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**TRANSCRIPT**

**Dr Deirdre Foley and Professor Ian McBride  
in conversation with Professor Mary Daly**

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The Clann Project is publishing this transcript in line with our ethos to promote truth and accountability and to put the rights of adopted people, survivors, natural mothers and relatives at the centre of our work.

In accordance with our ethical protocols, we have redacted the names of survivors, adopted people, mothers and relatives who participated in the seminar. The transcript is being made freely available so the individuals in question can share it publicly identify themselves if they wish.

**Abbreviations**

MD: Professor Mary Daly  
DF: Dr Deirdre Foley  
IMcB: Professor Ian McBride  
EM: Dr Eve Morrison

[Seminar begins]

IMcB: I think I should start by saying welcome everybody, thank you all for coming. There's been a huge amount of interest in this seminar which is the last of our annual series. We've had a lot of press enquiries and I think I'd like to start off just by correcting what I think are two misunderstandings. The first one is this isn't actually a public lecture. It's a university seminar. It's directed primarily at postgraduate students and faculty members and it's part indeed of their formal training. That is, it's designed for Doctor or Master's students who are engaged in research and I would ask you please not to live Tweet anything. So the first point is it's a university event and the point is to learn from it, in this case, to learn about the history of women and the family and the social history of 20<sup>th</sup> century Ireland, but also I think to learn something about the role of historians in public life.

Secondly, in spite of what I've just said, we welcome interested people beyond the university, especially of course history students. And every person who registered has been sent a link by me, mostly by me I think, or by Maura. If anybody's been missed out, it's because I'm in the middle of examining and Maura is in [location redacted], so it's actually early morning there. But I have tried to get back to everybody. And the other thing to say is that Deirdre Foley, who I'll be introducing in a moment, is currently organising a witness seminar to be held online this summer at which survivors of Ireland's Mother and Baby Homes will discuss their experiences and offer commentary on the Irish government's recent report. So if you are interested and if Deirdre wants to put her contact details in the chat, please do get in touch with her.

So before I introduce our speaker, let me just tell you roughly what's going to happen. We'll probably go for an hour or so. In the first half-hour, Deirdre and I will ask Professor Daly some questions. In the second half-hour, we'll open this up to the floor, as it were. If you've got questions, please put them in the chat and Eve Morrison, one of my co-conveners and I will try to keep an eye on the chat and pick out the questions as best we can and fit as many as we can in.

So now, to turn to our speaker, it's a real pleasure to welcome Professor Mary Daly, Emeritus Professor of History at University College Dublin. As you will know, she's written very widely and with great distinction about 20<sup>th</sup> century Ireland. Her books 'Dublin, the Deposed Capital: A Social and Economic History 1860-1914', so 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. 'Women and Work in Ireland', 'The Slow Failure: Population Decline and Independent Ireland 1922 – 1973' and with Theo Hoppen, 'Gladstone: Ireland and Beyond', which was published in 2011. She's also edited two Royal Irish Academy publications, '1916 in 1966: Commemoration the Easter Rising' and 'Roger Casement in Irish and World History'. And I'm sure you will also know that she was elected to the Royal Irish Academy in 1991 and in 2014 became the first female president of the Royal Irish Academy in its 230-year history. And of course she was Commissioner of the Mother and Baby Homes Commission of Investigation 2015 to 2020.

So Mary, we're very pleased to have you here and very grateful to you for coming to talk to us. I will be asking you some questions and also Dr Deirdre Foley, who's a Research Fellow at Hertford College, Oxford, will be joining me. Deirdre is an expert on the status of women in mid/late 20<sup>th</sup> century Ireland and so her questions will be much more informed than mine, much better informed. And she's also written a recent article on Ireland economic and social history on family planning and *Humanae Vitae*.

So have I told you everything that you need to know? We're going to talk for half an hour and then we're going to open up the discussion. And Mary, the first thing I think I want to ask you, which is sort of cutting to the chase in a way is about the Terms of Reference of the Commission because there is, in some ways, in the report a mixture of legal business and historical business.

MD: Yes.

IMcB: And I suppose we all need to know first of all what the legal constraints were on the Commission.

MD: Okay. Okay. Ian, thank you for the invitation. When this was underway, I turned down countless invitations to give history talks about the work because, you know, we were all effectively precluded from doing anything like that and I did promise some people, not you, that I would talk to the history forum, and more than one probably history forum, about, you know, the historical dimensions to this because the enquiry starts in 1922 and runs up to the end of the century, so it's quite a long sweep of 20<sup>th</sup> century Ireland.

We were governed by the Commissions of Investigation Act 2004 which was brought in to replace earlier inquiries, tribunals where the costs went through the roof. Some of them have not yet finished. And they were in public and there were heavy duty legal teams on every side. And this was to be a judicial type of enquiry, but conducted primarily in private, but with the same kind of legal robust investigative standards that the evidence in the main report....we were given the Terms of Reference, which were incredible, which were written I think by about 10 committees, they were five pages long roughly. But anything in the main report of Commission had to meet robust legal standards of evidence. Now, as historians, we're used to robust standards of evidence, but this went probably a notch or two above that. In other words, you had to demonstrate where did you get that statement? Where did you get that information? Where did those figures come from?

And part of the Commission was that we had to, if we wrote something that was adverse, critical about an individual or an entity, an institution, we had to write a draft report, send that draft report where we made these critical observations and supply them with the accompanying documentation that we used to write that draft report. And they had a chance to read that and they had a chance to come back. And what I would like to say at this stage is I'll give you two quick examples. They came back with a vengeance.

I mean the burial report I would have thought was fairly conclusive, what we said about both Tuam and Bessborough, but we got heavy push-back on both. Tuam came back with this extraordinary, how will I think it, this extraordinary assertion and lots of documentation, that those burial tanks were actually purpose-built

burial vaults, the kind of things you see in continental Europe used by royal and other families. Now, apart from the idea that cash-strapped local authority, that Galway County Council would have constructed something like that in the 1930s, they weren't designed for it. I mean dimensions don't work out. But they had the nerve to send that back to us. Bessborough sent back, they didn't know where anybody was buried, but they were all buried according to the rites of the church. What were they? They weren't too sure, and in accordance with the bylaws and when cross-examined on that, they didn't realise that there were no bylaws governing private burial places at the time anyway. So I mean we got serious push-back.

Similarly on the deaths again and I think the deaths evidence in the 1940s was so shockingly self-evident that you could not second-guess it. And again, there were attempts to kind of take all the data and all the voluminous files we sent and just glaze or blur the stories to muddy the messages. So the point I'm trying to make is that everything that went into the main report really had to stand up to cross-examination. We were...at one stage, there was a looming threat of judicial, you know, of us being brought to court on something. It didn't happen, but this is the level we're on. So in a sense, if the report reads as legalistic, if the report doesn't include some evidence that people gave to the Confidential inquiry, there is a reason why it's not there because, you know, it would have been subjected to legal challenge and I mean the witnesses would have had to go through a very tough legal process.

I'll give you an example again. In our chapter on Castlepollard, a witness came in under oath and said that when she was there, this is the 1960s, roughly one baby died every day and sometimes two. Now, no babies died when she was there. We know when she was there and the death rate at that stage was very low. We note that in the report, but if we'd written it without...she wasn't subjected to challenge because we were able to show that she was misguided on that and similarly in her statement, there was a room full of Down's syndrome babies in Castlepollard at the time. There were nuns there...none there, sorry. So the point is we had to be very, very ultra-careful. I mean I'd sometimes say, 'Well, of course, we know that' and the judge who chaired or some of my legal colleagues

would say, ‘Mary, are you sure of that?’ In other words, you know, everything had to be dragged through the mill to stand up to robust evidential challenge.

Now, the other point I want to make at this stage is there’s multiple dimensions. We were set up. There was a social history report and that was I think me, though I did more than that. And the initial plan was that was to be written before the rest of it, except I remember pointing out to the minister, ‘I can do it, fine, but most of it will be imperfect, a lot of it inaccurate and why bother because the evidence is going to refute and expand in many ways?’ And then there was the Confidential inquiry where people could come to the Confidential Committee. Their names would not be noted in the final report. There would be no challenge to what they said. It wouldn’t be cross-examined. It wouldn’t be cross-checked. And I mean I don’t think the two should ever be put into the one Commission...one inquiry because they’re very, very different exercises.

I think the Confidential [Committee] is a very valid exercise. It gave people who would not have subjected themselves to the rigours of coming in and taking an oath and giving evidence, though...it was a small room and there were never more than about four people present unless groups came in. So they could come in and tell their stories, but those stories were never cross-checked or queried to any significant degree. And there are people who say that they gave evidence to the Commission, they gave...they spoke...they gave evidence....they gave testimony to the Confidential inquiry, which is a slightly different exercise. There are also people who came to both the Confidential and to the main Commission and having spoken to one, they came in and then maybe reit...repeated it or gave different evidence under oath to the full Commission.

So I do think some of this was and remains confusing to a lot of people and I think any discussion as to people’s pleasure or displeasure more probably with the outcome needs to be seen in the light of the rules and regulations under which we operated. And these were not of our making. These are a law of government and the Terms of Reference, a Statutory Instrument and they were approved by Cabinet and Dáil Éireann.

IMcB: Okay, understood. That's very helpful. That clarifies things, I think. I wonder then could I ask you, I don't want to ask you to summarise the findings...

MD: Oh thank you!

IMcB: ...because we'd be here all afternoon and also I'd imagine quite a lot of our audience will know about the findings. But I do wonder because you're an expert in this period of Irish history how the report changed your understanding of what kind of place Ireland was between the twenties and eighties and in particular, the role of these institutions, the role of the State, the role of clerical authorities and so on?

MD: It doesn't make it look any nicer or kinder or gentler. I don't think I was particularly romantic about it anyway. But I think it has really thrown up some brutal stories and I think one of my...as a historian, one of the things that concerns me is that the contemporary debate is very, I think rightly focused on issues that concern specific groups of people, adoption being the very obvious one, and tracing. But that's effectively a dereliction of successive governments since the 1990s. But I mean what I think strikes me is first of all, we need to refocus on what happened at local authority level. The country...you know, you get all this literature that Ireland is very centralised. Yes and no. The everyday interaction for so many people with the State took place through local authorities and it was the local authorities that looked after our, in many ways neglected sick, the dying, the unmarried mothers, you know, those with disabilities. And they operated, they had a lot more I think latitude than I would have recognised. They ran the system as they deemed in many cases and they ran it on the basis of deserving and undeserving families, respectable families, the und...people who they regarded as almost non-people, you know. I mean there's the manager who says, 'she's the daughter of a 50-acre farmer and normally she'd go to a Mother and Baby Home, but this is a bad family. Her sister had a baby last year, so it's the County Home for her.'

And I mean the treatment, the bits that had me really in tears and I mean one of our researchers as well I think, I said, 'Where's my County Home chapter?' She

was kind of copy editing it and she was in such an emotional state, it took her a long time to do it. The treatment that we, I mean the places where a lot of the poor and elderly and indigent were left got no investment until the 1950s and sometimes the 1960s. They were still in Victorian workhouses. The treatment was abominable. The women in the County Homes, the unmarried mothers were slave, unpaid workers. I'm not going to gloss and glorify what the Magdalene Homes were like for those women. But the Magdalene Laundries would have been less bad than being an unmarried mother slaving in a County Home because there was no running water. There was no heat. They were having to wash, clean and care for the elderly, the intellectually disturbed, people with acute disabilities, horrendous stuff.

And there's the ghastly story of an inspector in the 1950s saying to this mother, 'Look it, your child's there in the cot with his bottle and it's all spilling, couldn't you take him out and feed him?' And she said, 'If I take him out and feed him on my lap, I won't get my chores done'. And so I mean the contempt and neglect that we showed to all cohorts. And then the one that nobody's shouting about, children and adults with disabilities. We were putting children with disabilities into the County Homes. There was a slew of them in the County Home in Waterford of 1968 because there was nowhere else for them to go. And I mean these are the kind of things that I find deeply, deeply distressing.

As for the religious orders, what will I say about them? I could say a lot. Like where will I start really? The State in many ways offloaded obligations. The local authority offloaded obligations onto these religious orders. One of the things that really gets me and it's back to Florence Nightingale in a way that, you know, if you're a well-bred woman, you don't need professional qualifications. I mean Florence Nightingale didn't really believe in professional nursing. She thought if you were a lady, you knew exactly how to do it. And that was the thing. I mean you have nuns, the nun in charge in Bessborough who was there from the twenties up to the 1940s and who was criminally negligent, had no qualifications other than she'd worked a bit in a hospital somewhere, and she's put in charge. I don't know how much she knew about hygiene. I don't know how much she knew



about bacteriology. She was left in charge of what is effectively a hospital and, you know, a nursing home or whatever you want to call it.

And County Homes were, a lot of them run by nuns who again did not have appropriate qualifications and nobody checked on their capacity or their incapacity to do the job. The local authorities left it to the religious orders to determine that Sister X gets the job as opposed to Sister Y and I mean, you know, in Bessborough, that case, that grossly incompetent nun was removed at the convenience of the religious order, not at the convenience of the State because that was the powers. The local authority could probably...so there's a deference there. The Tuam nuns say, oh, it'd be better if we kept the children under the age of seven. Well, the comment we've had, we had around the Commission Office was, given some of the descriptions of boarded out children in Galway, they mightn't have been 100% wrong, but that's neither here nor there. But basically the nuns said they should stay till the age of seven. Nobody second-guessed it. The government policy by the way was that they shouldn't, but...so the nuns won out over the Department of Local Government on that particular one. So there's a huge area of deference.

And then when, you know, they're trying to close Seán Ross in the 1960s. Donogh O'Malley who was always seen as one of these great white hopes and he sends down two deputations and everything else to the bishop to get the bishop to agree to Seán Ross being closed. I've actually much more respect for Seán McEntee when the people of Tuam came up with a deputation demanding that the home remain open and the archbishop wrote to him. He just told them back it's closing and end of story and he was right. But there is a deference there. There is a delegation. There is a respect that comes through and you see it not just in this. I mean I looked at some of the Ryan Commission again and you get 'Daingean is a dreadful place. Salthill is a dreadful place. But the Brothers are doing a great job. The priests are doing a great job. The nuns are doing a great job,' and you know, and they never went beyond the dreadful place and the child neglect into saying 'who's there on the job? Who's there on the spot? Where does...?' So I mean there is a delegation and a deference.

By the way, the delegation did save them an awful lot of headaches and saved them an awful lot of worry and it saved them an awful lot of planning as well. I mean the first, so yes, I'm going off sort of marginally on a tangent here, but I'll come back in a sec. The first coronary bypasses in Ireland were initiated in the Mater Hospital, the voluntary hospital. It was all done without any State initiative. It would have been waiting for State...for the Department of Health to say, 'I think we need doctors trained in this' or 'We need to set up a system'. People might have died. So you know, it's a strange mix, but far too much deference, you know, far too much deference and delegation. But it made for a much easier life.

IMcB: Yes, thank you, Mary. That's really interesting. I've got more questions, but I think I'm going to let Deirdre come in and I can come back later if there's time.

DF: Okay. Very quickly, just before I ask any direct questions of you, Mary, I do just want to take a minute to welcome and to pay respect to those attending today who are survivors of various institutions. I see [name of relative of deceased child redacted] here among others and I want to thank them for their time and I want to emphasise that this isn't merely or solely an abstract object of fascination for those of us in the Irish history community. It is a live issue and it's one that we are all responsible for reckoning with and it's an issue where obviously justice and transparency have not yet been achieved and one which we must approach with a lot of sensitivity of course. And it's important too to note that this is an issue affecting a great many people in contemporary Ireland as well as direct survivors. Many of us have long-lost family as a result of this system, whether we're aware of it or not. So like, Mary, you kind of touched on the whole issue of class already.

MD: Yes.

DF: But I'll still just start with this. Catholic social teaching held that the rights of the family were inalienable. The 1937 Constitution obviously reflected this and abdicated a lot of responsibility for the well-being of citizens to the private family unit, which it termed as a moral institution. So the primacy of this privacy was, as

people like Moira Maguire have said, you know, really rooted in these middle-class perceptions of family life. So how do you see, you know, these middle-class perceptions play out with regard to the function of Mother and Baby Homes?

MD: I'd go a little bit beyond middle class into respectable because some of them are not particularly prosperous, but they still have...they still embody the same views. I mean they come in a variety of ways. First of all, where do I want to start with this? First of all, the determination of a lot of families that their daughter's pregnancy should not be known. Secondly, there's a chapter in the social history which is a profile of the mothers and there's stories in there where a daughter is not let marry somebody because he's, you know, he's the wrong religion or if he's from a poorer background or she's more...and in other words, the way that families did, for example, prevent what they regarded as inappropriate marriages and as such, pushed children into having to grow up without their parents in most cases and often pushed their daughters into Mother and Baby Homes.

What's interesting about the Mother and Baby Homes is the numbers are tiny until the thirties when they begin to offer maternity units where you can give birth there. And at this stage, you've got this State who will freely provide for your daughter in this place where she will...her privacy will hopefully be maintained and it is clear that there are families at this stage who are encouraging their daughters to go in there. There are also, I mean the number of women who don't tell anybody because they know the family respectability will be at issue. You get issues about the...it's not just yourself, it's your brother, it's your sisters, they won't be able to marry respectably. I mean you get a wider family dimension to the story as to what you are doing to that. You get...I mean a lot of babies who died in Bessborough in the 1940s were private patients. There's a whole slew of middle-class families, comfortable farmers who were putting their daughters into Bessborough to give birth, taking her out again two weeks later, leaving the baby behind, with no great concern as to the baby's well-being or otherwise. And the death rate among those private...those children of private patients, is actually a shocking story and where they're no longer let leave those babies there anymore, the daughter is still coming out and the baby's been dumped, some of them into

dubious nursing homes. There were a couple of very dodgy ones in Cork where you'd get similar appalling mortality.

So the families are really determined to cover up and it continues well into the 1970s. The evidence from Cherish that the mother says, 'If you come home with your baby, we'll have to move house. What would the neighbours say?' I mean, you know, these are really, really, these are really heartrending stories and I mean the Mother and Baby Home was designed to protect this level of respectability. It was a place...the other thing you see, perception, 'could you please go to the home that is miles away from you actually?' And I mean in terms of it's not just Catholics. There are instances where Dublin City Council pays for a few Protestant women at their parents' request to be sent to the...I'm sorry...the Braemor, Braemor Home in Cork, a small Protestant private Mother and Baby Home in Cork. We don't have any records. Otherwise we would have said a lot more about it.

So the whole thing is concealment, lack of revelation, cover-up and, 'don't come home, go to England, go to your aunt in England, don't come home'. I mean secrecy and respectability are really key issues. And the secrecy side survives well into I'd say, certainly into the seventies or eighties anyway. It doesn't change. It doesn't change much before then. It's a very slow change.

DF: Okay, so I would like to discuss one specific recommendation of the report, which you know, I'm thinking about how this might have been composed and arrived at with the historical knowledge that we have.

MD: Okay.

DF: So Recommendation 27 reads, quote, 'The women in Mother and Baby Homes should not have been there. They should have been at home with their families. The reality is most of them had no choice. They were or expected to be rejected by their families and they needed a place to stay. Most were unable to provide for their baby. They were not incarcerated in the strict meaning of the word, but in the earlier years at least with some justification, they thought they were. They

were always free to leave if they took their child. Some did leave before the child was born. Some left without their child. Most had no money and nowhere to go. The introduction of the Unmarried Mother's Allowance in 1973 changed that. The Commission considers that women who entered Mother and Baby Homes after 1973 do not have a case for financial redress'. So pairing this with the evidence that is in the report, that made it to the report through the strict legal process you've described, such as a witness spoke to the committee about being nineteen and pregnant in a home in the late-seventies and seeing nuns quote, 'getting physical with residents, wrestling babies from them in the nursery while the mothers were roaring that they wanted to keep their babies', how do you...

MD: Sorry, Deirdre. Deirdre, that's from the Confidential [Committee].

DF: ....ok. So it can't be...

MD: That was not in the Commission of Investigation. No, that was in the Confidential, yeah.

DF: Okay. Okay. So it has no bearing on the recommendations that are made?

MD: Well, it...that's...that's from the Confidential. That statement would need to be sent, to be given full evaluation by the Commission, that would have had to have been under oath and would have had to be sent to, I don't know which home it was.

DF: I mean these are obviously, I know that you have already given...

MD: And can I say...there was a...can I say...at one point, we thought we would get a witness under oath testifying about physical abuse, whatever terminology you want to use, in a Mother and Baby Home, somebody who had given...this did not materialise. I don't know whether it's this person or somebody else, I don't know. Had given evidence to the Confidential inquiry and we made efforts to get this person to come and repeat the testimony to the full Commission under oath, at which point it would have been sent to the institution concerned, but it would

have featured in the report presumably in some way. It could have been said we've been told this under oath and the congregation denies it totally or something like that. But it didn't...that is not evidence under oath is what I want to say to you there.

I think we talked about this a lot, can I say, none of these recommendations were come to lightly and I mean by 1973, there are more women keeping their children. One question that came up with us is first of all, should women...if you're giving redress to these women, should women who chose to keep their child, maybe making huge personal and financial sacrifices, should they also get redress if...you know, I mean these are the kind of things we were discussing because you draw strange lines there. And also it's not just Mother and Baby Homes really. I mean at a peak, about half of babies born outside wedlock, and that's only a couple of years, approximately half, there's a huge number of women who gave birth in the local maternity hospitals, in local hospitals where all the evidence suggests that they were probably being treated abominably by the other women, you know, frankly. And also in the private nursing homes. So I mean you know, you're into a spectrum there and it becomes very difficult.

DF: Yes, it does, yes.

MD: There's no doubt. I think we can all agree. You know enough about women and work and all the rest of it, that the wages that the average woman could earn. Until very...until the 1970s and some period afterwards in many cases could not maintain more than one person and barely maintain one person in many cases.

DF: And just back to the wider kind of systemic issues that are at play here because it's something we keep coming back to. Obviously, it's widely accepted that Ireland for a very long time had a very extensive system of containment for those who didn't fit into that patriarchal respectable ideal of family life. So this system which obviously entails coercion, neglect, abuse, rape and death, really obviously manifested itself in an array of institutions and systems, not just Mother and Baby Homes. So do you think, because this is something I think about a lot, that the siloing of the associated issues via successive State reports, like the McAleese,

the Murphy and the Ryan reports before the Commissions really take away from that larger, more joined-up perspective?

MD: Yes. I've actually had, I mean I haven't seen people. I've actually had account of an email conversation on this line with Ian O'Donnell in recent times and the piece of research that I would love to see done, and I've urged, and I mean I'm not going to do it, so if somebody listening would perhaps make a good pitch please to the Minister for some funding to do it, take the Ryan Commission databases, take our people, because can I tell you, I don't know how many, but I know that there were children born in County Homes or Mother and Baby Homes, they then went maybe for boarding out or maybe not, maybe they remained in the County Home. And they were then shipped to an Industrial School. Maybe with an intervening period of being at nurse. And then they stayed in the industrial school until they were what, sixteen. They left with no after-care, no family, no nothing. And many of these vulnerable women became pregnant out of wedlock, ended up in a Mother and Baby Home.

I've seen one sad case who was born in the County Home in Wicklow and twenty-odd years later, she ends up being shipped back from England to that. And I mean these are the kind of ones that had me almost in tears while going through the stuff. But I think we need to look...you could do a linkage there between them to see how many of these happen, that there is this horrible circularity and a statement that struck me, I was looking for something completely different going through my notes. One of the sisters from Dunboyne was in and I was looking for something, I was looking at the role of social...I was looking for a statement on the role of social workers actually in the Mother and Baby Homes in later years. But going back through the evidence that these sisters had given under oath, she made the point, and this really hit me at the time, that the women who stayed longest in Dunboyne were those that had no families, no family to give them some kind of support.

My feeling, and I can't prove it to you, I mean, you know, everybody says the women stayed two years. Once we looked at the statistics, not...only a minority did. And my feeling is that the families having dumped their daughter into a

Mother and Baby Home may have relented after a period of time and they facilitated her leaving or at least when she left, she had a sister to go to, a cousin, a sympathetic aunt or somebody. But what this nun said to me, the women who stayed with us for two years were women who had nobody and nowhere to go because Irish society at all level—go into premature deaths, people left without means—hugely dependent on some kind of a family network to see you through. I mean it was not uncommon for children to be split up between relatives and so on like that. And the families that lacked those resources or the people that lacked those support mechanisms, they're the unfortunates that end up in Industrial Schools and County Homes. And I mean the County Homes have homeless abandoned families. So did Tuam, by the way, as well, not just unmarried mothers.

So I think what you're getting into is the family, its horrors and also its essential nature for, you know, I think the family was central to the well-being or the lack of well-being of so many Irish people. And you then get this whole cohort who lack that whole resource space in every sense of the word. And it's the circularity. And I've also argued that there's scope, if we could take the kids who were born in these...or went through these places. I mean some years ago in UCD, I had a great conversation with Liam Delaney who's now in the LSE. He's head of behavioural sciences and Colm Harmon, who I think may be in Edinburgh. I don't know. And they've got some data on the Irish in England and their death rates and so on like that, which are ghastly. And so I think what we need to capture is the physical well-being or lack of physical well-being, the long-term consequences for all these people of all these array of institutions.

But I completely agree with you and the one that needs, and there's all kind of things, you know, where do the mental hos... I think the facilities for the mentally handicapped, for those with intellectual disability and physical disability, they're the ones that really bug me. I mean back, again, Pelletstown wasn't just a Mother and Baby Home. That woman who described this room in Dun...in Castlepollard full of Down's syndrome children, she'd obviously spoken to somebody who was in Pelletstown at around her time at some kind of reunion and got a bit confused. Pelletstown had, I mean I don't know whether the term 'the dying room' was



contemporary at the time, but you know, some of the people who came in described that to us. Pelletstown, for example, took a succession of children with Down's syndrome and spina bifida, most of them with two parents, by the way, and other children with terminally...with incurable conditions and they were left there until they died. And you know, again, and there's a horrendous description in the County Home chapter. I mean don't read...you'll need a strong stomach to read it of children, late-fifties in the County Home in Roscrea, children with special needs and you know, I mean that is absolutely beyond acceptance.

So I think there is a whole undertow of issues that this report has burst open and I would like to see us...if...we can't do it quickly, but I would like to see us begin to disentangle them. But the one I think that I would really like to see done would be to try and do this linkage between...in Britain, it looks as if they've put a certain amount of unmarried mothers into...in mental hospitals. I haven't seen any evidence we did that. I think the Magdalene Laundries did the job instead for us.

DF: Another question of particular interest to historians, is there a way, legal or otherwise, to ensure that as per the Commission's recommendations, that the various religious orders open their archives?

MD: I suspect that there isn't as much in those archives as people think there is. I also think before the State goes there, they could put their own house in order. I mean the report was a nightmare because there was nothing in the National Archives. There was no reason why the inspection reports of Tuam in, you know, late fifties, of Bessborough in the forties should not have been in the National Archives. The efforts we had to do to find evidence were quite unbelievable and I cannot...I could not go in and take an oath and say that we have discovered all the evidence in government files that we should have access to. The Ryan Commission went and did something like you know those trawlers that Hoover everything off the sea floor? They hoovered up everything and they brought them in and I mean I've seen some of those reports, those files. They're about 2,000 pages long. Some came to us because there was some relevance. And in the

middle of them, you'll find reports of things from the 1950s and '60s that are very pertinent to these stories.

So I mean I think let us start by getting the State files in order because they're an utter disgrace. Department of Education, Department of Health, Department of Local Government. I mean where are the files for the Tuam Housing Scheme? They don't exist in either Galway County Council or in the Department of the Environment. Did somebody destroy them? Because there was a...because...and we feel...we're pretty confident that any scheme going in there would have known, would have found the area where bodies were buried. You know, we just don't accept that they didn't. So that needs to be got in order.

Secondly, the local authority archives are another disgrace in many cases. There are some excellent archivists, but again, that is shambolic. Most of this history for many years is in local authority hands. What we know about Meath County Council giving to Dunboyne, we only know it because the religious order kept good records and they handed them over to us. The Health Boards seem to have destroyed everything. I mean we couldn't even get the minutes from some of them. The North-Western Health Board which ran the Castle, it's one of the smaller homes, it was a partnership between Cura and the Health Board. They had no records of an institution that closed in something like 2006. Now, that is criminal neglect by any standard of public records. So I think the State needs and the local authorities need to get their act in order first.

In terms of the others, I mean our experience was, first of all, that as far as, you know, the Good Shepherds, the sisters who ran Dunboyne gave us what looks like a pretty comprehensive set of records. The Daughters of Charity in Pelletstown gave us what looked like a pretty comprehensive set of records. It took me about five years to get access to anything in Chigwell where the Daughters...Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of...and we eventually, two of us eventually got there. Now, we were shown what we were shown is the best way to put it. They said everything was shambolic when we contacted them first. I offered to come over with an archivist and do a quick kind of recce and have something and we'd offered to leave the archivist there. We did that in Cork to

get the stuff sorted. We did...we went into places and sorted archives to get access, you know, to facilitate. So at that point, I think it was no go.

So the point is, I'm not con...these are large institutions. They were run in a particular way. I'm not convinced they kept...the one thing I would like to see if they kept it would be a kind of a chronicle of the house, if you like. And I know that the Congregation of the Sacred Heart have them for some of their houses in Britain. We were told they didn't have any for the three Mother and Baby Homes. That's the one thing that would be useful, but I think the idea, the number...the staffing levels are very low. These were run as institutions. One of the mothers who came in and gave evidence to us under oath, you know, asked about the nuns, one said we didn't see much of them. In other words, there's a number of them there and you know, they were left to do their own...in other words, I think the detailed relationship between these nuns and the women or the children was not there and that I think could be part of the indictment.

The other thing that happened was when records were being taken over and some of them were taken over in the nineties, the only emphasis by the social workers was on tracing. So all they really took, all they were really interested in was tracing, was, you know, registers and so on like that. The Bon Secours sisters did say there was a daybook for Tuam that they handed over, but that's 1961, so please, to Galway County Council and you know, they've told us that. I have that in a statement from them and it doesn't exist, but if it doesn't exist, I suspect somebody in Galway County Council decided that it was surplus to requirements and just removed that.

So I don't think there's a lot to be found there and I think one of the heartbreaks I think for the children who were born in those institutions and the women is that the records are not intimate in any way, you know what I mean. They're not terribly personal. They don't tell you the kind of back stories that we all want. The one set of records that are full of really great stories are the boarded-out children and the sooner that they are made available and there's more...there's a lot of them and they will actually give you some insight into somebody's

personality, their physical condition, their appearance. You're getting something like a human being out of them.

The medical records pre-about 1948, 1950 are, you know, they're pretty well non-existent. They would have been non-existent if you went to the county hospitals, you know, I mean the records taken there. I understand that people want to know is there Type 2 diabetes in their family, is there Parkinson's and so on like that. That I'm afraid is a conversation that they will have to have with middle-aged people and older people, you know, the families of their mother or their father. The Mother and Baby Homes will never be able to really inform people on things like mental health, diabetes, breast cancer because these are not ailments that manifest themselves to women...you know, you don't get them in women in their twenties, early twenties giving birth in most cases, you know.

DF: Right. Just to go back to kind of methodology, I suppose a very common question from academics in history and beyond is that there is a feeling, a distinct feeling that the report was really lacking a coherent methodology section. So I'd like to know what you think about that. And following on from that, there's a lot of questions about the treatment of oral testimony, the evaluation of oral testimony as well. Should the Commission perhaps have employed an expert in oral history, unless it did and we don't know? So I'd just like to hear your thoughts on that.

MD: Methodology, basically we...the methodology, we took the Terms of Reference and we tried to answer them I think is the best way to deal with that. I mean we could have written, it's long enough dear knows, we could have written an introduction that went...that stated...that set out in greater detail how we went about our job, but bluntly, you know, we started by, I think, trying to find the registers of the named institutions, then identify appropriate County Homes. I mean people said, you know, please do the X County Home. I'd love to have done Killarney or I'd love to have done Newcastle, the one in Limerick because there's interesting material about them. But we had to find County Homes that had continuous registers, as boring as that. And then Dublin, Cork inevitably came into play. So I mean, you know, we could have set out a methodological chapter, no question about that.

Oral history...oral...we basically...we're into the oral evidence given under oath to us, that's on...that's witness statements. We used what we could. The strange thing is that a lot of the evidence, the amount of time we spent listening to people and a lot of it was very moving and very interesting, but an awful lot of it was about how I found my mother, how I didn't find my mother, how I...how I found my child, how I didn't find my child. An awful lot of it was not particularly within our Terms of Reference. And I mean what struck me particularly about the Tuam...a lot of the Tuam people gave evidence to the Confidential and they came to us, we met some of the Tuam survivors more than once and sometimes we met wives and other members of the family as well. And an awful lot of their evidence told us about their after-lives and, you know, some of those stories were extremely moving and remarkably interesting, but you know, you were getting into them in their teens and so on like that. You asked them for a description of the home and you got very, very little. I think they had, you know, deliberately, you know, left that, they didn't want to talk about it. You did get the kind of going to school, the segregated, you know, the march to school, their arrival at a different time to the other children. You got some of those things. One came in and I remember saying, you know, 'What can you tell me about the home?' And he said, 'The only thing I can remember is the smell of the overflowing toilets in...God'. And he said that was, and I remember pressing him and that was all we learned from him. He was there 'til he was about...almost the age of seven and that is all he told us. He then went on and talked a lot about his foster home. He had a good foster home and meeting his mother and other things like that, but that is all that came through, you know. So I mean I found...I thought the Tuam group were particularly interesting in that sense because they were children who were in a place...I think most of us could tell you things about what happened to us our first seven years of life and it was very, very interesting.

And again, when you spoke to the women who were in the various institutions, you got odd snippets of...you'd get descriptions of their time there. You got descriptions of, you know, getting women's magazines sent in and letters hitting in the middle. You know, you got bits and pieces like that. You got, you know, some comments on, I mean one woman said it was like boarding school. We

decided not to put that in the report. We thought people would go up in arms over it, but that's actually what she told us. So they were actually very...they didn't say that much about it. You would have got descriptions of, how will I put it, we got descriptions, you know, we asked about work. You know, we got descriptions of cleaning the chapel. We got descriptions of other jobs. Nobody described slave...you know, really heavy work to us. I think what most of them talked about was the monotony of the place.

Some of them made friends. A lot of them didn't. Nobody seems to have kept up in contact with somebody they met and I think this is back to the privacy, you know, and the Confidentiality and whatever. None of them seemed to have kept in contact with the people that they met there, you know, so you know, you get these kind of stuff. So I mean the evidence was very interesting in capturing the personas of the women and a lot of what they told us, it was about their life after they left and a number of them when they saw I was a professor who told me about what their children had studied and they got postgraduate and all this kind of stuff, you know. They'd tell you these kind of things and a lot of them went on and studied. I mean what struck me was I think I met an awful lot of very resilient women.

DF: Well, yes, certainly. I think what you've just told us really throws up the question which is coming in a lot now and we're going to start to go towards audience questions now, of this being a project that really needed to be trauma-informed and the question of should there have been an expert in trauma memory employed—trauma and memory employed by the Commission? Do you think that's a fair question?

MD: I think basically we've done a job and I think let it stand and nobody ever suggested this was going to be the last word on it. We never knew it could be or should be the last word and my view is by all means, let others go and work with this topic and with taking statements from people, particularly people who spoke to the Confidential inquiry, from anybody who has got evidence. So my view is we've done a job and basically, you know, let others go and take it further.

I mean I have spoken to my colleagues about how could we have integrated the Confidential inquiry into the report? Well, first of all, it would have taken us...it would have taken a lot of time, additional time. I mean those interviews were going on up to very close to, you know, the last few months and we closed the door about 10 times and then somebody came and we reopened it. But basically, they would have taken hundreds of hours of cross-checking, rereading against, the...you know, the other evidence available from registers and so on like that. And then maybe an interrogation, you know, sorry, interrogation, but you know, and then maybe working out how to integrate the two and what were the issues that arose when you tried to integrate them?

DF: Do you understand the difficulties in further research being pursued on this when there's no public archive?

MD: We've...there is no reason why, you can't let the registers, you know, the registers could be...the registers are there. I mean can I tell you, we had a heroic battle to ensure that the registers were not destroyed or left to naturally destruct through obsolescence. You've no idea. I mean this took us over a year. The registers are there. They can and could be made available, not just for tracing, for further research provided certain guarantees of anonymity, confidentiality were observed. They're available. Most of the files...we got no original files practically. Almost all our evidence, all the government files came to us in a digitised form and we had to list them, they're now listed properly by one of our archivists. They came in rag order is the only way to put it. And so I don't see why the majority of those files could not be transferred in digital form to the National Archives very, very quickly.

There's ones, you'd need to do a limited amount of redaction on some of them. The boarded-out files would need a bit more work. You know, if the file is followed by, you know, [names redacted]. I'm reading the list here [names redacted] you know what I mean. If that's the way it is, it might need, you know, but I don't see why all that material cannot be stuck into, you know, it's there, it's digitised and as I said, thanks to our archivist, not thanks to the way they were chucked at us, you can now find relevant material where it is. So I don't see why

that material cannot be made available within a matter of months. It's only a matter of putting a couple of archivists and a bit of will to do so there and you could have them available in digital form in multiple...you could put it into every county library if you had it done properly. You could put it online. I don't know, you can decide that. You could be teaching from it, for example.

So an awful lot of that material can be made available readily. The amount of stuff, I mean the main confidential material is...the main confidential material are the registers and the name...and it's the names, names and dates on the registers and that's, you know, it's a bit like giving your access, to...you know. So that's a legal matter for somebody to work out. I think there's plenty for people to work on and I think there are plenty of statements and again, there are people, you know, who have testified multiple times, they keep that way...so there's plenty there.

DF: Okay. Well, I think we'd have to remain very optimistic on the State's role in making these records available.

MD: Well quite, you know, as I said, I think pressure can be exercised on things like...I mean a lot of those files should be available anyway. It's...you know, it's a dereliction of the *National Archives Act*. So I mean there's a...

DF: Yes. I mean I just can't...

MD: ...you just can't get anything there.

DF: Yes. I suppose I just feel a little bit of fatigue in terms of, you know, we've had this conversation so many times in the history community about not just these files, but the likes of the Land Commission and the 1926 Census.

MD: Yes.

DF: You know, Catriona Crowe has said so much about this. I don't know what else can be said and I really just hope that the State listens.



MD: Well, I would distinguish the '26 census that legally probably can't become available till '26, but they need to be working on it now if it is to be.

DF: Yes, yes.

MD: I mean I have been engaged in conversations about the Land Commission records recently, so I have. But can I say the only government departments that are not guilty of gross neglect in terms of archives are Taoiseach's Department, the Attorney-General and Foreign Affairs. And mad FOI officers are now trying to prevent, I know this as well, are now trying to prevent, some of the Foreign Affairs material that we'd all like to see, from becoming available. In other words, statements made by Diplomat A and Diplomat B. Even if those diplomats are perfectly happy to have what they said about whoever, you know, 30 years ago made available. So I mean, you know, I think we...there is a serious job to be done to get the State to get its act in order and when the State and the local authorities get their act in order, they would then be in a better, in a stronger position to tell others to pony up.

DF: So going back to sources again, we're going to start taking questions from the Q&A box. And Conall Ó Fátharta asks how many death registers are there for Bessborough? The burials report claims there are two, but Tusla only hold one. Where did the Commission obtain the second register?

MD: Oh Conall is on, the bee in Conall's bonnet. There are two registers. There...they...Bessborough ran as if it was two institutions, it's unique. It's set up as a Mother and Baby Home, which only mothers and babies went into. In other words, as far as I know, women didn't go in, pregnant women didn't go into Bessborough until about 1931 or so. And then they opened a maternity unit, at which point the place gets quite popular. But they then operated a register for the home and for the hospital and there are two sets of registers and they actually said, you know, when Molly Malone transferred from the hospital and her baby transferred from the hospital to the home, they were actually transferred from Register 1 to Register 2. Our database people did that *ad nauseum*. We used both

of those registers and they came from the same source. I don't know what Tusla has told him, they came...they came from the place up high in Glanmire, St Stephen's Hos...they were held, when I first saw them and this was within a month or six weeks of us being established, they were held high up in Glanmire in St Stephen's Hospital and that's where they were.

The only set of registers where there was a mysterious...I was...can I say I was kind of remarkably surprised that there was a complete set of registers for most of the homes. The one set of registers where there was a mystery and we still haven't resolved it, the Castlepollard registers were held up in Letterkenny, don't ask why. The Health Boards dumped these things in various places. Seán Ross were in Waterford in a damp basement. And our teams went and got them and digitised them. The Castlepollard registers were held in Letterkenny and when we got them, there were gaps. I can't remember the precise gaps in the Castlepollard register. And then about a year, 18 months later when the Department of Health dumped one of those huge slews of files on top of us and I and another member of the team had to open every file and go through them to see well, what is in them, because the descriptions were atrocious. Some of them were almost lacking and often wrong. I found two or three of these digitised files from the Department of Health, turned out to have the missing bits of the Castlepollard register. We don't know, the Sacred Heart congregation were aware of this somehow, but we don't know how this was happening, you know, how or why this happened.

But the Bessborough register, there are two registers and there are two registers for everything, kind of thing, is the best way to put it, except the births, the births were all in the hospital.

DF: So a question from Ciara Breathnach. The application of individual methods is inconsistent and the mixed methods approach is unclear. Why were oral histories rendered into forms? How was this done and again, why is it treated as a lesser form of evidence?

MD: I don't quite get what she's saying there. The oral histories, we integrated the oral evidence into the institutional report. The person writing the institutional report

integrated the oral evidence into it where they felt it added...they felt that it was relevant to the story. As I said, an awful lot of the evidence we got was about the attitude of their father when they were told, how their father drove them to Bessborough, how their mother wasn't told because whatever, you know. A lot of it was this kind of evidence, which doesn't...I think what I'm trying to say to you is the amount of evidence that told you about a woman's life in a particular institution was limited and I think the shortcoming there I think is probably the institutional divisions.

DF: Okay. I might just hand over to my colleague Eve to see if she has collected questions. Eve, are you ok there?

EM: Yes, no, well, I've been looking through it. There's a lot of commentary, most of it, and the questions are around the status of the oral evidence and, you know, people are saying that they're confused as to whether it was actually considered an equal form of evidence. The other one then, also though, there's also first both [names of natural mother and relative of deceased child redacted] have made some very helpful comments throughout and they've both been very critical of the way the oral evidence was taken. So I mean almost everyone has commented on this, but I just want to read out what [natural mother] has written and maybe you can comment on that, Mary. It says, 'I found my personal testimony in the Confidential Committee report in two places. I counted over 14 identifying factors in each piece. Once I got my paperwork back from the Commission, it matched this testimony in the report, so it was me'.

MD: Okay.

EM: 'Why is my Commission paperwork and my testimony in the report littered with inaccuracies and misrepresentations which completely change the context, the accuracy and overall sense of what happened to me for over two and a half years? Did the fact that I did not swear an oath impact on this?'

MD: I think...can I go back and say that this woman gave evidence to the Confidential Committee, the evidence to the Confidential Committee was treated and

incorporated into the report of the Confidential Committee. It was never brought within the...I mean those writing the chapter on we'll say Bethany would have looked at what had come into the Confidential Committee about Bethany to see was there any...did it flag issues that they might address. But beyond that, the incorporation of evidence given by somebody who had been in Bethany into the Confidential report was left to the Confidential Committee. There was a commitment not to identify individuals and not to, you know, not to make people identifiable or institutions identifiable. And I don't know, I haven't...you know, I have not seen this person's evidence. I have not seen how it was used in the Confidential report. I accept that she said that it's her statements that are being used there, but in terms of...there were times, I can say myself from some sections of the official report that I was writing, that you made very minor changes. You wanted to put in a particular story and you made some very minor changes to prevent the person being identifiable. And the report on the Castle would have been much, much longer were it not for the fact that some of the very interesting personal stories that could have been included would have made the people readily identifiable. As I've said, I think it's back to the evidence on oath and I do think running the two side by side, which was not our decision, was not a wise idea.

EM: [Name of relative of deceased child] asked, 'Where is the death certificate for my brother [name redacted] and his medical records and his medical certification of death? He is the subject of a police inquiry since 2013'.

MD: The only answer to that is that [name redacted] has been looking for this for some years, I gather the Garda have as well. [Name redacted] has made many comments on the Commission of Investigation, but she never came and gave evidence to us. She was invited on a number of occasions I understand.

EM: Will we...will we let [name redacted] come in here?

[Prof Daly shakes her head]

EM: No?

IMcB: She can't come in because...

EM: Oh, she can't. Oh sorry.

IMcB: She can write in the chat box.

MD: But can I say there are one or two missing death certs for Tuam, Tuam was badly run full stop. There was...it was run out of the local authority, of the dispensary doctor and you know, in terms of, and there is a comment, I think it's in...I believe it's in the Tuam report, there is a comment somewhere in the Tuam report about their records being badly kept. A contemporary one. I think some, you know, Miss Litster, some of those in 1950-something complaining about the record-keeping in Tuam. So you know, I'm afraid...I think what amazed...we found death certs for almost every baby, almost every baby. There are one or two and it would appear that [name of relative of deceased infant redacted]'s brother is one of a tiny number. But the Tuam records were badly kept. That's the best way. Medical records I think don't exist for pretty well any of them. You'll get a death cert and that's about it.

EM: Okay. I've got a question here about should we trust the death registers? How accurate are they?

MD: I think they're pretty accurate actually. They were examined at least once a year by the various, you know, they were examined by the inspectors. They were cross-checked. The nuns in Bessborough got whacked over the knuckles on one occasion over some, you know, some discrepancies. Everything...every name...every death on those registers was cross-checked against the civil registration as well to make sure that the deaths were registered. I think...can I say I didn't do this, and I mean a colleague could be much better at answering this question than I would, but you know, there were the odd discrepancies, you know, in terms of cause of death on something, but those babies are dead.

EM: Okay. Well, I think Ian wants to wrap up now. [Name of relative of deceased infant redacted] has written back into the chat, so I'll read it out, what she says. She says, 'I was invited in once. I have paperwork where his date of birth is changed as is my mother's date of birth. That was not an error. It was done on paperwork to the Department of Health'. And that's as a question.

MD: Well, I don't think we can deal with specifics here now and I mean I don't have any of that ev...that material in front of me, so I think it would be inappropriate to start commenting on it. She has raised this with the Guards many years ago. I know that and with various others, in various other quarters.

IMcB: Okay. Mary, I'm just going to ask you one more question because we're going to be about half an hour over time.

MD: Yes.

IMcB: I think you've got some idea of what's...there are a lot of comments in the chat, including one to me, which says, 'Please tell Professor Daly some of us did understand the challenge and constraints and we appreciate her efforts and her honesty today'. That's from Maureen Considine of Cork Survivors and Supporters Alliance. There are many other people, as you know, who are unhappy with the constraints and you've heard a lot of that and I think you share some of the frustrations with that sort of division of labour. There are lots of questions about oral history from Laura McAtackney and many others. Lots of suggestions about that. And there are already five new messages. It's been very hard to keep up with them and listen to what's going on at the same time. Could I just finish off by asking you what you still don't know that you'd most like to know as a historian?

MD: Oh, where would you begin? What happened all the women who weren't in Mother and Baby Homes? I mean there's a good comment by Pat Payne at the beginning of her history of the National Association for the Unmarried Mother and Child that the history of middle-class women who gave birth outside marriage is almost missing. And as I said I think in answer to one of Deirdre's

questions, that those homes only at their maximum had about half, in a couple of years, half of the mothers. The majority of these children were born elsewhere. So what about their stories? And I mean that's part of it. I think also nobody came to us who was raised within a family. I do know from growing up in a small town, there was somebody about my age who I happen to know through thing, was raised by his grandparents as their son, you know. And there are such cases out there.

So I think there's the other stories that I'd like to know a bit more about. The one as a historian that I really do feel and you know, as a human being as well, the one that I'd like to see us really, really pushing on is this business of the cycle of, you know, institutionalisation and you know, the lives of those who didn't have the you know, backst...sorry I was going 'backstop' I don't know what...but you know, a family to support them through lives, who were raised, who were institutionalised, grew up in an inst...born in an institution, grew up in an institution, ended up back. I mean I think, you know, I think those circles, I think, are horrendous and I think we need to look at them more. And then I do think we need to push much further into, there's a class story there as well. Or more status I think than class that we need to get into. You know, so we need to do that and there were quite a number of children who didn't end up being brought up by their two parents who would have married if one parent hadn't been Protestant and the other parent hadn't been Catholic. I mean, you know, I can't give you the numbers on this, but it certainly is a factor. It certainly is a factor that resulted in some children being born out of wedlock. So I think, you know, there's an awful lot more, and I do think we're beginning to explore. As I said before, quite what happened to those with mental and physical handicap. I mean, you know, it's a gruesome story, the little bits I've seen, but basically I think we need to go look there.

IMcB: Thanks very much. So I'm going to press that red button in a minute. Before I do that, I wanted to thank you all for coming. I'm going to thank Maura for dealing with an avalanche of emails in a different time zone, which hasn't been easy. Thanks to Eve for helping me keep on top of the chat. To Deirdre who as I said at the beginning, is organising a witness seminar on this event, so I'm sure you'll

hear from her and she'll be delighted to hear from you. And Mary, thanks to you for coming and talking so fully and frankly about this very difficult subject. I'm very grateful to you for making this the first occasion when you talked to historians about it. I hope when more normal life resumes, we'll find another way to get you back to Oxford in person and thank you properly.

MD: Yes. Yes. I mean Oxford, you know, I mean this is where I did my graduate studies, so you know, it would be nice to go back.

IMcB: Well, I hope...we'll try and make that happen. Okay, thanks very much and goodbye everyone.

[Seminar ends]