15 Dec. 1909 and 8 Apr. 1910.
[56] Criminal and Judicial Statistics (Ireland), [c.7534] H.C. 1893, xcv.105, p. 22.
[57] City of Londonderry Crown book indictments and pleas at quarter sessions, 1878-1889, (P.R.O.N.I., LOND/1/1/A/2/ 1);
City of Londonderry Crown book indictments and pleas at quarter sessions, 1889-1900, (P.R.O.N.I., LOND/1/1/A/2/ 2).
[58] City of Londonderry, Crown quarter books at quarter sessions/county court, later Londonderry recorder's court, 1906-12 (P.R.O.N.I., LOND/1/1/A/1/3).
[59] Criminal and Judicial Statistics (Ireland), [c.7534] H.C. 1893, xcv.105, p. 22.

further study will reveal why there was a difference in sentencing in the city of Derry when compared to the rest of Ireland at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Mental health

As another key trait of the masculine man of the 1800s was self-control over one's emotions, outbursts or unconventional mental behaviours, were deemed to be unmanly.[60] The idea that those who were perceived as mentally unwell had no control over their mental state was still a relatively new concept to the general public in the mid-nineteenth century, and as a result, visible displays of mental ill-health were seen as a result of the sufferer's own lack of character.[61] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, those who were perceived as mentally ill in Derry were often incarcerated in one of twelve cells within the city's infirmary.[62] When the district asylum opened in 1829, at a cost of £25,000, those suffering from a variety of mental illness in the counties of Derry, Donegal and Tyrone, could now be cared for using the treatment methods employed under Moral Therapy.[63] The methods used in caring for the asylum patients under Moral Therapy were developed by the Quaker Samuel Tuke in the previous century and promoted no restraints, light curative work such as gardening or laundry, one-to-one patient-doctor meetings and recreational time.[64] Those entering into the asylum could expect clean clothing, regular washes, beds and three healthy meals a day, all whilst being attended to by thirty-one members of staff (including the Moral Manager and Matron) and treatment was bespoke to each individual entering into the asylum.[65] The statistics for the asylum during its first decade of operation, 1829-39, appeared to be in Moral Therapy's favour,

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[60] Jonathan Rutherford, '"Who's that man?"' in Rowena Chapman and Jonathan Rutherford (eds), *Male order: unwrapping masculinity* (Dagenham, 1987) pp 21-67 at p. 24.
[61] Begiato, *Manliness in Britain*, p. 8; Brendan Kelly, *Hearing voices. The history of psychiatry in Ireland* (Kildare, 2016), p. 2.
[62] Hume, *Derry beyond the walls,* pp 84-102.
[63] Thomas Colby and Thomas A. Larcom, *Ordnance survey of the county of Londonderry: ordnance survey (Ireland)* (Dublin, 1837), pp 169-71.
[64] Kelly, *Hearing voices*, p. 38.
[65] Minute book of the directors of Londonderry District Asylum, 1829-1904, (P.R.O.N.I., HOS/17/7/1/A/1).

with almost fifty percent of the 867 patients admitted to the asylum between 1829 and 1839, discharged as 'cured'.[66] During 1829-39, only ninety-three patients were listed as 'incurable' upon admission, and the asylum saw a mortality rate of almost 20 percent, numbers which proved favourable when compared to the more well-known institutions, such as the London mental health asylum, Bethlam, so renowned that its shorthand name 'Bedlam' is synonymous with the concept of chaos and calamity.[67]

By 1840, however, the asylum had undergone a number of extensions and renovations in an attempt to accommodate the continuously rising number of admissions.[68] Among these admissions, the greatest rise in numbers was among young men, aged fifteen to twenty-five.[69] In the first years of its operation, the asylum's patient intake appeared equal between sexes. However, by 1839, the number of younger men aged between fifteen and twenty-five entering into the asylum increased to 15 percent of all new admittances, the steepest rise among any age and gender group entering the institution.[70] By the 1860 and 1870s, that number had again doubled, with young men now being the group most at-risk of being admitted to the Derry asylum, a pattern which was seen throughout Ireland during the late-nineteenth-and-early twentieth-centuries.[71]

The most commonly listed diagnosis for those young men upon admission was 'mania', a term which encompassed a number of symptoms, often manifesting in an agitated and excited state.[72] Whilst mania remained the most prevalent diagnosis of those being admitted to the

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[66] Register of discharges and deaths in Londonderry District Asylum, 1846-1900, (P.R.O.N.I., HOS/17/7/9/2/1).
[67] Ibid.
[68] Minute book of the directors of Londonderry District Asylum, 1829-1904, (P.R.O.N.I., HOS/17/7/1/A/1).
[69] Register of patients in Londonderry District Asylum, 1829-75, (P.R.O.N.I., HOS/17/7/6/1/1).
[70] Ibid.
[71] Catherine Cox, *Negotiating insanity in the southeast of Ireland, 1820-1900* (Manchester, 2012), pp 195-240.
[72] Kenneth Kendler, 'The genealogy of the clinical syndrome of mania: signs and symptoms described in psychiatric texts 1880 to 1900' in *Psychological Medicine*, vol. 48, no. 10 (2017), pp 1573-91 at p. 1573.

asylum during the nineteenth century, in the years of and immediately following the Great Famine, a rise in 'suicidal melancholia' is observable, and, following the Lunacy (Ireland) Act 1868, a slight rise of less than 5 percent in those who had 'behaved in a dangerous manner' prior to admittance is noticeable when compared to previous years, and almost exclusively men, whereas women tended to be recorded as 'excitable' .[73] One such example was Daniel H, who was brought to the asylum in 1879. Daniel, although usually quiet, was prone to outbursts and considered violent when excited. Diagnosed with chronic mania, Daniel spent the rest of his life in the asylum, and according to his patient case notes, often sported a pleasant and cheery demeanour, almost never displaying these outbursts.[74] The difference in physicians and family members experiences with 'dangerous' individuals like Daniel prompts some questions about the reliability of admission testimonies, and suggests that some violent tendencies may have been exaggerated, in order to obtain guaranteed admission to the asylum, possibly to alleviate the physical, financial or emotional burden of caring for someone who has additional needs.

In his work on asylums and the Irish State, Mark Finnane has noted that despite the district asylums initially being established to house the poor, by the middle of the nineteenth century, a small yet significant number of asylum admissions included merchants, teachers, doctors and clerks, and whilst not at an exorbitant amount, was enough to warrant comments from administrators on the burden they placed on state services.[75] However, this was not the case in Derry, with the asylum's admission records showing that almost all the young men entering into the institution were either employed in occasional or seasonal roles such as farmhand or

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[73] Lunacy (Ireland) Act (1867), Act 30 and 31 vict., c.118; Register of patients in Londonderry District Asylum, 1829-75, (P.R.O.N.I., HOS/17/7/6/1/1).
[74] Male casebooks, 1879-99, (P.R.O.N.I., HOS/17/7/8/1/1).
[75] Mark Finnane, 'Asylums, family and the State' in *History Workshop*, vol. 20, no. 1 (1985), pp 134-48 at p. 146.

labourer, or listed as unemployed.[76] All but a few of these young men's marital status was listed as single, suggesting that familial support offers not only better financial security for those suffering from mental illness, but stronger kinship bonds can imply a greater willingness to take care of one's own family members rather than leave them to state care, an argument highlighted by Catherine Cox in her work focussing on the Carlow Asylum.[77] Young, unemployed and unmarried, and with emigration appearing to be a less desirable option as the nineteenth century progressed, it is unlikely that these young men could have adequately contributed to their households, and when additional needs are factored in, such as the time and care required to look after someone with suffering from mental illness or conditions such as epilepsy, families of patients may have thought of the asylum as their only option.[78]

By the end of the nineteenth, and the beginning of the twentieth century, the facility in Derry like many of its counterparts throughout the Irish asylum network, had abandoned intentions of curing lunacy, resorting to becoming mere custodians of those suffering from mental illness. The greatest number of admittances were among young men aged fifteen to twenty-five, who's rates of entry into the Derry asylum doubled between 1839 and 1860.[79] With mania being the most common diagnosis of new admittances, these young men also had other factors in common, including their marital and socio-economic statuses. Unemployment or the absence of socially masculine employment roles, and its correlation with higher rates of mental health among young men discussed in Linda McDowell's work, appears then, to also be evident among young Derry men during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[80]

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[76] Register of patients in Londonderry District Asylum, 1829-75, (P.R.O.N.I., HOS/17/7/6/1/1).
[77] Cox, *Negotiating insanity*, p. 150.
[78] Finnane, 'Asylums, family and the State', p. 147.
[79] Register of patients in Londonderry District Asylum, 1829-75, (P.R.O.N.I., HOS/17/7/6/1/1).
[80] McDowell, *Redundant masculinities?*, p. 104.

Conclusion

Through literature and art, the Victorians created a very specific image of masculinity, one which fostered feelings of trust and reliability in the noble worker as he was charged with overseeing more and more aspects of middle-class life, from transport to food production, an image which society heavily imposed on young men.[81] To master one's own dominion through marriage and financial stability became the epitome of masculinity in nineteenth century Britain.[82] For young men in Ireland during the nineteenth century, the employment roles which were often depicted as the epitome of masculinity including the blacksmith, steel worker, and coal miner, were simply not as readily available. According to John Tosh, the idea of the noble farmhand working in the fields to provide the people with sustenance took hold as in many rural parts of Britain.[83] Either scenario allowed for the narrative of the hardworking man who would then take a wife and have a family, thus proving his masculinity to all those around him. However, when these routes to socially approved manliness are blocked, it has been suggested that young men may tend towards what have been perceived as anti-masculine behaviours.[84]

Nineteenth-and-early-twentieth century Derry provides an excellent case study for this theory, as the city was somewhat of an anomaly, with the financial and social power among the lowering classes resting most often with women. Rather than treading the traditional pathways to manliness of employment and marriage, many young men took to engaging in displays of masculinity which deviated from the expected social norm, and often resulted in incarceration, either within the district gaol or asylum.[85] It would seem then, that a large proportion of the

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[81] Begiato, *Manliness in Britain 1790-1900*, p. 169.
[82] Leonore Davidoff, 'Mastered for life: servant and wife in Victorian and Edwardian England' in *Journal of Social History,* vol. 7, no. 4 (1974) pp 406-28 at p. 407.
[83] Tosh, 'Gentlemanly politeness', p. 469.
[84] Jeff Hearn and David Collinson, 'Men, masculinities, managements and organisational culture' in *German Journal of Human Resource Management,* vol. 12, no. 2 (1998), pp 210-22 at p. 213.
[85] Register of patients in Londonderry District Asylum, 1829-75, (P.R.O.N.I., HOS/17/7/6/1/1);
City of Londonderry Crown book indictments and pleas at quarter sessions, 1878-1922, (P.R.O.N.I., LOND/1/1/A/2/ 1-4).

young men in the city during the era, denounced established views of masculinity, and adopted certain 'anti-masculine' behaviours, which manifested in criminal acts, or episodes of mental illness. As unemployment remained high, and the notion that one's worth is attributed to their employment pervasive in society, it would appear that crime and mental illness were a common factor in the lives of Derry boy's during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.