



## Magdalene Institutions: Recording an Archival and Oral History A project funded by the



<b>Reference Code:</b>	MAGOHP/10/ANON
<b>Oral History of:</b>	Evelyn
<b>Pseudonym?</b>	Yes
<b>Status:</b>	Survivor
<b>Keywords:</b>	High Park Magdalene Laundry; High Park Industrial School; Sisters of Our Lady of Charity; sexual abuse; social services; physical punishment; emigration; forced informal adoption within family; intergenerational effects of childhood abuse.
<b>Date of Interview:</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup> March 2013
<b>Transcript:</b>	75 pages
<b>Number/Format of Audio Files:</b>	One .wma file
<b>Interviewer:</b>	Dr Sinead Pembroke
<b>Records/Papers included:</b>	None
<b>Access Conditions:</b>	Anonymised interviews are freely available to the public. Immediate release of transcript and anonymised audio; interviewee's identity to be revealed in 30 years.
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To cite this transcript:

O'Donnell, K., S. Pembroke and C. McGettrick. (2013) "Oral History of Evelyn". *Magdalene Institutions: Recording an Oral and Archival History*. Government of Ireland Collaborative Research Project, Irish Research Council, pp.1-75.

## Notes on Redaction and Transcription Process

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Interviewee Initials: E  
Interviewer Initials: SP

### Key

... = Short pause (or where words are repeated or the speaker changes direction mid-sentence)  
(*pause*) = Long pause  
*blabla* = spoken with great emphasis  
(*blabla*) = Additional audible expressions, body language  
[blabla] = background information that might be helpful

### Notes on Redaction Process

- Named individuals have been assigned pseudonyms
- Some locations have been anonymised to protect interviewee's identity

### List of Pseudonyms

Pseudonym	Status/Relationship to Interviewee
Evelyn	Survivor/interviewee
Sr Adrian	Third Party Religious
Richardstown	Interviewee's aunt's address
Miss Coleman	Psychiatrist
Ciaran	Interviewee's son
Pam	Interviewee's step-mother

### Basic Data from Interview

Name/Pseudonym	Evelyn
When Born	Circa 1952
Born outside marriage?	No
Raised by	Family until fourteen
Education	Primary?
Order	Sisters of Our Lady of Charity
Laundry	High Park
From	1967
To	1968
Duration of stay	Greater than one year, less than two
Age on entry	Fourteen
Entered Via	Gardaí
House Name/No	Yes
Haircutting/punishment?	Yes, physical punishment
Circumstances of Departure	Collected by her father
Emigrated?	Yes
Physical ailments?	Yes
Of Note	

[Interview begins]

SP *Okay so thank you for agreeing to participate...*

E That's quite alright.

SP *...Evelyn. So like the first question that I want to ask you is could you tell me about your life prior to being sent to the Magdalene Laundry?*

E I'm from a very large family, and my Mum died when I was coming up [to] fifteen. It was a horrible time when she was ill. My father was very, very abusive, in more ways than one. We were happy when it was just Mum and us but then Mum got sick and things went from bad to worse...I'm trying to explain it.

SP *Yep.*

E My father was very abusive like I said, and then when Mum went into hospital to have the baby, he got really, really bad abusive wise. Liked his drink, he did drink...he did drink a lot. And then when mum died then things got even worse. More...more than you can imagine. So I would run away from home and the police would always come find me, and so...and I'd go up to the police and tell them my father was abusing me, but it was ignored. And then one day I went up to the police on a Saturday afternoon and told them what was happening and then the next thing I knew I was on my way to High Park, and I was...I hadn't even had my fifteenth birthday at the time and that's it really up to...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...you know...but life before...it wasn't always a happy one when he was around but when it was just mum and us kids we were always laughing and joking. But...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...he loved his drink anyway so that had a lot to do with it as well...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...so...

SP *And when you were sent...so you said that before you knew...you were in High Park, what had they told you about where you were going?*

E They didn't tell me where I was going; they just said to me when I went up to the police that Saturday afternoon and told them that you know, I'd had enough of my dad abusing me, they had to do something, they just told me to sit in a room and...and wait there. So I did, what felt like an hour, it could be two hours I really don't know. Then they came back and said right, they were going to take me into care. And half of me was relieved because I was getting away from the situation with my father, but the other half was anxiety for my brothers and sisters who were going to be left behind. But they did say that they were going into care as well. So I assumed that they would be with me the next day. When I got into High Park, behind the closed doors they gave me a name and they said that...that was where I'd be staying. I didn't know what to expect I really didn't know what was in there. I didn't know it was a laundry, I just thought it was a care home. And then next morning I get up and – it was a Sunday – went straight to Mass and that was it really. I...I asked how long would I be there and they said, 'probably forever'.

SP *Gee.*

E They did, yeah...

SP *And....*

E ...that's the first thing you ask.

SP *Yeah, yeah because you wouldn't have been given...*

E No.

SP *... a sentence as such...*

E No.

SP *... do you know...*

E No.

SP *...you didn't go through the courts...*

E No.

SP *...or...*

E No.

SP *No. Okay. Had you heard of the Magdalene Laundries before you were in one?*

E No. No I ha...I had never heard of the Magdalene Laundries. You...you hear of homes, care homes...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...as in care homes, as in like, for children but not the Magdalene Laundries, no I had never heard of them.

SP *Yeah.*

E So it was a shock.

SP *Yeah, yeah I bet.*

E Yeah.

SP *And sorry, could you just tell me the year you were sent?*

E I was sent in there in June 1967.

SP *Yeah. And you were there for a year?*

E For a year. I came out in July, I think it was July 23<sup>rd</sup> 1968.

SP *Yeah, okay. And so you weren't given any information about rights etc. or...?*

E No...

SP *No.*

E ...nothing, no, no.

SP *And what happened to your other siblings? Where...where were they?*

E They...they remained at home for...oh I...I really can't remember how long, but they...I'd say they remained there for a couple of months and then they were sent into the...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...children's section of High Park which would be a school and they were there I'd say about a couple of months, but I didn't know they were there until I seen them one afternoon at Mass...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and when I confronted one of the nuns Sister Adrian, [pseudonym] and she kept insisting, 'no it wasn't them'. And so I got a bit rebellious and said, 'yes it was them' and she gave me a slap across the face and told me it wasn't them. But I still dug my heels in and said 'it was'. You would know your own brothers and sisters. And in the end after a lot of fuss – me making a lot of fuss – they agreed that I could see my brothers and sisters but not until the next day.

SP *Okay.*

E And it wasn't every day that I seen them it was when they decided I could go and see them.

SP *Okay. And how come...did they ever explain to you why you weren't sent to the school part?*

E No.

SP *No.*

E No.

SP *Yeah.*

E No, they never...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...I didn't even know there was a school part...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...there until I seen my brothers and sisters but then I...s...saying that, I used to see the children when I used to go to Mass on Sunday, the children who were in the school part were there and – I always sat in the *same* seat – and I used to always look over at the children because it reminded me that I had younger brothers and sisters.

SP *Yeah.*

E So maybe I was frightened that I'd forget them in a sense that b...if you're going to be there – because I honestly thought I was there for life...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and I hadn't seen my brothers and sisters in a couple of months, so I didn't want them to forget me and I didn't want to forget them.

SP *Yeah, yeah.*

E So no I never heard of the Magdalenes, no.

SP *Okay. And can you remember how you felt being sent there?*

E Yeah. I felt lonely, isolated and the *main* part of the feeling...how I felt there was I felt rejected. I was put in there through no fault of my own and like, I was rejected, and it was a lonely, lonely time...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...yeah.

SP *And can you remember your first day?*

E My first day was the Sunday. I went in there on the Saturday evening, Saturday afternoon, evening time. I had a bath because I...apparently I was dirty. And the nuns washed you – you didn't wash yourself – the nuns washed you. That was degrading in itself.

SP *Hmm.*

E And on the Sunday we got up and you washed with cold water and you went straight to Mass, came back and you had a bit of breakfast and then you'd go into the 'day room' I suppose you'd call it, and you'd just sit there, chatting away, and then you'd go over to Mass again in the afternoon and you've had your dinner, and then you'd come back, and back into the day room again and just sitting there...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...and talking quietly though. And that was it really, that's vaguely what I can remember.

SP *Okay. And yeah, so you were saying that there were children...so you weren't allowed to mix with the children? You were both separated between...*

E Yeah, we...

SP *...the...the laundry...*

E ...yes, yeah.

SP *...the Magdalene Laundry and...*

E Yeah the children were in the school section...

SP *...hmm.*

E ...we only ever seen them when we went to Mass.

SP *Yeah.*

E I was never allowed...no I was never allowed to mix with the children. I was just in the Magdalene Laundry...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and that was it I was the youngest one in the laundry...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...so really I never questioned why I was there...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...because I was bas...basically told in...in sort of like...you're there...you could be there for life and I was probably because, I was put in there as I thought for my own safety but, obviously I was wrong.

SP *Yeah. So obviously yeah, so the Sunday wasn't a work day, so I presume then the following...*

E On the M...

SP *...on the Monday was when the work started.*

E Yeah, it was...

SP *Can you tell me what the routine was?*

E The routine was you'd get up, you'd go to Mass, you come back, you'd have your breakfast and you'd start work at eight o'clock. And you...they took me into the laundry and they said, 'this is what you'll be doing'. And they had these big heavy cast irons and you would be ironing the baby clothes. So, I was ironing baby clothes and I was told I was not allowed to touch [the] machinery, that was for the other ladies. But there was also two men there who done the laundry – lift up the heavy laundry – and they would also use the machinery as well. And I would just end up ironing baby clothes but then I went onto ironing bigger things after I'd been there for a while.

SP *And that was what you did?*

E And that was what I did day in day out...

SP *Yeah, okay.*

E ...ironing.

SP *And you would break for a lunch would you?*

E You'd have a break for your lunch, I think – I'm not sure [if] it was half-an-hour or an hour – you'd have a break for lunch. And then you'd go back down to work and I think you'd have a ten-minute cup of tea...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...tea break, and then you'd go back down then and you'd finish about – I think it was about half-five, six o'clock at night you'd finish. Not very...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...good on the times, but yeah and that was...that was your day *every day!*

SP *Yeah. And that was a Saturday as well? Was that six days or...?*

E No we only worked...no, we worked...we only worked five days.

SP *Five days, okay.*

E We worked five days yeah.

SP *What would you do on Saturday?*

E Saturday...

SP *Yeah, sorry.*

E It's okay. You'd do...Saturday you would do some cleaning and then Saturday afternoon then you could have a bit of recreation time outside, weather...weather permitting. And then some Saturdays you'd be taken into town, but there'd be a group of you and you'd walk into town and then you'd walk back, and...yes...and you'd walk into town and you'd be like a group full of children, like school children going on a little trip, that's how we would feel – that's how we were made feel.

SP *Hmm.*

E And you'd get people staring at you in...in the street, as if to feel sorry for you or...or just like you were on show kind of thing. And then we'd just walk into town and walk around the shops and then come back. And that would be a Saturday afternoon.

SP *Okay.*

E And you'd have a bit of tea and then you'd just sit in the day room again...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...on the Saturday evening.

SP *And th...yeah, so how old were the women that you worked with roughly?*

E Oh gosh...

SP *Like...*

E ...a lot older than me...or...seemed...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...a lot older than me. About what, thirties? But that would be old to me.

SP *Yeah.*

E Thirties, forties I mean some of them were older – fifties and sixties...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and maybe...they may have been younger but that's the age they looked.

SP *Yeah.*

E They may have been younger but there was a couple in there, there was a lady in there and I'd say she was in her seventies.

SP *Yeah.*

E And there was also another lady there – and she was quite a tall lady – but she just walked up and down the corridor all day long.

SP *Okay.*

E And she...and then...looking back she seemed about eighty but she probably wasn't.

SP *Yeah.*

E But she had something wrong with her in the sense...she couldn't focus on anything, she just walked up and down the corridor.

SP *Hmm. And you said that two men worked...were you allowed to talk to them?*

E No. No, no, no, no.

SP *No, okay.*

E And they weren't allowed to talk to us either...

SP *Okay.*

E ...and they just got on with their work – they would talk to each other...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...but they got on with their work and that was it, we weren't allowed.

SP *Okay, and were they in the same room?*

E They were in the laundry.

SP *In the laundry?*

E Yeah. They were in the laundry section yeah.

SP *Actually perhaps you could give us a kind of a run down as to the...the...sort of...the lay out?*

E When you walked into the laundry...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...facing you in the middle – it was facing you – was the big rolling machines for the sheets...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...and on the left hand...the right hand side you had a press...a presser for the doctors' white coats and next to that would be another pressing machine for the shirts...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...gentlemen's shirts. And in the middle of that you'd have big tables with the irons where we all stood around and doing your ironing – they were quite big tables, they weren't ironing boards, they were tables. And at the back of that was the big washing machines...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...where the men put the washing into the machines. And on the left hand side there were other machines, we had – not machines, I beg your pardon – ironing facilities there as well...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and rolling machines as well for the sheets.

SP *Okay.*

E [Inaudible]

SP *Yeah.*

E Yeah. I remember that yeah, yeah.

SP *Okay. And where was your dormitory – I presume you were sleeping in a dormitory?*

E We...yeah, we slept in a dormitory yeah. You come out of the laundry, up the corridor, past the restaurant – I keep calling it a restaurant!

SP *(Laughs) I know what you mean.*

E *(Laughs)* The...the...you know what I mean, where you eat?

SP *The refectory kind of thing yeah.*

E Yeah, yeah that's right. There was...just outside that door there was these stone steps...three or four stone steps – that was where Sister Adrian slapped me across the face – and you go up these steps and straight on top of that corridor there was...there was some stairs going up...

[Background noise of someone moving in the background]

E *(Speaking to another party)* You going now?

[Interviewee briefly turns away from recording device]

E ...walked up to...and then we walked up to...it was like a hallway, and it had stairs and from what I can remember, on the right hand side – I think it could be facing – and that would...that would lead up to the dormitories. But in this hallway, you had the day room, and you...that ...that would be at the back entrance...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...coming from...and...the...the day room – it was quite a big day room – it had a piano in it and we used to play the piano. One of the ladies in there could play the piano and she was trying to teach...teach us all how to play the piano. And that was our recreation time.

SP *Okay.*

E I don't ever remember having a radio, there was no telly...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...definitely, oh that was a sin having a television. And then for punishment...

SP *And no newspapers?*

E And no newspapers, you were being punished you see.

SP *Okay.*

E So your punishment is taken away...your...your luxuries are taken away. And that's...that's...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...I mean the...I know...

SP *Where were the nuns?*

E The nuns...

SP *Where did they sleep like and...?*

E I don't know...

SP *Oh, okay so you...*

E I don't know where they...

SP *...never saw...saw that area?*

E No I never s...no, no, no. And...I mean our...we were in a dormitory, and it's sort of like...there was a curtain, like the hospital...

SP Hmm.

E ...you got a curtain that separates you. And you just...we only closed the side bit, we didn't close...we didn't close all the way around, just...the side of you. And I know there...there used to be a nun down the bottom, I'm sure there was a nun that stayed over...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...she was down the bottom...she was sat...that's up there. And of course you say your prayers at night, into bed by ten...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...lights out. Couldn't talk, you weren't allowed to talk.

SP *And did you have much privacy?*

E The only privacy you had was that curtain.

SP *Okay.*

E Yeah you got yourself dressed with the curtains closed and that was it and that was the only privacy...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...you had really. Yeah, they had big bathrooms and stuff downst...downstairs I think they were downstairs. But that was...no you didn't have your own room...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...or anything like that. You had...that was the dormitory that you shared...

SP *Okay.*

E ...and like I said...and then the curtain would be...would be closed over and...

[Sound of door closing]

SP *And did you have many possessions?*

E No.

SP *No, okay.*

E Nothing, no I don't even know what clothes I had then.

[Sound of door closing]

SP *Yeah. Would you have worn a uniform?*

E I can't remember.

SP *Okay.*

E And I'm trying to think of what clothes I had...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...the only clothes I remember having was the clothes that I wore going in...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...but, obviously they had clothes that they gave me but...

SP *Yeah, okay.*

E ...I can't remember whether it was a uniform or not, I really can't remember.

SP *And you were given a house...a name like a new name?*

E Yeah, yeah, yeah, I was given a name...

SP *Which was...*

E Evelyn. [Interviewee's house name and chosen pseudonym] Yeah, yeah I was given a name. You had numbers on your clothes...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...like – I say numbers – as in, what you call those tape things you know, sticky tape things...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...with numbers on your clothes. And also the nuns had numbers on theirs...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...but you knew theirs anyway. Yeah so, but the privacy side of it no you didn't...you shared a dormitory and that was it.

SP *Yeah.*

E You know, and you used to sort of like hear some of the girls crying at night and stuff like that and you wanted to comfort them but you weren't allowed to. So, it was yeah, very lonely, yeah.

SP *Yeah. And were the doors and windows locked?*

E Yeah. Yeah, yeah.

SP *And did you get paid?*

E No. No.

SP *Were you given pocket money?*

E No. No.

SP *And...yeah and who d...who did you do the laundry for like? Who...so you were doing the ironing part...*

E Yeah.

SP *...do you know who you were doing it for?*

E Yeah as far as I know it was for...because I was in the baby clothes...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...it was for the children in the hospital.

SP *Okay.*

E And there was also...there was the doctor's coats...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...and their...their shirts and you had people from...clothes coming in from people...from the prisons. But you don't know all of this straight away you learn it as you go along...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...because you're starting to feel a bit confident by asking, 'where all these clothes coming from?'

SP *Yeah.*

E And then you get told.

SP *Yeah.*

E But not by the nuns...

SP *Okay.*

E ...it was the other girls. So yeah, that's what we used to do for the hospitals and for the hotels and stuff like that so other people's laundry was coming into us...

SP *Yeah .*

E ...to wash and iron.

SP *Yeah. And d...d...so was there kind of a hierarchy between...with the girls like? By hierarchy I mean did...you had the nuns...*

E Yeah.

SP *...did you have other girls who were in charge of you?*

E *(Coughs)* That's a difficult one because the lady that took me under her wing maybe she was in charge of me by taking me under her wing?

SP *Hmm.*

E But then there were ladies there longer than me so maybe it came over as, 'well I'm here longer than you I know what I'm doing and I will tell you what you have to do'.

SP *Yeah.*

E So that was...and I never, I wouldn't sort of back answer them...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...because they knew what had to be done, I didn't. So, in...so I was looking at it as, 'well they're actually showing me what I had to do'. But yes, it probably would have come over as well, 'you do this, you do that and it has to be done'.

SP *Yeah, yeah.*

E You know.

SP *Actually I meant to ask, when...the first day when you did start the work...*

E *Hmm.*

SP *...like were you even told like...were you instructed as to how to do it or were you just thrown into the deep end?*

E No I was just thrown into the deep end by, 'you do that ironing there that's got to be done and you have to...but you're not allowed to talk...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...because it has to be done'. It's like being on piece work...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...you have to do it straight away and get it done as quickly as possible...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...because you weren't allowed to talk.

SP *And you didn't...did you receive an education?*

E No. No, no, no, no nothing like that.

SP *And you would have been in a day school before that?*

E Yeah, yeah, I had been, yeah.

SP *So then your education finished?*

E I'd no education in there whatsoever.

SP *Okay. And can you tell me about the food that you were given?*

E You had porridge in the mornings – wasn't very nice – and I vaguely remember a stew, and I think they used to do boiled beef and cabbage, or corn beef and cabbage and mash on a Sunday. But it was...it wasn't sort of like... it wasn't the best. It was...I'd say it was edible but then if you're hungry you'll eat. So it wasn't the best of foods and it wasn't...compared to what the nuns used to get and you'd see what they would have to eat but, it wasn't fantastic.

SP *Would the nuns eat with you or...?*

E No.

SP *No.*

E No they didn't no...

SP *They had their own place?*

E ...but they would have...yeah, yeah they had their own...they had their own place to eat. They didn't always sit down at the same time on their own table as we did. I think...I think it would be a matter of...well the nuns who were in the laundry...that kept an eye on us in the laundry, maybe they would have their lunch time – I'm...I'm trying to remember – they would have their dinner...lunch time with us but they would sit on their own table where they would keep their beady eye on you.

SP *Hmm.*

E And you...you would always see what they had and they did have the best...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...you know nothing...there was no muck up on a plate for them kind of thing. And...and they would always have their own food, but that was just the nuns who actually worked in the laundry with us and I think them...the other nuns would sort of like...eat after we'd been there like yeah, yeah.

SP *And how were you...how would you be seated during that lunch time like, in the...in the refectory?*

E We were...as we walked in...as you walked into...into the refectory, there was a big long table...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...where we all sat. There was a big huge table and it had the bench seat...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...both sides, and we sat there. And from what I can remember the nuns, they sat either on the right hand side of us or at the top part. I'm trying to visualise the kitchen. And they...and...but they'd still be in close proximity to keep their beady eye on us, yeah.

SP *And who did the cooking?*

E The nuns.

SP *Okay.*

E And a couple of the girls.

SP *Okay.*

E They were in the kitchen with nuns and they would do the cooking, yeah.

SP *Yeah.*

E Hmm.

SP *And were you allowed to talk during this time?*

E You could talk while you were having your meal.

SP *Yeah.*

E So that would be like your...your...what's the word I'm looking for...that would be like your free time if you like...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...you were allowed to talk, yeah you could talk, to the girls next to you and what have you, but, again you weren't allowed to sort of like talk loudly.

SP *Yeah.*

E *Yeah.*

SP *Was the nun reciting a prayer or...did... [inaudible]*

E Oh you prayed before you had your lunch, oh goodness me yeah, yeah that's all we ever done was pray, pray, pray. Yeah we'd...yeah we'd have to say prayers before lunch, and then after we finished and before we went back to work we'd have to say prayers again.

SP *Okay.*

E And then, of course then you'd have your tea break then at about three o'clock, more prayers. It was always prayers in the morning, afternoon, night time whatever, there was always prayers before and after a meal, and then when we'd have our tea break, prayers and then again after we'd had our tea break, and then just before we finished work, before the laundry closed, more prayers. And then you'd go and you'd have your main meal in the evening and more prayer...ah I was *forever praying, forever praying* yeah.

SP *And you know on special events or say Christmas...did...w...did...was it different to any other day? How did it...?*

E I really can't remember...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and that's the truth, I can't remember Christmas in there. And it's bothering me because I want to remember what...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...but for some reason I've blocked that out...

SP *Okay.*

E ...for some reason. And Easter time as well but I know we went to church a lot, Easter time and Christmas time you'd be going to church all the time. But I can't remember the actual occasions.

SP *Yeah.*

E Like, what was it like on Christmas Day? You know, did you pray all the time? Did you have presents? And like on Easter what was it like? I know we would have went to church but I can't remember the actual days...

SP *Yeah, yeah.*

E ...and it's annoying because I want to remember but I can't.

SP *And did you ever celebrate your birthday?*

E No! Don't be silly! *(Laughs)* I don't mean that rudely!

SP *No I know what you mean.*

E You know, my birthday just came and went. There was no fuss on both occasions, on my fifteenth birthday, sixteenth birthday there was no...

SP *Okay.*

E ...no fuss.

SP *And can you remember any accidents in the laundry?*

E No, I can't actually no I...I can't remember accidents. I know the floor...there was a lot of water on the floor but...no.

SP *And nothing ever happened to you?*

E Not to me no and I don't remember anything happening to anybody either.

SP *Yeah. And were you ever actually ill, while you were there?*

E Y...yes, I had appendicitis.

SP *Oh okay.*

E Yeah and I had that. I had to go to hospital...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...so I was complaining about that for a while and I don't know how I got to the hospital, how it came that I went into hospital, whether I went to see a doctor or a doctor came out to the h...laundry I don't know, I can't remember that bit. But I do remember going into hospital and having my appendix taken out. I think I was in there for two weeks. Them...them days, th...you know you were hos...hospitalised for a while and...and I remember one of the nuns came up to see me one evening, but that was the only visitors I ever had.

SP *Okay.*

E But there was a lady...there was a girl in the next bed to me and her mum used to come up and see her every day and then her mum started coming talking to me. And it was nice but it was also...not hurtful but it w...it was also...how can I describe it? I...I was delighted the lady

came to see me but I...I felt like...not that she felt sorry for me but maybe she did because I had no visitors, but...lonely because my family never came.

SP *Yeah.*

E My dad had to sign for me to have my appendicitis [sic] out.

SP *I was going to say that...*

E Yeah.

SP *...yeah.*

E He knew I was having my appendix out and he had to sign for it. But he never came to see me. So he would have known...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...that my appendix was taken out. And then I came home from the...from the hospital and I was up in the...sick bay...is it the sick bay they call it...infirmary...

SP *Infirmary yeah.*

E Infirmary, for another week and then I was back at work.

SP *Okay, okay.*

E So yeah.

SP *And can you tell me how you were...how you and the other women were disciplined and punished?*

E Well, if you can visualise a belt or a big cane, that's how we were punished. You'd get grabbed by the hair, dragged into the office to see the Mother Superior, and you'd have to

explain yourself – there again you weren't always given a chance to explain yourself – and you'd get the cane across the backside, across the legs or the belt, depending on who...depending on who is in charge to give you...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...the whacking. Or if it was Mother Superior [it] depends on the strength she had in her hands I don't know. And you'd get the belt or you'd get the cane and I've had the belt and I've had the cane and that's probably because maybe I was caught talking when I shouldn't have been.

SP *Yeah I was going to ask...*

E *Yeah.*

SP *...what was the...*

E *Yeah, it's probably because you're talking, when you think nobody is watching...*

SP *Hmm.*

E ...and even if you whisper, they've got such beady eyes they could...you know? And, a lot of the laundry...it was noisy in there, but they just watched everything and...and of course every time – it was just a thing that I did – every time I would get the cane or the belt I'd wet myself through nerves, which I used to do every time my father beat me...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...so it was a thing, that's what I did like unintentionally... and of course then I'd get another whack for doing that. And then I was dragged down to the bathroom by the nuns and they would have to stand there and wash me. I wasn't allowed to wash myself because they had to make sure that I was clean, because God doesn't like a dirty person. And...and then they'd wash me and dry me. *And oh and they bloody hurt, oh my God*, because they wouldn't sort of like wash you gently, they would...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...you know, make sure get *all this dirt off you*. And of course...and of course that was a sin...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...you know, washing sins out of you.

SP *Okay.*

E And no matter what you did, anytime of [the] day you were always sinning. You went in there as a sinner and you were always a sinner regardless [of] how good you were, you were still sinning.

SP *Okay.*

E *Hmm.*

SP *And can you recall any verbal abuse or criticisms?*

E Oh I was told I was stupid.

SP *Okay.*

E Oh I was told I was stupid, I would never make anything of my life, you know. And...and I was in there for life. You were told well, you're in the best place you're in here for life now, you know? And I was stupid...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and of course...and of course I was told I was a liar.

SP *Okay.*

E I was...what was it they...they classed it as, I was making unfavourable...beha...it was unfavourable behaviour towards my father. So, in other words I was telling lies and that was why I was in there because I was a sinner. Hmm.

SP *And how did you respond to this?*

E I was upset.

SP *Yeah.*

E I was upset. Yeah I was very, very upset but if I had answered back I would get a clout. So sometimes you'd just have to take it and just walk away...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and although I was breaking my heart inside because there was a lot of things going on inside my mind, as in I was missing my family, desperately missing my brothers and sisters. I'd not long miss...lost my mum...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...and my Mum died in March and I went in in June, so I had that to deal with as well. And also when th...when they said things like that to you, you know, stuff like, 'you're telling lies' and all that, I just wanted my Mum. I just th...you know, and you're sort of like...

[Sound of door opening and closing in background]

SP *Hmm.*

E And of course I'd go to bed and I'd cry, but you couldn't let the nuns hear you crying...

SP *Okay.*

E ...because you'd get another belting for that. You had no rights to cry because you were in there because you were being punished!

SP *Hmm.*

E So how dare you cry.

SP *Yeah.*

E So yeah.

SP *Did you...sorry this is going to sound...*

E It's okay.

SP *...kind of personal but did you ever wet the bed?*

E I did a couple of times, yeah...

SP *Because....*

E ...yeah I wet the bed yeah.

SP *And there is a reason why I ask because I do know that I've heard that you'd be punished for it.*

E Yeah, you would yeah, yeah.

SP *Could you tell me what they would do?*

E Oh they'd give you a whacking with the belt or else a clip...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...a clip around the ear, they'd, you know...a clout across the head...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...you know and tell you how dirty you are, and only babies wet the bed. And there was...and...and you felt degraded as it was you know, without them making you even worse, you know, and, 'you need to grow up' and stuff like that and, 'God doesn't like people who wet beds'. And, you know, it was all these stupid sayings that they had and thinking back now you think, yeah it was stupid but they would make you feel *really, really, really* they...they would *degrade* you. You know, and you'd get, 'oh you're wetting the bed, stupid girl' and all that, you know and...and to keep being told you're stupid all the time it does really...

[Sound of separate conversation in background]

SP *Yeah.*

E ...you know, you start thinking did...did that really happen?

[Interview pauses briefly while interviewee has short conversation with other party]

E And you'd have to take the sheets off...

SP *Okay.*

E ...and you'd have to take them down to the laundry yourself and put them in to be washed. But, it would remain known to everybody that you wet the bed. And although we were all in there for the same reasons – I say the same reasons, as in we were all in there...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...being punished, for different reasons but the same...at the same time – it was the...people...some of them felt sorry for you but then you'd get the odd one or two who could be a bit...and they were what we called the 'nuns' pets'. And there were a couple of them 'nuns' pets' and you...sort of like...they were the ones you keep away from.

SP *Okay.*

E But they'd make sure they...they came to you and annoy you and stuff but we didn't fight back because at the end it wasn't worth it. You know, because I just didn't want to...I wanted to get out of there, I didn't want to get into trouble...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...and I was hoping and hoping against hope that I...I would get out.

SP *Did you ever think of running away?*

E No, because the thought...the thought...th...yeah...the thought of getting out of there yeah it'd be lovely but where would I run to?

SP *Hmm.*

E Because experience...having...having had experience of running away, after my Mum died, when I lived at home I was always brought back by the police and I assumed the same thing would happen if I ran away from the laundry, the police would find me and I'd be taken back there and again I'd get another hiding.

SP *Yeah.*

E And I...I just didn't want any more beatings. But the beatings carried on, as much as I hated them, but I didn't want to provoke it any worse than what it was.

SP *Yeah.*

E You know?

SP *And did you know of anyone else who ran away...*

E No.

SP *...while you were there?*

E No, no I don't know, no but then, maybe...m...maybe I did and i...it's blocked...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...but from what I can remember no...

SP *Okay.*

E ...I don...no, I don't.

SP *And actually sorry I was just curious did you have long hair when you were there?*

E Yeah and they cut it.

SP *Did they cut it?*

E Yeah.

SP *Okay I was going to ask that.*

E Yeah they cut it yeah, to keep it clean. [Inaudible]

SP *How did they cut it like I mean can you describe how they...?*

E Oh it was horrible, they didn't get...th...they didn't put a bowl around my head they just grabbed hold of my hair and just cut it across.

SP *Because I was going to say, people listening might think...*

E Hmm, yeah.

SP *...oh it's a nice haircut.*

E No, no, no.

SP *Right.*

E It was just sort of like *grabbed* and that was it, there was no style to it, it was just cut across and there was no shape to it, it was just sort of like, it was a bit up and down, up and down where it should have been cut properly. But no, it was just cut and that was it.

SP *Yeah.*

E Do you know what I mean, it was...th...but then there was no style, why would you have a style if you're being punished? And this is what it all b...boiled down to, you were being punished, you were entitled to nothing!

SP *Okay. Can you tell me anything positive about the laundry?*

E Yeah, I got out! *(Laughs)* That's the only positive side of it...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...I got out. The...made a nice friend in there...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...she was there for a couple of months before I left, I made a nice friend, she was a lovely friend. We got on well, her and me. And behind the nuns' backs when we thought they weren't looking we'd have a little giggle. But the majority of the time we really didn't – especially working – we d...really didn't speak...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...but we couldn't let the nuns know that we were good friends because that wasn't allowed.

SP *Yeah.*

E You weren't there to make friends, you were there to be punished.

SP *What was she in for?*

E She...from what I can remember her saying....that she'd had a baby and I think it was a little boy and she was put in there I think until the baby was being adopted. But she didn't have the baby with her, she'd had the baby in another place and maybe the baby was adopted then when she went into High Park because I know when...or what I know now is when they'd had babies in these Mother and Baby Homes or laundries, whatever and they were allowed to stay with the babies for six weeks and after that then baby's adopted and then they're put somewhere else. So maybe her baby was adopted when she came to High Park. But I know she didn't have her baby with her in High Park but I remember her saying she had a baby and I'm sure it was a little boy.

SP *Yeah.*

E And she was...and I think she was only there for a few months after...after I left, but I don't know what happened to her.

SP *Okay. Can you tell me the worst thing about the laundry?*

E Everything.

SP *Yeah.*

E Everything. There was nothing nice about it whatsoever. *Everything was horrible...*

SP *Hmm.*

E ...from the...you know, morning to night it was just...it was prayers, work; prayers, work and eat in between and it was just, it was...I'd...I'd even say it was worse than prison.

SP *Yeah.*

E You know, there was nothing nice about it whatsoever.

SP *Hmm.*

E It was dark, it was dungy, it was horrible.

SP *Yeah. How would you describe your relationship with the other women while you worked in the laundry?*

E We got on...we got on alright but then you see when...when you're not allowed to speak you don't know how you're going to get on with somebody. But, when...i...in the laundry we just got on with our work and then if somebody...say like the...the men would put the washing in the machines...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...take them out, and then the ladies would bring the clothes over to me and say, 'there you go Evelyn, that's to be ironed'. But we really didn't have a lot of common con...conversation in the laundry...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...because you weren't allowed to, you were there to work.

SP *Yeah.*

E Maybe in the evenings in the recreation room we'd all sit down and talk, but nothing...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...in the laundry really no.

SP *And do you recall any women dying while you were there?*

E No.

SP *No.*

E No.

SP *Do you...so did you have anyone visit you?*

E My Mum's sisters came to visit me and that was all. But they only came for about...I'd say at the most would be three to four visits and then they were stopped...

SP *Okay.*

E ...and my cousin came w...came to see me with her mum and...and that was it, it was stopped.

SP *And why were they stopped?*

E I don't know I'm assuming my father had them stopped...

SP *Okay.*

E ...because it was my Mum's side of the family and they didn't get on.

SP *Okay.*

E But none of my Dad's side of the family came to visit me, and that was all the...the...that was all the visits that I had.

SP *Hmm.*

E But I wasn't told why they were stopped and I...I was just told they were not allowed to visit me anymore.

SP *Okay.*

E So that in itself is a torture isn't it?

SP *Yeah.*

E You know, being told you're not allowed to visit but, why? 'Well we can't tell you'. So...

SP *And what about with letters that you sent or received?*

E My Auntie – my Mum's sister – who came with the other aunts to visit me, lived in Kent and she started writing to me when she went back to Kent. And I would receive a letter from her, a couple of letters, and they were opened, and then the nuns allowed me to have my letters. So obviously they would have to read them first...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...make sure there was nothing in there that shouldn't be in there and...and then Auntie would ask me is there anything I needed. So I would write a letter to my Auntie but couldn't seal it until the nuns read it. Then they would con...they would seal it up and send it off. My Auntie sent me a couple of parcels of things that I asked for, which I shared out with the other girls. But then that didn't last long, there was no more parcels after that or letters.

SP *Okay.*

E So, I don't know if Auntie stopped sending or what have you...

SP *Okay.*

E ...but if I know my Auntie, she wouldn't have stopped sending...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...so.

SP *And what about visits...the visits? Were they supervised?*

E Yeah, there was a nun in the room, yeah. You were in the...i...in a room, they had what they called a family room and you sit in this family room and that I do believe was as you walk in the main door, when you go up the big drive, you walk in the main front door...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...from what I can remember, the nuns' office was on the right hand side as you walked in the corridor there and – I think...I'm sure it's on the left hand side, I might be wrong – but on the left hand side would be the family visit room.

SP *Yeah.*

E And yes there would be a nun in there.

SP *Okay. Can you remember if there were any visits from government officials or insp...insp...factory inspectors, anyone like that?*

E No, no, no.

SP *And how were you treated by the nuns?*

E How was I treated by the nuns? Well, I think a dog would have been treated better. The nuns, they...there was a couple of nice nuns in there, but the bad ones overtook the good ones...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...and they were very strict. You did as you were told first time and when they say, 'jump' you say, 'how high?' You...you could have a conversation with them in the sense that, I mean, you could say to them like, 'can...can I...can I get in touch with my family to come and visit me?' They would say, 'yes' but knowing damn well that they wouldn't do it.

SP *Okay.*

E And so...and they never done it. And that's...and to me that's cruelty that is, that is mental cruelty really. But they'd...then they'd say to you, 'why do you want your family to come and see you? This is not a holiday camp,' kind of thing, it's...although they didn't use that word, but it's like, 'you're in here to be punished so therefore you're not entitled to visitors'. You know, and it's...and they did their damndest to keep visitors away...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...they really did their damndest to keep visitors away, to keep you away from your family, and that was it yeah.

SP *Do you reckon that they were told? I mean, you were in there because you were abused.*

E Yeah!

SP *Do you reckon that they were told, or...?*

E Oh they knew why I was in there!

SP *They knew the reason?*

E Oh yes, oh God yeah that's why it was suggested I was making unbehavioural, [sic] claimed unbehavioural – whatever way they worded it – unbehavioural favours against my father, against my father. And I...so I know...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...they knew why I was in there, of *course* they did. So they...to them, that was wrong what we were saying, you know.

SP *Hmm.*

E And that's why we were dirty...

SP *Okay.*

E ...we were sinners because of what we were saying, we were sinners. It was our fault it happened, not them. So why would a man get a...you know?

SP *Yeah.*

E It was always the women, not the men.

SP *What made a Sister good?*

E What would make a Sister a nice Sister would be somebody who would look at you and smile at you and ask you, 'how are you?'

SP *Hmm.*

E And would sit and talk to you. But it didn't happen very often...

SP Yes.

E ...because they weren't allowed to do that.

SP *Okay.*

E You could talk to them and go up and say, 'hello Sister so-and-so'. And they'd say, 'oh hello Evelyn and how are you today?' Then you say, 'I'm not very well', 'what's the matter?' But it didn't happen very often.

SP *Hmm.*

E There was a young novice there and she was...she was a nice nun, a nice novice. But again she was being trained to be nasty...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...like them.

SP *Okay. And did you ever ask to leave?*

E I asked when I was going home.

SP *Yeah.*

E They said, 'never' because at this stage, I was there about six months I think...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...and I asked, 'when am I going home?' And that was after my father had been with the brothers and sisters...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and they said, 'you're not going home, *never, you're here for good*'.

SP *Because of course yeah, just for the tape, your s...your siblings had been taken out.*

E Yeah out of the school...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...well what I call the school section

SP *Yeah.*

E *(Coughs)* ...which was the children's home section, and they'd been taken out unbeknown to me because the nuns never told me they were taken out, and they still hadn't told me from the day I... 'til the day I left that they had been taken out. But they knew... they must have known that I knew because I never asked to see them again. So, yes they were taken out [in the] early hours of the morning, not sure what day, and the lady come up and told me that she seen my dad with my brothers and sisters going out of the gates.

SP *Okay.*

E So of course yes, I felt rejected again and that's what it was all about really, being rejected...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...by society.

SP *Yeah. Did you have any fears or anxieties while you were there?*

E About anything and everything yes...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...yes I did. Yes I was... I wa... yes, I was anxious. I was anxious because I was lonely, I was missing my family, I was anxious to get out *(coughs)* and when you're told that, you know, you wo... you won't ever get out, I was always anxious that I'd have to spend the rest of my life in there...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...because I didn't want to spend the rest of my life in there. But I was also anxious about what was happening about my complaints against my father...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...but of course nothing happened about it. So yes I was anxious about...nobody believed me. So I was in there being punished for nothing...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...for telling lies as they said.

SP *Yeah.*

E Hmm.

SP *And did you have any hopes and dreams?*

E Yes, I hoped one day I would get out and I'd be reunited again with my family and I would...*really* and truly if I'm honest, I always wanted to be a nurse...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...but on the children's ward, and I used to dream that one day, you know I'd get out and I'd become a nurse – but not realising how much education [you] needed to be one...be a nurse – but I'd be a nurse and I'd be able to look after sick children. But, yes I got out in the end, my father took me out but, gone from the frying pan into the fire again.

SP *Yeah.*

E Hmm.

SP *Do you feel that you...did you...did you feel that you conformed to...to your ti...you know, were you confirming or did you...do you f...did you rebel while you were inside?*

E I rebelled a little bit yeah...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...but...and I tried not to because I thought if I'm...you know, if I'm good then they might let me out.

SP *Hmm.*

E But then just every now and again it would get to you in there and you just rebel. And of course you'd always get a slap...

SP *Can you describe to me, like an example of how you rebelled?*

E I would shout!

SP *Yeah.*

E I would shout at nun, i...if they said something to me – I'm trying to give you an example of what they would say...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...to me – or you know if I was sort of like, if they caught me talking say to somebody, and I'd try and say, 'I *want* to talk!' kind of thing because I'm frustrated and I...I'd...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...come that attitude with them and then they'd come up and give...*whack!* 'Don't speak to me like that! *Don't* back answer me!'

SP *Yeah.*

E You know and there's that kind of...and [they would] soon bring you back down to earth.

SP *Yeah.*

E You know, so...And that was...to me that would be rebelling...

SP *Okay.*

E ...with back-answering.

SP *Can you desc...can you tell me one word or phrase that best describes your time there?*

E Horrible, lonely, depressing. It's not...it...it...I'm sure it was probably even worse than prison camp, you know one of these, yeah concentration camps...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...is what I meant to say. But it was just horrible.

SP *Yeah.*

E Yeah, horrible.

SP *And so can you...so we're onto the leaving bit...*

E Hmm.

SP *...so you said that your dad got...can you describe actually when you...what happened when you were told that you were leaving?*

E I was over the moon. I was over the moon that I was leaving. I was going home to see my brothers and sisters, and not realising the consequences that would follow that I was going home and I was delighted. And I told my friend that I was going and she was upset. And I was upset leaving her behind as well I have to say but I was going home.

SP *Actually how did that happen? Did they just tell you on the day, or...?*

E I'm trying to remember; they came up to me and said to me that, 'your father's coming to take you home'. I remember that bit and I was delighted, but at the same time I was apprehensive about going because I was going back to what I'd left, as to the reason why I was in there. And I knew I would be going back to it, but I was going back to my brothers and sisters. As...and as much as I actually wanted to get out of there, I didn't want to go back to that abuse again. So, it was the chance you took I suppose. But yes, they told me that and I was...I think he was coming up the next day to pick me up, and that was it. And I...I don't...I don't remember leaving there, I don't remember saying goodbye to the girls and I don't remember how we got home.

SP *Yeah.*

E But yeah I was just delighted to be out.

SP *Okay. And how did you find it being outside the laundry?*

E It was...it was a lot better because you're free...you had freedom although it took a while to adjust because of the routines of the laundry and the praying, and I still prayed when I came home, it was...it was that...because that became part of my life. But I...I was still anxious, I was still on tenterhooks because I was at home with my father, but my brother and sisters were there, and that kept me going...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...being with them again kept me going. But, my father kept telling me, 'anymore nonsense from you, and you're going back into that home'.

SP *That was constantly used...*

E And that was constantly...

SP *...as a threat?*

E ...as a threat, yeah. That was constantly used as a threat. And so in other words I better behave myself...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...and just keep my mouth shut and don't say a word.

SP *Okay. So what happened to you then when you got home, like what happened to your life then?*

E My life went back to the old way of...after mum died I was looking after the brothers and sisters, and my father had taken up with a lady from America, but she had actually gone back to America. So that's why he took me out of the home because she'd gone back to America and he had no one to look after his kids, because my sister was only thirteen, he thought it was too young to look after the kids, the younger ones. So he got me out of the home to look after the younger brothers and sisters. And as I said, my step-mother had gone back to America to sort out a few...to finalise a few things over there because she was moving to Ireland to marry our Dad. So, he started abusing me again and I started running away again. So, I go back to Richardstown [pseudonym of Aunts' address] to where my Aunties were – my Mum's sisters –but they still had to call the police because what you call classed as a minor now is, I don't know what they classed it then...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...but I was underage, for [want of] a better word, and if I had been eighteen they wouldn't have been a...able to do anything about it.

SP *Okay.*

E But because I was under eighteen they had to ring the police and say I was out in Richardstown. So, I had to go back home and then one night before...before my step-mother came over to stay in...to...to marry him, I ran away and I was up at the bus stop and my father...I could see my f...just...I can't describe where we lived but there was...we called them 'the alleys'...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...but it was...it was...it was mainly where you have maisonettes and it's not an actual lane or anything but you're on this road and you can see the next road down and you walk down to...and so I was up at the bus stop and obviously then I heard my father talking to his brother, so I ran around the corner and I hid in somebody's garden and they had a big high hedge. So, I hid there and my father was gone past the school, he was gone that way to see if I was up there and I heard him saying, 'I'm going to fucking kill her when I get her', and I heard my uncle say, 'ah don't do that, she's only a child. Just talk to her when you get her home'. So I knew then I was in for a good beating. So I waited until they were out of sight, then I sneaked out of the lady's garden and I looked up the road and I couldn't see them so I ran and I was hoping the bus would be due soon, hoping. So, with that the bus came. So I hopped on the bus but I hid on the bus, I went up the stairs and I hid then on the seat, on the floor and sort of like waited until I was out of sight. And once I was out of sight then I went over to Richardstown to my Aunties, but again I don't know why I done it, because again they had to call the police and I'd have to go back home and get another beating. But, to me that's a cry for help.

SP *Yeah.*

E So why wasn't somebody there?

SP *Hmm.*

E You know, there's only so many times you can do it...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...so why wasn't there somebody there to help? Because they weren't allowed. That's the way society was then, you weren't allowed to help, your choice – either like it or lump it.

SP *And how long did that continue on for?*

E That continued to...from...my step-mother came over from...from America then, and that continued for about a couple of months. It's from...it's like I left one hell hole...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...to go into another hell hole...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...you know, and then my step-mother came back then...I'd say I was home about three months when my step-mother came back from America because she had a few things to sort out and that was it then. Then it was okay then when she moved in...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...it was okay. He still verbally and physically abused me...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...but the sexual side of it was gone...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...because I knew I was okay because she was there...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...you know.

SP *And did you have a good relationship with her?*

E I had a great relationship...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...with my step-mother, yeah she...she was very good to me I have to say. And I didn't look at her as a mother figure...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...like, to take my Mum's place, because we know...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...nobody could take Mum's place and she never put herself out as...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...she was going to be our mother. She was there to listen to us and talk to us and what have you. So, it was nice to have another adult i...in the family as opposed to just having the father, it was nice to have a female adult in the family and someone you can talk to, and yeah we got on really well her and me, yeah.

SP *Great, yeah. Sorry...*

[Interview paused]

SP *So, can...do you know, did...did your time in the laundry affect you psychologically in any way?*

E Yes it did. Yes I think it did. It's amazing y...how can I explain this...because we had to work constantly, you feel like...w...when like I got a job I just kept working and working and was frightened to talk to other people in case I'd get punished for it. So working was...y...you'd start your work and you would have to work, i...in the sense that y...you couldn't stop like – how can I try and explain the best way I can? You could start...start a new machine...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...if you're on a machine or whatever, or on a big belt like where I worked in a cake factory, and you start working and somebody would talk to you but you didn't want to stop talk...to talk to them for fear of being told off, 'get on with your work'.

SP *Yeah.*

E It's...to me that would be psych...psychologically...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...although after a while I...I settled into my job and then I realised yes I *can* talk...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...I wasn't sort of like being controlled in that sense that you know, you start work, you don't speak until your dinner break and that was it. But it was also the anxiety of if you did something wrong in your job then you'd get punished for it. But in my job if I did something wrong, it's okay, 'we'll do it this way,' kind of thing. So yes, it did affect you in that sense that you...you always feared you were doing it wrong. And if you did it wrong you'd get punished and you have to accept the consequences.

SP *Yeah.*

E So yeah.

SP *Yeah. And actually how...how...when did you start to work? Well like, how soon after leaving?*

E When my step-mother came over...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and she was looking after the children, then I went to work, I would say about six months after I came out of the laundry.

SP *Yeah.*

E So yes. And it was the same being at home, I had to do the housework, I had to be...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...because then yes, my father would come in and everything was al...it was always wrong.

SP *Yeah.*

E So, y...I still had that from the laundry and also being at home with my Dad...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...so the anx...anxiety was always there. Like, you know, you had to do it...wrong. And again when I went out doing the shopping with the younger brothers and sisters, if I spoke to anybody my father would come home from work that night and would tell me I was speaking to so-and-so. And so, so that was always there, talking to somebody was always there, that it was wrong.

SP *Yeah. And y...w...what sort of jobs were you doing? What s...where...what were you working at?*

E I worked in a cake factory.

SP *Yeah.*

E I made loads of friends in there...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...it was nice and relaxed. And I worked full-time, but of course it took me a while to settle in there like I said, because you go in there, you work and...head down, blah, blah, blah. But

when we finished work in the evenings I would go home and have my meal, and that was it then 'til the next day. But we also had to hand the wage packet up to my father unopened. And if it was opened, you'd get a good hiding for opening it. Again, being controlled.

SP *Yeah. And you said you had wanted to be a nurse, what happened to that?*

E To be a nurse you would have to do exams. I had nobody to back me up. I had nobody to encourage me...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...and my father wouldn't allow it, for me to go to college or night schools or whatever it was you had to do then because I wouldn't be bringing the money in. His idea was you went out to work, you brought the money in regardless, but you didn't do the job that you *wanted* to do, you did the job that *he* wanted you to do.

SP *Okay.*

E So, he said to me, 'right there's a job going up in the cake shop...up in the cake shop...the cake factory, go for that one'. See you weren't encouraged to follow your dream in that sense.

SP *Yeah.*

E So, that was why I couldn't become a nurse because I would have to go to night school or go to college or whatever it was in them days, but because I'd left school when I was very young and I didn't have the qualifica...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...the exams behind me or anything like that...education...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...I didn't have a lot of education so I couldn't...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...I couldn't pursue it.

SP *Okay. And did you get any physical or long-lasting health effects from...from the laundry?*

E Physical would probably...probably be my hands, because my hands hurt now and from those big heavy irons that you've got in there. And then we used to have to scrub floors as well, and get on your hands and knees and scrub floors as well, and there was stone floors. So I'm assuming maybe it was that...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...that's why my knees play up and that's why my hands play up.

SP *Yeah, okay. And how did your time in the institu...the institution affect your attitude t...towards the church and religion, like your own religiosity?*

E Over time, because...because of where I was and because it was a religious order and it was to do with the church...

[Rustling noise in background]

SP *Yeah.*

E ...again because I had...when I say...I had a strict father and with a strict upbringing, you always went to Mass and...and you had to respect religion, which we did, it wasn't 'til afterwards that...when things...I started relaxing. Because I wasn't in the laundry that I started looking at religion differently but mainly more so I looked at it after my Mum died and what we all went through after Mum died, and why she died and...and how and so young, I started doubting religion but I couldn't say it because it wasn't allowed. You had to, you know, you're a Catholic and you had to...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...abide by the...the church blah, blah, blah, but deep down inside I have to say I was very...I...I was rebelling against it deep down inside but couldn't show it...

SP *Okay.*

E ...to the nuns or to my father...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...so yeah.

SP *Okay. And how d...what about now how do you...?*

E Now I would...I've got a certain amount of belief...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...but not...I'm not a strong...I d...I don't go to church. If I do go to church it would always be a Church of England church that I go to because our boys...my husband is not a Catholic, my boys are not Catholic...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...I brought my children up as Church of England. But – they were christened Church of England – but they didn't always go to church, it was up to them what they wanted to do. My husband's not a very strong believer either. I believe in a certain amount of things but that's what I believe in...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...and I don't expect other people to be the same as me. I believe in a sense that...pardon me...my mother died and I can sit in a quiet room and talk to my Mum. My younger...one of

my younger brothers died at the age of forty-six, I can sit in a quiet room and I talk to him, my son died at the age of twenty-four, I can sit in a room...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and talk to him. I lost a little nephew at six months old, I can talk to him.

SP *Yeah.*

E So, they're my beliefs and other people don't have to believe in it but it gets me through.

SP *Yeah.*

E And I suppose in a way I feel guilty for not believing like I used to do but I know the reasons why. The church wasn't there for me when I needed it so why would I be there...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...for the church?

SP *Yeah. And do you think that who you are today is different to the person you were when you were in the laundry?*

E Yes, definitely, definitely. The laundry, I was being punished, it was like a prison sentence...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...I had no freedom and I was put in there for all the wrong reasons. And now that I'm married – I'm married to a lovely man, got three lovely sons – and because I'm out of...I'm out of Ireland, I'm...I'm out of the religious aspect of it as well, I've become my own person and I'd like to think I'm a nice person but religion really did, it ruined my life and it took my son...one of my sons away from me as well.

SP *Hmm.*

E So, that happening to me, I've had to fight to get where I am...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and if I didn't fight I would be left behind. So I had to fight most of my life to get where I am today.

SP *Yeah. And can you go...can you give us some more detail about what happened with your son?*

E With my son when I...I met this guy when I was working in the cake factory, I met this guy through a friend of mine in the cake factory and we started going out. And then my father tried to take control of my life again by telling me that I wasn't allowed to go out with him, only certain nights of the week. And that was fine, I had to abide by his rules. And then of course then I got pregnant...

SP *And you were how old?*

E ...I was eighteen when I got pregnant...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and my father said to me before I even got pregnant, if I ever bring any trouble home...to me...I would end up in High Park.

SP *Okay.*

E So yes, the fear was there, but I still got pregnant and being pregnant meant that I would have a child that would love me unconditionally and I would love that baby unconditionally as well. And I think this is what...I was looking for somebody to love me and I knew you couldn't get a better love than a baby's love. So (*coughs*) when I found out I was pregnant I panicked. I wouldn't tell my Dad because I didn't want to go back into High Park. So we both ran away and moved over to England and I had my son in Birmingham and things went wrong so we

went back to Ireland. We hadn't got married at this stage and we went back to Ireland and we stayed with his parents, my ex-boyfriend's...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...parents. And I started going back out to work...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...back in the cake factory again and then things started going wrong with hi...my ex and me. So I went down to the priest – there was a priest, a church down where my son was christened – so I went down to this priest for help and I told him what was going on and he said to me he can get me out of there. And I said, 'okay' and I said, 'but I want to take my baby with me'. He said, 'yeah no problem'. So I had to go down to him, now I...I'd been down to see him a few times and things weren't getting any better with my boyfriend so the priest suggested well...a hostel. So I said, 'okay' and I said, 'and I can take my baby with me,' and he said, 'yes'. So when I went down to see him the following week to finalise the arrangements, I said to him, I said, 'I can take my baby with me'. And he said to me, 'y...you can't take your baby today, I'll arrange for your baby to be there tomorrow'. So I believed him, so I went out to the back garden where my baby was in the pram and I told my ex-boyfriend that I was leaving...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...and he did nothing in his power to stop me. So I went out the back garden to say goodbye to my baby and I went to pick him up to give him a cuddle but it wasn't really to give him a cuddle it was to take him. And my ex-boyfriend was at the back door watching me and I just happened to look up and seen him there and he says to me, 'I dare you, I dare you to take him'. And I turned around and said to him, 'I wasn't taking him, I was just giving him a cuddle'. But he knew exactly what was going on in my head. So I had to leave my baby behind. And then when I got into the hostel – that was Saturday afternoon, it was a Saturday – and that Saturday afternoon I got into the hostel and I said to the nun, 'the priest is arranging for me to have my baby living with me from tomorrow'. And the nun turned around and said to me, 'no,

we don't allow babies in here'. So I never got my son, he was kept with his father and his grandparents.

SP *And where...where was this hostel?*

E The hostel, it was in the city centre...

SP *Okay.*

E ...Dublin city centre.

SP *And who was it run by?*

E It was run by nuns but...

SP *You don't know what order?*

E I can't remember, I don't know...

SP *Okay.*

E No, I don't know who...what charity it was...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and what have you, you know...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...but I just know it was the nuns. And I was there a few days but I was still commuting to work...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...out where the family lived and my sister found out that I...what had happened. So she went and told my father and my father wanted to meet up with me and my step-mother. So I met them and they asked me to go back home. And it was very, very lonely again, so I went back home, which I'd be nearer to my son and I was home two weeks and the priests...two priests came to the door and asked me would I be prepared to give him up for adoption to his grandparents. I said, 'no, why am I fighting for him if I'm giving [him] up [for] adoption?' So they went away with a flea in their ear. But now...ever...if he was ever adopted secretly I don't know...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...it was never mentioned.

SP *But you never saw...you never as in, you weren't with him again?*

E Oh no, I never lived with him again.

SP *Hmm.*

E Then I...my...this lady I had when I was in the laundry when I used to have to go see a psychiatrist – Miss Coleman [pseudonym] – psychiatrist, she was a social worker I do believe. She came out, I think my father had been in touch...or my step-mother had been in touch with her about my situation, and she came out to see me and said I could see my son, as and when I wanted, but it would have to be in *their* house because I couldn't have him living with me because there were too many children in the house.

SP *Okay.*

E So I had to make do with that.

SP *Okay.*

E I had no...

SP *Yeah, yeah.*

E ...say really. So I would...I was working with my ex...my ex's sister...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...as well and so I would say to her the night before, 'can you tell your mum I'll go down tomorrow to see little Ciarán [pseudonym of interviewee's son] and she'd say, 'yeah,' and she'd come into work the next day and I'd say, 'is it okay?' 'Yeah, Mummy said it was okay'. So again I had to ask to go and see my own son and he was always ready for bed when I went down.

SP *Okay.*

E And I'd go and see him weekends – and it was only ten minute walk from where I lived – I'd go and see him weekends, I wasn't allowed to take him out. He was either gone for a nap or he wasn't well. So again I wasn't allowed to have any contact on my own with him...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and that hurt...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...that hurt big time. And then of course then there was a big row in the house when my...with my step-mother and one of my brothers, and my father was called from the pub, which you don't *dare do* in them days. And he came home and had a big row with my step-mother and she said, 'right I'm leaving'. So he said, 'right I've got one capable daughter looking after my kids'. And I said...and he looked at me and I said, 'no I'm sorry but I'm going'. So with that he got up and gave me a big beating and then we all went to bed and she said to me, 'you going?' I said, 'I'm going Pam,' [pseudonym of interviewee's step mother] 'if you're going I cannot stay here with him'. And of course then...I knew then because of my son...I needed to see my son, oh it was awful!

SP *Hmm.*

E So with that we got up the next morning and I didn't go to work that day. So my father went off for the day and we talked about it, my step-mother and I, and so we said, 'okay we'll leave,' and again I had to leave my younger brothers and sisters in his hands. So we spent the day up at – where my little brother was sitting...the one my step-mum...had her last baby like, a friend of the family's– and we got the police down...excuse me...to come down to the house...so we could go down to the house to get our clothes in case he was there.

SP *Hmm.*

E Because if he was there he would have given me another hiding.

SP *Yeah.*

E So, anyway before the police came down we...we popped down before the...we...in fact before we got in touch with the police, we popped down to the house to make sure everything was okay...

SP *Hmm.*

[Sound of door opening and closing]

E ...and he wasn't there but while we were in there he turned up and asked what was going on. So, we told him what was happening and he wasn't happy about that whatsoever, he wasn't one bit happy about that. So with that he got up, and looked at me and gave me one punch in the head, knocked me flying. Of course I...while I was on the floor...I fell on the floor, he started kicking me. And he had these big hobnailer [sic] boots on, that they wear on the building sites?

SP *Hmm.*

E So he kicked the daylight out of me and I...of course I was screaming. There was this lady next door and she came around knocked on the door and she asked if everything was alright.

'That effing bitch in there she's breaking up my home, she's breaking up the family', meaning me, and my head was just thumping and thumping. So with that he went up [to] the pub, so we went back up to the lady that we were staying with and we said to her, 'we need to get the police to come down so we can get our clothes,' because we were leaving that day. So the police came down and we went down and we got our clothes and I was *absolutely petrified* because I was upstairs getting my stuff...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...and of course my brothers and sisters came up and they were crying, we were all crying. *Horrible, horrendous* it was.

SP *Yeah.*

E And they said, 'please don't go,' and...and I *had* to, I said to them, 'I've *got* to go,'...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...because I knew if I didn't go and my step-mother was gone, I knew I'd...I would probably have ended...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...up dead...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...or maimed for life, you know, because I knew what he was capable of.

SP *Yeah.*

E And I had to, and I felt awful and so there's that side of it as well, you know? It doesn't leave you...never leaves you, the guilt. So the police came down anyway, and when they knew then we were okay, then we got everything then we left and then the police left and came up to the

house with us where we were staying and then the next day then we got a boat over to England.

SP *Yeah. And that's how you came to be here.*

E And that's how I came to be here...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...you know, and I've been over here ever since.

SP *And do you think it was a good decision?*

E In one sense yes because I met a...a nice man...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...and for security reasons as well I suppose, but I made a better life for myself than what I'd ever probably would have done in Ireland I'm assuming. But then the downside was I had to leave my son behind and my brothers and sisters and that will *always* be my downside...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...of leaving Ireland. Although we see each other now, but of course since then my...my son died, but I still see my brothers and sisters now, but that downside will always be...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...in...in my heart, it never...it'll never leave.

SP *Did it...did it have an effect on your relationship with your siblings?*

E It did have a...yes it did have a big effect on my relationship yes, you know like, as they were growing up and I was over here – I was over here a year before I went back to see them all – and then...a couple of them actually left Ireland as well...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...they ran away...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and stayed over here, although he never came after them but they stayed over here.

SP *Yeah.*

E So, my sister stayed...stayed over here and then I got on my feet, I got married and I was on my feet and I was in a situation [where] I could help them out...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...but they felt like I was a snob and because I was working and my husband was working, they felt like I was...I...I was too good for them, but I never ever felt like that, never! I was here to help them because I didn't have that help until I met my husband but then when they were here then, we helped them out as much we could...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...but it left it...it...it g...the relationship became a bit, 'well you've got money, you can afford this, you can afford that,' but yes, I *worked* for it. So we had a few sort of like fall outs over it.

SP *Yeah.*

E I mean it's a lot better now, but we had a few fall outs over it and I felt guilty because I was working and could afford what I've got...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...but then my...my motto is, 'you only get...you only get what you work for'...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and if you can't afford it then why get it...

SP *Yeah...and...*

E ...you have to work.

SP *...what were you working when you...what did you work as here?*

E I worked...when...when I first came here I actually worked in a jeweller's store...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...before we had the children and then when I had the...when we had our oldest boy, then I went out to work in the evenings cleaning and then we had the second boy and I was still doing cleaning in the evenings what...where my husband worked.

SP *Hmm.*

E So, he would take me to work and then pick me up, it was only a couple of hours in the evening...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and then I learned to drive. So, I'll drive myself to work every night and then come home and we ended up then having another boy, our third one and I was still cleaning in the evenings, and then I changed my job then to working – when the youngest one started school – I changed my job and I worked in Boots, the chemist, and then I was there then for a while,

about a year I think. And then I changed my job again, I started working in the school as a dinner lady...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...the secondary school where the boys were. And then in between that then I was cleaning a lady's house and it was quite nice actually because I was there in the evenings then with the children...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...and then when they got...as they got a bit older I left school and I started doing child minding...

[Sound of music in background]

SP *Hmm.*

E ...looking after children and also while I was looking after children I was also doing one or two nights a week...care work, like, working for a...an agency – well social services actually to be honest – and doing like...care work and we'd travel around to people's houses at night time and make sure they were okay and so I...so that was the closest I suppose I ever...became a nurse, you know?

SP *Yeah.*

E And...and we'd go to people's houses and we'd sort of like...and it was...early hours in the morning as well, all weathers and just make sure they were comfortable and they had their medication and sit and chat with them and stuff like that. And I done that for a couple of years and then I gave it up then because I thought, 'no I'm...I'm getting a bit tired,' then, it was...it does get you after a while, and I just carried on with my childminding job.

SP *Yeah.*

E So yeah it's...

SP *Very good.*

E ...so my life is a lot better and I don't think it [would] ever be like this if I stayed in Ireland.

SP *Yeah. And so...sorry...yeah, you know w...with all that happened with your family etc., did you...like, having children, was...was...was...did you have any difficulty like knowing how to bring up children or...so you...or...well, you had a good role model...*

E Yeah...

SP *...in your mother but...*

E ...that's right but you see with...with me, common sense is a great thing and my instincts kicked in when I had my children, I knew children needed you, you have to think for children...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...all the time, especially babies until...until they get...children get to a certain age when they can start telling you what they want. But I always thought when they got to a certain age and maybe it's my upbringing I don't know, but I'm...it still doesn't stop me feeling guilty, when they get to a certain age and they don't do what they're told first time, you smack them.

SP *Hmm.*

E But looking back now that's wrong, but that was all I ever knew. Now...and maybe it's because that's all we ever had...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...in Ireland with the father was...just hit you for looking at...looking at him the wrong way...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...he would hit you. And one of my...one of my sons he was very...very much like me and very determined and stuff, and naughty to an extent that he wasn't really that naughty but I'd say to an extent that, not...not rebellious either...defiant probably, I don't know maybe he...maybe he reminded me of me and maybe I didn't like it, I...I don't know, I really don't know.

SP *Hmm.*

E But yes he...he would get smacked...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...yes, he'd get a slap across the backside or you'd get the wooden spoon across the backside something like that. But now I realise it's wrong and one day I went too far with him and – he was on the floor and I had a...a bamboo cane – and I just whacked him...the back of the legs with it and he fell on the floor, and he was crying, 'no Mum, no Mum, no', and for some reason that was me on the floor and I was the father. So I stopped, threw the stick on the floor and rang one of my friends straight away and I said to her what I'd just done. And so she came up and I just...!...I just left him I thought, 'I've got to walk away'. And I walked away and went into the living room and I just *broke* down and she came up and he was...by which time...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...he was sat beside me – he came in and sat beside me – and I said, 'I'm *really* sorry I shouldn't have done that'. And she came in and of course I cried even more because of what I had done and she said to me, 'but Evelyn that's all you've ever known'. I said, 'but it's no excuse,' because she knew about my life.

SP *Yeah.*

E I said, 'but I shouldn't have done it'. 'But you done it,' she said to me. Now if I mention this to my son he's saying, 'Mum I deserved it,' but no child deserves it.

SP *Yeah.*

E I said, 'no, you don't deserve...' 'I was a little *bastard*,' he said to me, 'and I *know* what I was doing was wrong,' he said, 'but I still done it,' he said, 'but I des...' I said, 'but you didn't deserve that, a slap across the back of the legs yeah or across the bottom yeah, but not to be beaten with the stick'.

SP *Yeah.*

E You know, and it was...it was awful. So yes, I think it did in that sense because I thought that's...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...how you bring children up, to discipline them in that sense.

SP *Yeah.*

E But my discipline went too far...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...I was too strict, yeah.

SP *Yeah. And just now to talk...just about who...who do you think is responsible for the reason why you were in a laundry?*

E My father and the State...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...because I was crying out for help, the police did nothing and the amount of times that I rang up. I mean my Mum went to the police before she died and said – a couple of years this was before she died...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...and said what had happened. They took him into the cells and we thought, 'great,' we were away from that. But because there was no evidence apparently they let him go. So it was back to the abuse and of course then because my Mum had him arrested he gave her a good hiding...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...you know, and...do you know what I mean and that was wrong.

SP *Yeah.*

E And then after she died...and I was *still* going to the police...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...but then to make things worse I was actually running away.

SP *Yeah.*

E Why didn't they listen? *Why* did they take his side all the time?

SP *Yeah.*

E But because...because I was raped when I was ten and I can hear them saying it now, 'it sent her mad,' because that's the way they spoke about you when you were a child...it sent you mad, you know and...and so therefore why wasn't anybody there to help me...

SP *Yeah.*

E ... and help my younger brothers and sisters? Instead of throwing us into a...an institute [sic] if you like and being forgotten about?

SP *Yeah, yeah. And just lastly what would you like the church or...or the State or...what would you like them to do in terms of redress?*

E I'd like them to acknowledge what has happened and accept what has happened instead of saying, 'oh yes I'm sorry,' but no meaning behind it, and make sure it *never ever, ever* happens again. And when a child tells you they're being abused, *listen* to them because kids don't lie, kids cannot make up things that they don't know what they're talking about, they don't understand they can't make it up.

SP *Hmm.*

E If...you know...if...if kids don't know about say like the facts of life...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...at certain ages, but someone is doing something wrong to them, a kid will know it's wrong because of their instincts, and a child comes along...a kid comes along and tells you somebody's done this, *carry it out*. You know, look into it, *why* did it happen, what's happened and *listen to the kids*. Because at the end of the day if you don't listen to kids they get lost in the system and their whole lives will be upside down and it just plays havoc with your head, it really does.

SP *Yeah.*

E You know? I...I...because I look after children...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...I can pick up signs, and I look after these kids and I think if anybody ever hurt them...it's like my own children, my kids would tell me things but only if they want me to know, but

there's things that my kids have probably been through and never told me because they know I'm *straight* up there, *straight* away, nobody hurt...you hurt my kids you hurt me and...and my kids know I'd do time for them. At the end of the day, you've got to...you've got to listen to your kids...

SP *Yeah.*

E ...they don't lie...

SP *Hmm.*

E ...they don't, and that's all I can say on the matter really, you know.

SP *Great, well thank you very much...*

E You're welcome.

SP *...for everything.*

E You're welcome, and I'm sorry my family came round!

SP *Oh, it's okay, don't worry.*

E First time!

[Interview ends]