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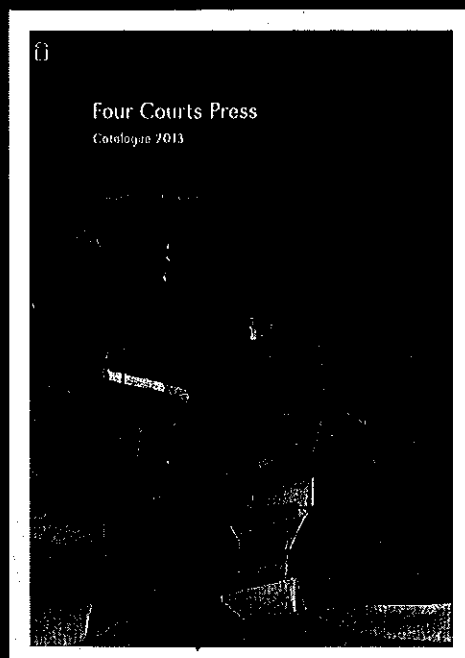
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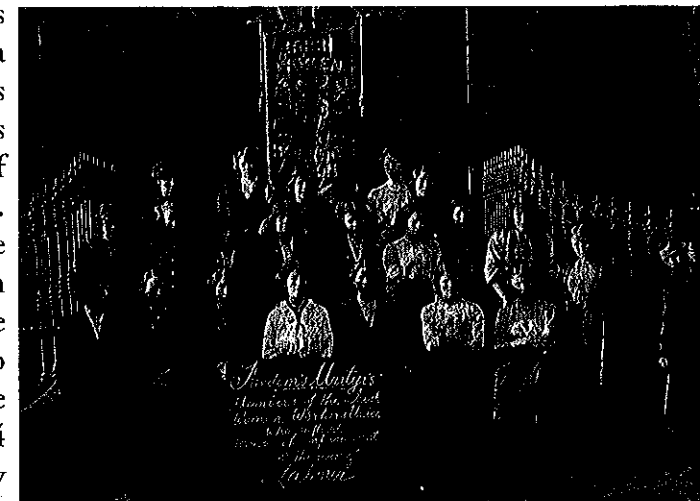


Of Lockouts and Laundries: Children, Documents and the Irish Culture of Confinement

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Mary Ellen Murphy – a juvenile martyr of the 1913 Lockout in Dublin

Forming part of the Keogh photographic collection in the National Photographic Archive at the National Library of Ireland (hereafter NLI)¹ is a picture (reproduced below) of a 20-strong group of women seated or standing on the steps of Liberty Hall with the banner of the Irish Women Workers Union (IWWU) draped over its front door. The group is posed behind a placard that reads 'Freedom's Martyrs Members of the Irish Women Workers Union who suffered terms of imprisonment in the cause of Labour'. Most of the members of the group are youthful and – although it is not known whether or not she appears in the photograph – at least one of those 'who suffered terms of imprisonment in the cause of Labour' during the 1913–1914 Dublin Lockout was of sufficiently tender years to be dealt with under the provisions of the Children's Act of 1908.



Freedom's Martyrs – IWWU members imprisoned during the 1913–1914 Lockout. NLI, Keogh Collection, KE_204.
© Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

These provisions stipulated that no child under 14 years should be sent to prison under any circumstances and that prison terms could be meted out to convicted young persons (14 and under 16 years) only if they were unruly or depraved. While the separation of a juvenile from the adult system of criminal justice has over time tended to confer anonymity on young offenders, the 15-year-old Mary Ellen Murphy became for a time the Lockout's most famous prisoner. Generating this fame were both claims and denials that she had been sent to an institution for fallen women or a female penitentiary or what is nowadays known as a Magdalen laundry.²

Mary Ellen Murphy worked in Jacob's biscuit factory in Bishop Street, part of whose site is nowadays occupied by the National Archives of Ireland (hereafter NAI). Jacob's joined the burgeoning Dublin employers' offensive on Saturday 30 August 1913 when the company dismissed three men who had refused to unload a consignment of flour from a Lucan mill that was locking out Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU) members. On the same day, a notice was posted instructing employees that they must handle all goods tendered and a regulation was issued forbidding the wearing of union badges in the factory. On the following Monday 1 September, around two-thirds of Jacob's 1000-strong male employees stayed away, as did around one in seven of its 2000 or so female employees. After completely closing for a fortnight, the factory re-opened with a gradual build-up of workforce numbers, first in the male areas and later in the female ones.

¹ NLI, Keogh Collection, KE_204.
² For a full account see Peter Murray, 'A militant among the Magdalens? Mary Ellen Murphy's incarceration in High Park Convent during the 1913 Lockout' in *Saothar*, 20, 1995, pp 41–54.

On 11 October, Jacob's issued an ultimatum to those who had not yet returned to work that they were to do so by 15 October or be taken off the firm's books. Old workers who had returned to work were paid 'loyalty money' increases in their wage rates from 14 October, the day on which the Dublin employers rejected the report of Sir George Askwith's inquiry as a basis for a general settlement of the conflict. Between 16 October and 3 November 1913, the factory advertised in the press every day for women workers.³

Against this background, physical clashes occurred during early November between those working and those remaining out which gave rise to a spate of assault or intimidation prosecutions and to custodial sentences for a number of those convicted. In one of these cases:

A girl named Mary E. Murphy, who was on strike from Messrs Jacob's factory in Dublin, was charged with assaulting one of the girls employed by Messrs. Jacob by giving her a box on the face and calling her a "scab" on the morning of the 3rd [of November], and with acting in a similar manner in the afternoon of the same day when complainant was returning from dinner. Murphy was remanded for a week and was sent to High Park Reformatory, which is a place of detention under the Children Act, 1908. After the remand, she was convicted of assault and sentenced to one month in the same reformatory.⁴

The Convent of Our Lady of Charity of Refuge at High Park, Drumcondra, where St Joseph's Reformatory was situated, was also the site of a Magdalen institution and as Mary Ellen Murphy served her sentence, it was alleged by both James Connolly and James Larkin that it was in this 'home for fallen women' that she was incarcerated. These allegations were denied in letters to the press or to members of parliament from senior civil servants and they were also contradicted by letters written to the press under their own names or under pseudonyms by Dublin priests.



Workers on the steps of Liberty Hall holding placards of the *Irish Worker* and the *Daily Herald*. Keogh Collection, NLI, KE_205.
© Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

On Sunday 30 November, the newly-formed Irish Citizen Army drilled in the grounds of Croydon Park, a north Dublin house leased by the ITGWU as a recreational centre whose name is nowadays preserved by streets situated between Griffith Avenue and Fairview Strand. From there it was planned to march to High Park but the route was blocked by the police. Instead, the march proceeded to Mountjoy Prison. As her sentence was about to expire, the St Joseph's Reformatory School sought permission for Mary Ellen Murphy's early release 'so as to avoid the demonstration which is reported will take place when she leaves this place'. This was duly granted by

the Chief Secretary and her release took place on the day before the due date of 11 December 1913.⁵

³ This account is mainly condensed from Patricia McCaffrey, 'Jacob's women workers during the 1913 Lock-Out' in *Saothar*, 16, 1991, pp 118–129.

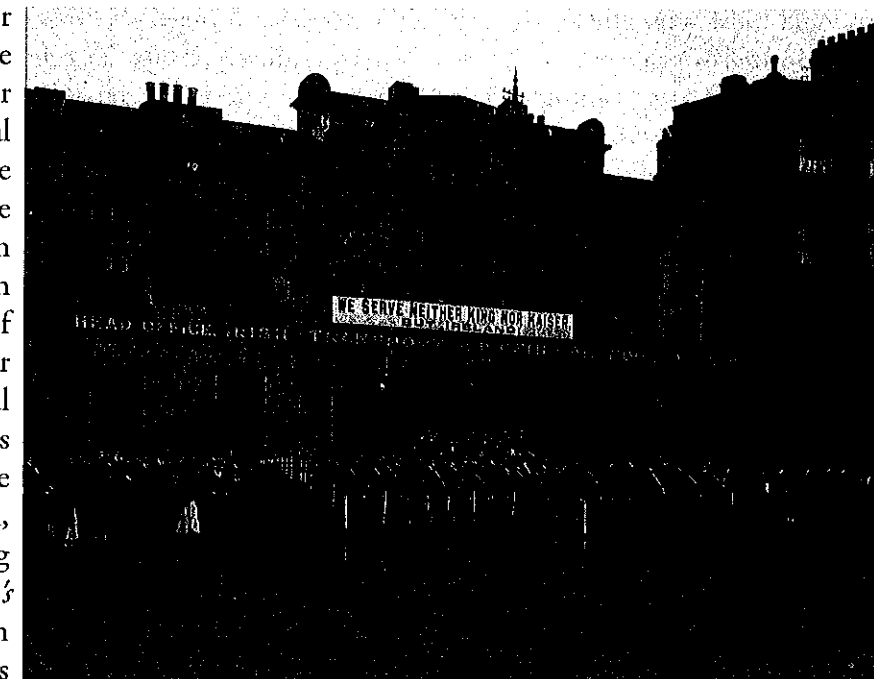
⁴ AP Magill, Irish Office, Old Queen Street, London SW to GA Touche MP, 21 November 1913. This letter was reproduced in the *Evening Telegraph*, 26 November 1913.

⁵ NAI, Criminal Index File 105 M 1913, carton 5352 3/787, Catherine Morris to Sir John Ross, 8 December 1913; Catherine Morris to G Farrell, 10 December 1913; handwritten note on telegram from Magill to AUS, 9 December 1913, 'Send order of discharge to Refy School ... Inspectors of Reformatories to Note'.

Sources for Mary Ellen Murphy's story

This exchange of correspondence apart, the challenge of piecing together Mary Ellen Murphy's story bears out Gabriel Doherty's recent characterisation in last year's issue of *Irish Archives* of the 'tortuous process' of using the Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers (CSORP) in which 'at the end of it all, there was the ever present danger that the file might simply not be present in the collection, having either been incorporated into a related file, misfiled, or worse still, lost, stolen, or taken back to London by the British in 1922'.⁶ Entries were found for communications with the General Prisons Board (GPB) 'on statement by J Larkin that a girl arrested in Dublin for intimidation was brought to a home for fallen women' and with the Dublin Metropolitan Police regarding the 'case of Mary Murphy on strike from Jacobs sentenced for intimidation and sent to High Park Refy'.⁷ But neither of these files could be traced in the NAI.

This left the researcher heavily reliant on the NLI's newspaper collection as its principal information source. The Mary Ellen Murphy case controversy was one in which a part of the Dublin press played the role of partisan participant rather than that of impartial reporter. This was especially true of the *Evening Telegraph* which, along with its morning stablemate, the *Freeman's Journal*, had initially been slow to clearly take sides on the Lockout. After strong Catholic Church opposition to Dora



The Irish Citizen Army made its first public appearance at the height of the controversy over Mary Ellen Murphy's incarceration. NLI, Keogh Collection, KE_198.
© Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

Montefiore's scheme for bringing locked-out workers' children to the homes of British sympathisers and interventions against Liberal candidates in British by-elections that formed part of a successful campaign to secure James Larkin's release from jail, however, an editorial line manifestly hostile to the Labour side emerged. Indeed, in relation to Mary Ellen Murphy's case, this hostility spilled over into a remarkable display of undisguised anti-Labour partisanship in these papers' news columns.

Presumably repeating what he had been told about a place of which he had no actual personal knowledge, James Connolly's allegation regarding the circumstances of Mary Ellen Murphy's detention was inaccurate. But his press detractors who had better access to information about High Park and who used this to contradict him, exaggerated the completeness of the convent's institutional segregation arrangements and misrepresented the views of the girl's father. A priest's

⁶ Gabriel Doherty, review of <www.csorp.nationalarchives.ie> in *Irish Archives*, vol 19, 2012, pp 53–55.

⁷ NAI, CSORP registry entries dated 18 November 1913 and 25 November 1913.

letter had claimed that the two High Park institutions 'are as widely separated and exclusive as the Mater Hospital and Mountjoy' but the two sets of High Park inmates shared a chapel. A reportedly satisfied Patrick Murphy declared that 'I would rather see my daughter in Siberia than in such a place'.⁸ These distortions enabled Connolly to recover from being wrong-footed by his initial inaccurate allegation and to go onto the offensive as the controversy continued.

The treatment of Mary Ellen Murphy's story in the other nationalist Dublin daily paper, William Martin Murphy's *Irish Independent*, was hardly less slanted but it was considerably less extensive, mainly due to the fact that this paper's coverage of Labour activities was almost exclusively focused on the sayings and doings of Larkin who was in England during virtually the entire period of a controversy whose originator and chief protagonist on the Labour side was the Dublin-based Connolly. Curiously, the Dublin weekly papers in which the Labour viewpoint was expressed or presented most sympathetically – the *Irish Worker* and the *Irish Citizen* – made no mention of the Mary Ellen Murphy case. If it was a Labour cause celebre, its celebrity was fashioned by the movement's oral communication channels with the only recording in print of the Labour perspective taking place in ideologically hostile papers.⁹

In relation to using the CSORP, Gabriel Doherty holds out the hope that digitisation will eventually provide a means of alleviating the current sufferings of researchers. Here it may be noted that the completed digitisation of the 1911 census by the NAI¹⁰ has provided the facility of readily tracing Mary Ellen Murphy and of filling in her family background. When that census was taken, the Murphy family lived a stone's throw away from Jacob's factory in Peter Street which is best known as the location of the former Adelaide Hospital. Patrick Murphy was a 37-year-old oven builder – an occupation strongly suggestive of employment by Jacob's. His 34-year-old wife Mary is recorded as a charwoman and their eldest son John (then 14) a biscuit operative. Mary Ellen, then 12, is the next eldest of Mary Murphy's six living children in the family. The census form records that she had in fact had seven children born alive so one had subsequently died leaving Mary Ellen and five siblings.

Sharing two rooms, the living circumstances of the family – while modest – were far from being the city's worst. If, two and a half years later, three members of the family were employed by Jacob's, it seems likely – given both Mary Ellen's involvement and the much greater trade union penetration of the male portion of Jacob's workforce – that her father and elder brother would also have been locked out at the time of her incarceration. If they were, then they probably faced a grim fate as the return to normality got under way in January and February 1914 when Jacob's management was accused of harshly abusive treatment of trade unionists seeking to get their old jobs back. Thus, on the third anniversary of the taking of the 1911 census, the situation of the Murphy family might well have been a great deal more impoverished than the census forms actually indicate. What, one wonders, became of them in the succeeding years?

Examining the Mary Ellen Murphy case illuminates one (middle) phase of the Lockout that lasted approximately five months during which expressions of solidarity with the movement's prisoners was a focal point for Labour's protest demonstrations. It also provides a rare historical instance

⁸ Letter from 'A City Curate' in the *Evening Telegraph*, 17 November 1913; *Evening Telegraph*, 27 November 1913; *The Irish Independent*, 28 November 1913; NLI Ms 13,921, William O'Brien Papers, copy of statement by Patrick Murphy, witnessed by Michael McKeown and James Connolly.

⁹ Dublin's Unionist press effectively ignored the controversy. One of its organs, for example, commented more broadly that 'the newspapers of Dublin – we do not include in this category such scurrilous sheets as "The Irish Worker" – are one and all opposed to him [Larkin] and the Press reflects the opinion of its readers'. Source: editorial 'The Labour Troubles' in the *Daily Express*, 19 November 1913.

¹⁰ <www.census.nationalarchives.ie>.

when church-controlled institutions of confinement – industrial schools, reformatories and Magdalen laundries – which have been brought to the forefront of public debate over the last two decades were openly discussed in a contemporary context. The terms on which the 1913 controversy was conducted show the antagonists – Catholic Church and State on the one side and Labour leaders on the other – sharing a discourse that helps explain why the culture of confinement could flourish unchallenged in Ireland for so long. Speaking at Liberty Hall later on the day that the attempt to march to the convent had been made, James Connolly declared that he had the highest respect and admiration for the High Park nuns' self-sacrificing labours.¹¹ Such a stance is plainly at odds with their portrayal as perpetrators of injustice in the course of recent controversy about the Magdalen institutions. His usage of the term fallen women is clearly a literal one, devoid of the inverted commas virtually all present day users would surround it with in order to distance themselves from its unequivocally judgmental moralising.

Subsequently, individual trade unions like the IWWU with its Dublin commercial laundry sector membership would respond to perceived threats to those members' jobs from laundries using unpaid labour.¹² Researchers seeking reasons why the 1908 Children's Act – hailed in its day as a broadly progressive 'Children's Charter' – remained on the statute book at the end of the 20th century as the centrepiece of Ireland's 'patently ineffective, costly (both to the child and the state) and archaic system' have considered the 'lack of identification with the issue of juvenile justice from the Trade Union movement and other social partners, which has resulted in little pressure on the State to reform the system of juvenile justice' to be significant. The more professional, white collar profile trade unionism acquired after 1945 might have been expected to increase its active concern with justice system issues. However, the failure of any form of middle class professional activism to effectively sustain itself in this field following the initial interventions of groups like Tuairim is probably the major weakness of Irish pressure for reform that commentators have identified.¹³

Lockout anniversaries and Magdalen asylum controversies

Curiously however, significant recent advances in the public acknowledgement of the true nature and legacy of the Magdalen institutions have recurrently coincided with anniversaries of the 1913–1914 Lockout. On the 80th anniversary of the start of the 1913 Dublin Lockout in September 1993, more than 150 bodies of deceased inmates of High Park's Magdalen institution buried within the convent grounds were exhumed and, the remains having been cremated, moved to a plot within Glasnevin cemetery. This was a consequence of the sale of a part of the convent's grounds to a housing developer. The episode led to public expressions of protest, attracted considerable media coverage and sparked off a wider controversy about what one commentator termed 'the underground history that is still largely unacknowledged' of the archipelago of Magdalen institutions.¹⁴

On the Lockout's 90th anniversary in 2003, this controversy revived with documents and records at its centre when it was revealed that the 1993 transfer to Glasnevin had taken place under the terms of 'a hastily reissued exhumation licence'. This had been necessary because the original licence listed only 133 sets of remains and there were 22 bodies for which the nuns could not account. Death certificates were missing in some 58 cases.¹⁵

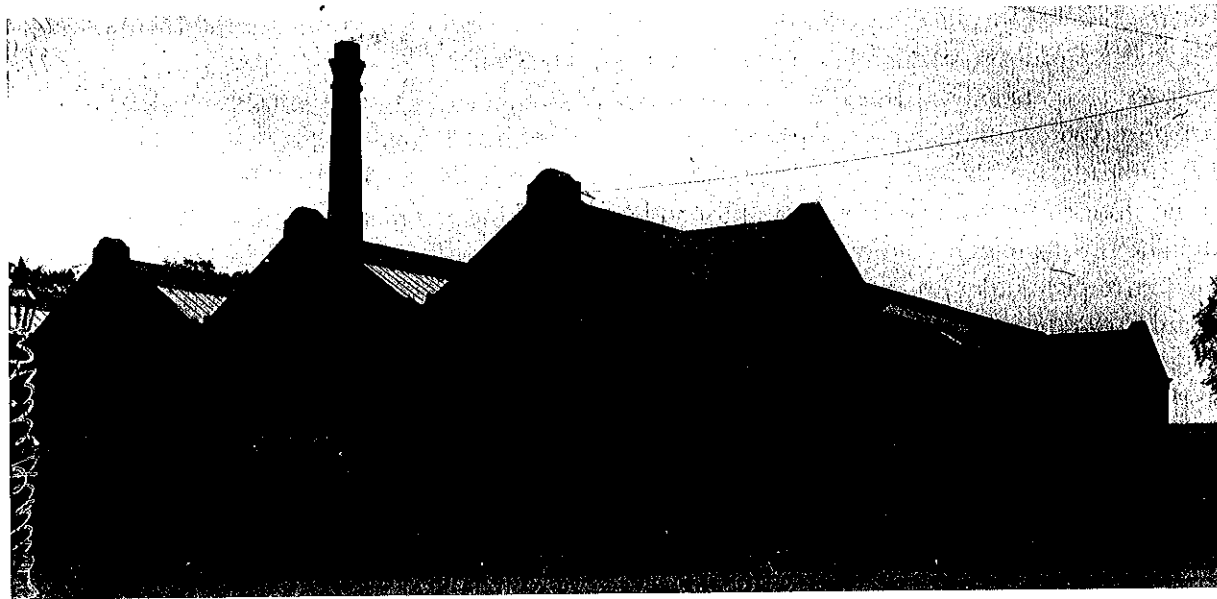
¹¹ *The Irish Times*, 1 December 1913.

¹² Mary Jones, *These Obstreperous Lassies: A History of the IWWU* (Dublin, 1988), p 176.

¹³ Eoin O'Sullivan, 'Ireland' in Jill Mehlbye and Lode Walgrave (eds), *Confronting Youth in Europe: Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice* (Copenhagen, 1998), pp 307–352, at p 309 and p 339; Tomás Finn, *Tuairim, Intellectual Debate and Policy Formulation in Ireland, 1954–1975* (Manchester 2012), chapter 4.

¹⁴ For more details see Peter Murray op cit.

¹⁵ James M Smyth, 'The Magdalene Sisters: evidence, testimony...action?' in *Signs*, 32, no 2, pp 431–458.



The White Heather, Dolphin's Barn Dublin one of the commercial firms that shared the laundry business with Magdalen institutions. NLI, Independent H Collection, IND_H_0415.
© Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

The Lockout's centenary year of 2013 has seen the publication of the *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee to Establish the Facts of State Involvement with the Magdalen Laundries* (aka the McAleese Report)¹⁶ and the unreserved apology from An Taoiseach Enda Kenny to the women who spent time in these laundries with the resulting formulation of proposals for a redress scheme for these women.

Discovered documents and recovered history

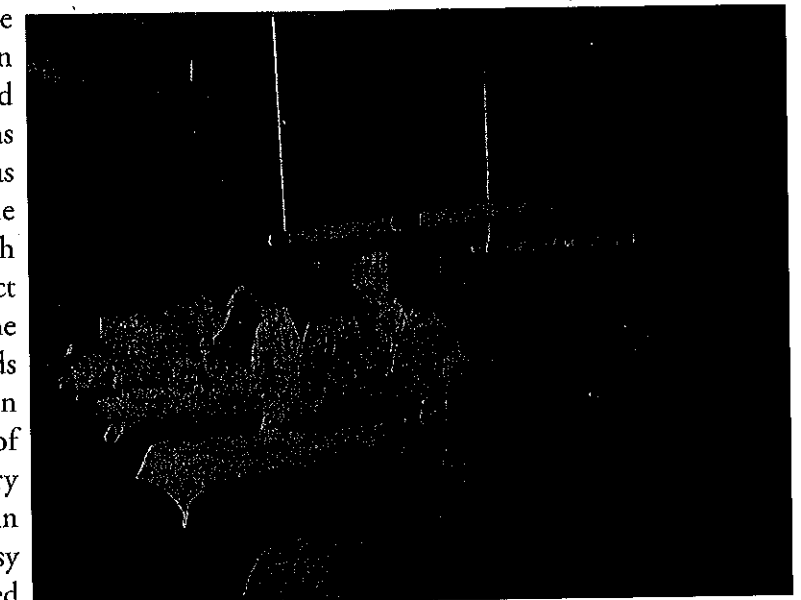
Debate continues on the adequacy of this official response but to have extracted it represents an extraordinary success for a marginalised group of women who were all but socially invisible two decades ago. Key advocates for and allies of the institutional abuse survivor movements have been drawn from the ranks of academics, media professionals and artists but differing views prevail on the contribution of archives to the processes of uncovering that have laid the foundations of the survivor movements' advances.

Discussing the film written and directed by Peter Mullan in 2002, *The Magdalene Sisters*, James M Smith has argued that 'Ireland's Magdalen laundries exist in the public mind at the level of story (survivor testimony and cultural representation) rather than history (archival records and documentation)' while Fintan O'Toole praises Mary Raftery and Eoin O'Sullivan's book *Suffer the Little Children* (1999) for its 'combination of vivid personal testimony and acute institutional analysis'. The former comment appears to have been prompted by the unavailability to researchers of the records of the religious congregations that ran the institutions: the latter is effectively a tribute to the ability of the authors to ingeniously feed off public record scraps as they found that 'many of the Department of Education's industrial school files are completely missing and others contain gaps spanning several decades with no documentation available'.¹⁷

Following then Taoiseach Bertie Ahern's apology to victims in May 1999, a Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (CICA) was established with extensive powers of discovery covering public and

private bodies. By 2004, discovery of Department of Education documents had proved sufficiently problematic for a separate special inquiry into the issue to be held. The account of this special inquiry's findings contained in CICA's final report is a catalogue of the missing, the incomplete and the non-existent.¹⁸

Calls for an apology to and the provision of redress for Magdalen women continued to be resisted until the McAleese Committee was established in July 2011. It too was in a position to combine information from private church and public State records – subject to the huge gaps particularly in the Department of Education records already enumerated by CICA – in order to create a database of information on former laundry inmates.¹⁹ Of particular interest in the light of the 1913 controversy discussed above is the light it shed on how after 1922, the child's world of the industrial schools and reformatories interlinked with the (predominantly) adult world of the Magdalen laundries.



A convent laundry portrayed in a modern industrial rather than a traditional penitential light. Poole Whole Plate Collection, P_WP_4619.
© Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

These schools functioned as one recruiting ground for the laundries' workforce. Close to one in 12 'known entries' to the laundries came from these schools and the average age of those who followed this 'route of entry' was 17.8 years old. Young girls could be transferred to a laundry if committed to an industrial school or reformatory but refused entry by that school. Release on licence from school to laundry, onward referral from school to laundry on reaching the school's upper age limit or referral to a laundry while subject to the period of post-school discharge supervision were other pathways trodden by such young entrants.²⁰

The frequent co-location of an industrial school or reformatory and a laundry on the same convent site would of course, have facilitated such transfers. High Park was one such convent site. During the 1920s, High Park's Reformatory, where Mary Ellen Murphy had served her sentence in 1913, was re-certified as an industrial school. This left only one reformatory for girls within the State – St Joseph's in Limerick which was run by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd until the High Park order – the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of Refuge – opened a second Dublin one at Kilmacud in 1944. In the intervening years, High Park seems to have operated as a remand facility for girls awaiting trial, most of whom were presumably from Dublin. The McAleese Report reveals a special form of jeopardy to which girls moved between two convent complexes in two cities could be exposed, quoting from one probation officer's memorandum of 1941:

¹⁸ CICA Final Report (2009), IV, chapter 1, part 9, 'Missing files' at <www.childabusecommission.com/rpt/pdfs/CICA-VOLA-01.PDF>.

¹⁹ Report of the *Inter-Departmental Committee to Establish the Facts of State Involvement with the Magdalen Laundries* (2011), part I and part II at <www.justice.ie/en/JELR/Pages/MagdalenRpt2013>.

²⁰ *Ibid*, part III, chapter 10.

¹⁶ See <www.justice.ie/en/JELR/Pages/MagdalenRpt2013>.

¹⁷ Mary Raftery and Eoin O'Sullivan, *Suffer the Little Children: The Inside Story of Ireland's Industrial Schools* (Dublin, 1999), pp 330–331.

If a girl on remand is for any reason considered by the Manager an undesirable type for the 'Remand Home', she may be sent (without waiting for official sanction) to the Magdalen Asylum attached, even though the girl is still a juvenile and perhaps awaiting trial for such offences as house-breaking, larceny etc. Very often these girls are subjects for the Reformatory School – St. Joseph's Limerick. If and when they have been committed to the Reformatory School, the Manager learns they have spent even a week in High Park (i.e. the Magdalen Home and not the "Remand Home") they are no longer considered suitable subjects for St. Joseph's and they are immediately transferred to the Good Shepherd Convent adjoining. Scarcely a fair start for young girls under 16 years who hitherto may not have had immoral tendencies.²¹

Back in November 1913, in a letter to the press, Fr Richard Fleming had posed the question of whether catching a glimpse in the High Park Convent chapel of fallen women 'who like Mary Magdalen are bathing the feet of Our Lord with tears of love and of sorrow for past sins' would degrade or defile Mary Ellen Murphy.²² In 1941, the nun managing the Limerick reformatory school might have been prepared to disregard such an amount of contact but plainly not to countenance a great deal more.

Conclusion

In spite of its deplorably incomplete character, documentary evidence has, in tandem with survivor testimony, helped to propel forward and vindicate the cause of a remarkable set of contemporary Irish social movements. That the government department principally at fault in the history of institutional child abuse, the Department of Education, was as deficient in keeping and preserving its records as it was in discharging its duty of care to industrial school and reformatory children is hardly accidental.

Institutionalised child abuse is not a purely historical phenomenon and we may not have seen the last of leaders' apologies and redress schemes. Some 500 children seeking asylum went missing from Irish State care in the decade prior to 2010.²³ A report published in September 2012 chronicled the serious privations – babies without adequate food, older children suffering weight loss and chronic gastric illness – that form part of the 'direct provision' regime imposed on asylum seekers.²⁴ Of itself, keeping proper official records and providing public access to them will not end such failures or malpractices of state agencies. But a genuinely open democratic Irish society whose infrastructure included the combination of a Freedom of Information regime restored to its original progressive conception and a National Archives Act that was properly complied with and realistically resourced might constitute our best protection against history being allowed to repeat itself in this manner.

²¹ Ibid, part III, chapter 10, paragraph 58, pp 347–348.

²² *Evening Telegraph*, 29 November 1913.

²³ *The Irish Times*, 1 February 2010.

²⁴ Irish Refugee Council, *State-Sanctioned Child Poverty and Exclusion: The Case of Children in State Accommodation for Asylum Seekers* (Irish Refugee Council, Dublin, 2012).

The Schools' Collection of Children's Essays, National Folklore Collection, University College Dublin

Mary Hatfield

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In 1938, 13-year-old Maisie Nesbitt, a student at Drumakill School, wrote a short essay describing the types of games she played in county Monaghan. Her essay described:

throwing rings and an old king cole's nose, dominoes, tea-out, drawing with chalk, marbles, blind man's buff. We play the singing games when we have visitors... In the summer I play swing, ball, tig, hiding and go seek. I play house. On Halloween nights I play catching an apple in a basin of water. The ones that take a bit out of an apple hanging from the ceiling will get it. At tea time the one that gets the ring in the cake will be married first.¹

Maisie's essay is located in the largest archival collection of Irish children's writings from the 20th century. As part of a scheme sponsored by the National Folklore Commission in the late 1930s, Maisie and over 100,000 other children participated in a project to collect and preserve folklore within their communities. The scheme asked older schoolchildren in primary education, aged between 11 and 14 years, to write essays – in Irish or English – based on material collected from their parents, grandparents and older members of their community about local lore, traditions and customs. Over 5,000 primary schools contributed material from their district.²

The topics the children were instructed to research and write about included local history, monuments, folktales, legends, local placenames, descriptions of the landscape, riddles, proverbs, songs, customs, beliefs, games, pastimes, traditional work practices, crafts, festivals and food.³ The large-scale scheme utilised children as the primary authors of local lore and stories. These texts now preserved at the National Folklore Archive, University College Dublin, offer an enormous scope of information for research relating to Irish childhood, children's culture, Irish language, education, folklore, social customs and local communities.

The appointment of Frances Fitzgerald TD as Ireland's first ever Minister for Children and Youth Affairs in 2011 and subsequent debates surrounding the Children's Referendum of 2012, have signalled a public discussion of children's rights, welfare, and education in Ireland. This interest has prompted a broader inquiry into historical experiences of Irish childhood. Institutional abuse, cultural constructions of childhood, childhood illness and Irish children's literature are some of the areas which have attracted recent scholarly research.⁴

¹ National Folklore Collection Schools (hereafter NFCS), 943:207, Maisie Nesbitt, Drumakill, Muckno, county Monaghan. Special thanks to the National Folklore Collection, University College Dublin (UCD) for access and permission to reproduce excerpts from the collection.

² National Folklore Archive, UCD. See also <www.ucd.ie/irishfolklore/en/schoolsfolklorescheme1937-38>.

³ Ibid.

⁴ John Countryman and Kelly Matthews (eds), *The Country of the Young: Interpretations of Youth and Childhood in Irish Culture* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2013); Anne Mac Lellan and Alice Mauger (eds), *Growing Pains: Childhood Illness in Ireland, 1750–1950* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 2013); Mary Shine Thompson and Valerie Coghlan (eds), *Divided Worlds: Studies in Children's Literature* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2007); Mary Shine Thompson (ed), *Young Irelands: Studies in Children's Literature* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2010).