## CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE, SPEAKING UP AND SPEAKING OUT
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**ABSTRACTS BOOKLET (as 11 May 2021)**

### ARZUK, Denise

**"We could not speak up for our rights because we were told to shut up" Children's Collective Action in Turkey in the 1990s**

In 1990, *Doğan Kardeş* children's magazine launched a social responsibility project competition among its readers. This was less than a decade after the 1980 coup d'état in Turkey, when political activism was still considered undesirable. The participants were expected to plan and implement a project that addressed a major social challenge, and the winner would be invited to participate in the United Nations special session on children to be held in NYC in May 1990. Although the competition was open to collective projects carried out by groups of children, the entries needed to be submitted by individual children together with their form teachers.

This presentation will focus on the case study of one of the child groups that entered the competition. Based on the idea of children's rights to urban space and safe environment, their project was to design and built a community garden in the neighbourhood, which later evolved into an impromptu street protest. The children's collective action led them to engage with several adult actors, including the city council, the school administration, and the neighbourhood community, and navigate complex relationships.

The research is partly autobiographical, because one of the primary sources is a field journal kept by the researcher as a ten-year-old. It also involves a critical discourse analysis of various other paraphernalia, including the coverage of the competition in *Doğan Kardeş* magazine, an interview with the children published in the left-wing *Sokak* journal, and photographs from the field. The aim is to investigate the dynamics of children's participation encouraged and controlled by adults. The paper will question how children simultaneously played along and subverted adult expectations of 'benign' socialisation.

### BEETHAM, Margaret

**'Home is Where': the Untold Story of Missionary Children.**

Two years ago, I published an account of my early life as a child of missionary parents in India the 1940s and 50s. (*Home is Where; the journeys of a missionary child.*) The book came out of a realization that my childhood experience had been so unlike that of my own children or any of my friends that it was incomprehensible to them. However, my early experience was not unlike that of my mother and of the generation before her who had also been missionary children. My mother (born in India in 1907) was -like me- sent 'home' aged 7 to attend the very same school in Kent, founded 'for the daughters of missionaries' in 1838, to which she subsequently sent me and my sisters. We, too, were separated from our parents for the years of our growing up with weekly letters our only connection. I wrote my 'memoir' in the third person because it is both my story and representative of a long but forgotten history stretching back more than a century.

As a historian of print culture in nineteenth-century Britain, I researched the vast range of publications missionary societies produced for supporters in Britain. Magazines for children were a crucial part of this. However, the children of missionaries themselves were completely invisible in all these publications.

Recent scholarly work on the entwined histories of the Empire and Christian missions has begun to address the role of missionary women as workers and wives but there is almost no research on the history of their children. In this paper I draw on both personal testimony and academic research to redress the absence of these experiences of childhood, experiences marked by the richness of cultural diversity but also by the pain of dislocation, loss and abandonment.

### BELL, David

**A voice for exploited children: speaking on behalf of people sexually abused in 1 Thessalonians**

Recognizing the presence of children in the societies and communities in which ancient texts came into being can have a significant impact on interpretation of those texts, even where children and childhood are not specifically mentioned.

As an example, this paper explores material addressing sexual abuse in 1 Thessalonians (4:3–8): generally accepted as one of the earliest extant Christian letters: to a newly-established community of mostly Gentile converts. Childhood and age are not mentioned in this section and the details of the sexual behaviour addressed are obscure. Unsurprisingly childhood is alo little referenced in the extensive scholarship.

However, it will be argued that young people would have been part of the assumed field of reference in discourse on norms of sexual behaviour for the writer, Paul, and his audience, and that this sheds light on its interpretation. The experience of those sexually exploited appears to be highlighted in the vocabulary used concerning relationships in the community, and especially that it includes portrayal of Christ as an ἔκδικος: speaking or acting on behalf of those wronged. It will be argued that this particularly resonates with use of this vocabulary for legal representation of women and children in papyri.

If Paul is seeking to give a voice to those exploited and powerless in the audience community, it is translators and interpreters who have obscured this for later readers. Acknowledging unmentioned children as integral to the social context and audiences of ancient texts can give at least some voice to their experiences.

### BERNER, Tali

**I Wish not! Early Modern Jewish girl's voices**

My talk lifts up the voices of girls and young women, among the most under-represented groups in Jewish history. From the young girl refusing to marry her perpetrator, to the type-setters sisters Ela and Gela, these surprising appearances of girls' voices in a variety of settings and genres reveal the richness of Jewish girls' experiences in early modern western Europe. Girls' voices range from pride and excitement to refusal and horror, and they represent the various aspects of girls' and young women's lives: attending to household chores, and dealing with other family and household matters, contributing to family businesses and developing their own profession, and encountering violence and sexual abuse. They are articulated in well-crafted letters in Hebrew, such as in the case of Leona Levia, a young woman from a merchant family in northern Italy, and in the spoken Yiddish of maids, as documented in legal papers.

Examining these voices in the context of other early modern Jewish literature regarding the upbringing of girls and roles of women in the family and community, I will discuss issues of agency and power, questioning the long-accepted assumption that girls and young women had limited control over everyday life as well as life-changing decisions.

### BRISCOE, Hannah

**The Conflicted Childhoods of Missionary Children in Times of Political Conflict in Eastern Africa**

For children in any place and time, the processes of growth, development and discovery can be a bewildering journey. Whether typified by stability or change, peace or anxiety, fun or boredom, each child encounters environments and experiences in unique ways. Discovering or constructing one's sense of identity and determining one's place of belonging are challenges for many young people.

For children of missionaries, conflicting identities of home, heritage and belonging can be compounded by situations of political strife and conflict, especially when these situations produce disruption in the personal life and relationships of the child. Though sometimes exposed to traumatic situations, often missionary children are sheltered from the storm. The incongruence, however, of

their own experience to that of their neighbours or classmates can leave its own indelible mark and stir new and uncomfortable questions about their own place within society.

This paper draws from archival sources and interviews with children of missionaries (both from the past and contemporary) who experienced different conflicts and periods of violence in eastern Africa. For some children, upon resettling in England, the dangers presented on British news programmes provoked greater fear than the battles lighting up the sky in a setting of civil war. Others who had witnessed suffering and violence faced frustration and anger at the lack of reporting or concern from their western friends and news agencies.

This paper looks beyond the circumstantial to pursue insights from the children's own voices—though at times mediated through adult reflection—into how these experiences stir up internal conflict over questions of identity, place and relationship to the world. It will consider specific occasions wherein a child or youth has found a way to express this struggle and use their voice to call others to attention.

### BRYANT DAVIES, Rachel

**'Classics [...] is not defunct yet': interacting with Greco-Roman antiquity through Victorian children's magazines (*Part of panel organised by HODKINSON, below: Children's Experiences and Cultural Identity through Classical Myth and History in Britain, c.1800-2005 —an Our Mythical Childhood panel*)**

Even as the privileged status of Classics in education began to be questioned towards the end of the nineteenth century, versions of Greco-Roman antiquity created for—and by—children proliferated. Some of children's most sustained encounters with the past were enabled by the Victorian press. The burgeoning variety and relative affordability of periodicals enabled large readerships, encouraged interactivity through competitions, and fostered a sense of community, particularly through letters pages. While young characters re-enacted ancient scenes or attended fictional schools, informative articles explained historical characters and archaeological discoveries: details which could be mined for answers to puzzles or recounted in prize essays.
In this paper, I will examine how Greco-Roman antiquity became a prime example of the balance many periodicals strove to achieve between pedagogy and play. Tracing entertaining and informative content across a representative sample of titles, including *Boy's Own Paper*, *Girl's Own Paper, Boys of England, Young Folks, and St Nicholas,* I will focus on the Trojan War. This was the backbone of both popular entertainment and school curricula, and a prominent subject for serial stories, puzzle clues, and "How-to" articles promoting the creation of classical pastimes, such as Trojan horses, from everyday items (including brooms) and generic toys (wooden horse and lead soldiers).

Such evidence demonstrates the challenges of reaching historical children's voices through their submissions, when these were mediated by adult editors, or retold as adult reminiscences of school-days – which often highlighted traumatic experiences at public schools and sometimes represented this as comic. It also emphasises the specific ideologies—particularly patriotism, religious or moral qualities and gendered role-models—promoted to child readers and by child contributors, camouflaged by the classical content. When such interactive journalism is placed alongside children's encounters with antiquity in other media, the reception of Greco-Roman antiquity in children's culture becomes a powerful measure of societal values.

### BURGARD, Antoine

**Performing childhood: Jewish unaccompanied youth and Canadian Refugee Resettlement after the Holocaust. (*Part of panel organised by CARDEN-COYNE, below, Performing and Rehabilitating Childhood: Displaced and Refugee Children after the Second World War*)**

At the end of April 1947, the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) was authorized by the Canadian federal government to bring 1,000 Jewish children and adolescents to Canada for permanent resettlement. These young survivors were, at that time, predominantly living in Displaced Persons (DPs) camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy, as well as in children's homes and foster families in France, Britain, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Sweden. During the negotiations, the Canadian government had clearly defined *who* would be welcomed – individuals under 18, who had lost both parents, and were in good health – and *how* they would be welcomed – the CJC had total financial and legal responsibility for the young newcomers, who were to be placed in foster families.

This paper will examine how the government guidelines impacted the selection of potential candidates in Europe. Drawing on their individual Canadian visa application files, it will especially look at the strategies developed by the young survivors and their intermediaries (humanitarian workers and CJC representatives) to fit into an arbitrarily defined category of childhood and increase the chances of being granted a successful application: the young survivors often tried to shape their 'identity on paper' by falsifying their "real identity" (giving an incorrect age, name, or nationality during their visa interview); the intermediaries similarly shaped the applicant's narrative and "personality" to match their profile with the Canadian government expectations about "vulnerable children", "ideal immigrants" and "deserving refugees". A close reading of these case files, therefore, not only reveals the ways institutions exercise their power but also the role intermediaries play in such processes, and the vulnerability and resilience of young people on the move. Finally, this paper will discuss the challenges that such complex self-presentations and discursive strategies represent for historians.

### BURKE, Lois

During the later Victorian era, British children and girls in particular produced manuscript magazines which imitated and mocked published periodicals and other kinds of literature. Through this practice girls spoke back to literature which was written for them, about them, and which criticised them. In doing this, girls created their own peer creative communities, which were uniquely limited to the period of adolescence. In line with recent research into children's cultures (Gleadle 2019; Sloan 2017) and Victorian girls' literary lives (Moruzi 2012; Rodgers 2016), this research takes into account several case study examples of girls' manuscript magazine writing from UK archives, including the Edinburgh Museum of Childhood and Lady Margaret Hall College, University of Oxford. It proposes that girls' writings often employed an appropriate style which balanced mimicry and mockery.
This paper will examine how Victorian girls' subversive engagements in literary and material culture can be usefully examined when compared to contemporary practices of youth culture such as zine-making, diary writing, and graffiti, all of which can be conceptualised as a form of subversion or 'speaking out.' The paper looks to re-conceptualise Victorian stereotypes of Victorian girlhood and adolescence as compliant and artless. This interdisciplinary intervention into Victorian life writing studies provides a radical and multi-faceted approach to children's historical writing cultures, which so far has not been adequately served by one discipline alone.
Short bio:
Lois Burke's PhD thesis 'Nineteenth-century girls and authorship : adolescent writing, appropriation, and their representation in literature, c. 1860-1900' looked at girls' manuscript writing cultures from the later nineteenth century. She has broader interests in gender studies, the history of childhood, and Victorian culture. She is Associate Lecturer in English and Film at Edinburgh Napier University, and has held Visiting Fellowships at Durham University (UK) and the Institute for Child and Youth Studies at the University of Lethbridge (Canada). She has been awarded a travel grant to research at the University of Florida's Baldwin Library for Historical Children's Literature in 2020. She is an active member of the Scottish Early Literature for Children Initiative (SELCIE), has co-curated exhibitions with the Museum of Childhood in Edinburgh and is the UK representative of the Juvenilia Press. She tweets @LoisMBurke.

### CANNON, Maria

**Unequal voices: Young women, dependence, and family hierarchies in early modern England**

This paper analyses a selection of letters between the children of Margaret, Countess of Bath's three marriages, born between 1530-1550. Correspondence was the vehicle through which the half-siblings continued to manage their relationships after their mother's death in 1561. An episode in the late 1560s involved younger sister Susan Bourchier taking the decision to leave the house of her eldest brother Sir Thomas Kitson and go to stay with friends in London, despite being unmarried and dependent on him for financial support. The offence taken by Thomas over this decision required careful negotiation and strategic networking when she wished to return to his household. She wrote directly to Thomas but also enlisted the help of their half-brother Henry Long to intervene on her behalf. Comparing the letters of the three siblings reveals how age, gender, and social status impacted on the way authority was negotiated in early modern families. Their letters contain different tones and emotional practices, demonstrating their positions in a reconstituted blended family

hierarchy. Susan's voice as it survives in her letters reflects her subordinate position in contrast to the more equal relationship of her brothers, although her actions hint at her attempts to exert choice and autonomy. By considering Susan's responses to her dispute with her elder brother, this paper will ask what strategies were available to a young woman in a dependent position in a patriarchal family structure. This paper analyses the Hengrave half-siblings as a way of exploring how youth and gender could affect a young woman's ability to exert authority and autonomy over her choices in the patriarchal structures of early modern society.

### CARDEN-COYNE, Ana

**Panel: Performing and Rehabilitating Childhood: Displaced and Refugee Children after the Second World War**

The plight of displaced and refugee children gripped post-war humanitarian imagination, as victims of the most abject atrocity wrought on humanity, but also as symbols of hope upon which a rehabilitated future society rested. As the documentary *Seeds of Destiny* (US Army Defense Dept., 1946) implied, European displaced children were central to notions of 'new beginnings', in breaking with the Nazism and totalitarian despotism, which were deployed by Western governments and UN agencies that sought to reconstruct the postwar world order. Yet, while the universal 'rehabilitation' of these children was a core element of humanitarian post-war efforts, some displaced children were considered as more 'treatable' than others, some more valuable than others. Humanitarian organisations and post-war governments constructed arbitrary categories of 'childhood' and classified DP children according to their perceived 'recoverability' and 'desirability' to post-war societies. Their categorisation was underpinned by gendered, aged and racial assumptions. These three papers unpack different discourses and practices around the representation and rehabilitation of displaced children, and on children's own performances of 'childhood' that served the adult world and performed emotional work for adults charged with enacting strict child refugee policies. We pay attention to the tensions between disciplinary and therapeutic approaches, showing that the range of treatments offered were not for children's sake alone, but also for adults and for the public to appreciate, which children navigated in seeking out better outcomes for themselves. This panel demonstrates that children's art was increasingly seen not only as a psychological therapy, but also as a universal pictorial language that traversed national, linguistic and ideological barriers between people. In this context, children's art became a symbol of children's human right to an idealized version of postwar childhood.
**Drawing Displacement: Rehabilitating the Pictorial Language of Childhood in the aftermath of the Second World War.**

Scholars have been increasingly interested in attempts to rehabilitate childhood after the devastating impact of the Second World War on children. Adults soon came to realize the traumatic impact on children who experienced persecution and violence, family separation and destruction, conscription and forced labour, hunger and disease, deportation and murder, and displacement. The war, it was also recognized, had truncated children's educational and developmental milestones, and their psychological health. In the aftermath, children became the 'symbolic heart of efforts to rehabilitate Europe, and were seen as keys to 'the biological, economic and moral reconstruction of the nation' (Tara Zahra, 2009). Child welfare took a central role in the United National Relief and Rehabilitation (UNRAA, 1943-1947) and the International Refugee Organisation (IRO, 1947-1951), and many other national and international humanitarian charities. Historians have examined the use of photographic representations of children, demonstrating both abject childhood (Gigliotti, 2018) - in the traditions of humanitarian photography (Rodogno and Fehrenbach, 2015) and, conversely, happy and rehabilitated childhood, in the 'visual language of humanitarian' narratives that demonstrated how organisations such as UNRRA had 'found' Europe's 'lost' though innocent children (Salviitci, 2015). Children's art is an important part of this history.

Most studies, however, focus on the period of the war. Nicholas Stargardt discusses the optimism in 4,000 drawings of Jewish children from Theresienstadt, ultimately gassed at Auschwitz-Birkenau, and their use in Nazi propaganda (1998). Exhibitions of children's art that the Free German League of Culture staged in London used creative learning as a transformative vehicle for reforming exilic identities, while reimagining collective democratic futures of refugee children (Roberts, 2017). For the period after the Second World War, however, far less has been said about children's art in relation to the rehabilitation of 'lost' childhood, and the educational, psychological and emotional rehabilitation of children (2005) Stargardt examines how recently liberated Jewish child survivors drew the Holocaust at a recuperative camp sponsored by the Swiss Red Cross in 1945 (2005). In my

paper, I focus on children in DP camps, and how UNRRA, UNESCO, and humanitarians sponsored programmes to instill drawing practices among children, and providing children with art materials where they might recover their childhood imaginary through the universal pictorial language of art. I argue that internationalists and humanitarians regarded art not only as provided displaced and traumatised children with a psychological therapy, but was seen as a universal pictorial language that traversed national, linguistic and ideological barriers between people. I also argue that children's art became a symbol of children's human right to have a childhood and a voice of expression. However, this paper will argue that children's art was not just for children's rehabilitation alone. It was also for adults and for the public to appreciate. Children's art performed important emotional work for adults at a time of global concern to recover childhood. The paper examines how UNRRA and other humanitarian agencies worked closely with the leading international modern art museums of the period to exhibit children's drawings for the general public. I argue that art was increasingly positioned as an important tool of postwar internationalism and human rights at this time, and modern art museums played a key role in exhibiting children's art.

### CARLSON, Jessamy

**"This place will do nothing for me... all I can think of is getting home." Experiencing the Approved School in England in the mid twentieth century (*Part of panel organised by SOARES, below: Children's agency and experience in residential institutions in Britain, Australia and Canada, c. 1850-1973*)**

Prof. Julius Carlebach was instrumental in the research which lead to the publication of the formative white paper *Children in Trouble* in 1970. Prior to this, he and colleagues had been working on a comprehensive study of girls resident in approved schools titled *Promiscuous Puritans*, which, unusually includes comprehensive interviews with a range of girls committed to the schools. Approved schools existed in England and Wales between 1933 and 1973, established to take in boys and girls from the juvenile courts and provide training and education to them in a secure environment.

This paper explores the lived experience of the approved school, drawing on the interviews undertaken with the girls. It considers how the girls worked within and outside of the institutional framework of the approved school, how they perceived the staff and support workers and the training made available to them. It also considers the extent to which approved school girls had agency over their experiences and relationships in the school. The paper draws on archival material and interview transcripts of the girls, revealing a unique source to understand the life of approved school from the perspective of those committed to this institution.

### CHANG, Hung-Chieh

**This is my movement too! Children in the history of environmental movements in Taiwan**

Philippe Ariès (1962) analyses paintings from medieval period in his work *Centuries of Childhood*, which lead to the development of the studies of childhood. This study adopts the perspective of sociology of childhood, aiming to understand the construction of children in the history of Taiwanese environmental movements, with a focus on demonstrations.

Children are victims in environmental incidents, but they also have been participating in environmental movements. There have been studies on environmental movements, but children's participation in environmental movements in Taiwan have been overlooked.

Drawing from documentary analysis, fieldwork and interviews with children who participated in environmental movements, this study analyses the change of children's presentation in the history of Taiwanese environmental movements.

The initial results show the role of children participating in environmental movements in Taiwan have changed. In the early grass-rooted movements, they were residents, passengers, and participants with their families. Later, children become a partner group with other environmental groups in the environmental movements. The climate strike, led by Greta Thunberg since 2018, has become the largest global climate action that millions of children and youth worldwide participated in. Taiwanese children started to join the global climate strike since March 15 2019, which is a milestone for children's environmental movements in Taiwan. Children become initiators in various climate 'actions' that they prefer to express their opinions. This paper highlights children's reflection on the

ways they chose, or they could do, to express their opinions on environmental. I will also discuss the obstacles that children face in the Taiwanese society to participate in environmental movements.

**DEACY, Susan and MAURICE, Lisa**

This presentation will discuss Deacy's and Maurice's activities using classical myth, especially stories linked with Hercules, for autistic children as part of the ACCLAIM autism and myth network (http://www.omc.obta.al.uw.edu.pl/acclaim) and the ERC project *Our Mythical Childhood...The Reception of Classical Antiquity in Children's and Young Adults' Culture in Response to Regional and Global Challenges* (http://www.omc.obta.al.uw.edu.pl/). [For more on the *Our Mythical Childhood…* project, see panel organised by HODKINSON, below.]

**DENÉCHÈRE, Yves**

**"Words and Expressions of Métis Children from Indochina Displaced in France (1950-1970)"**
(***Part of panel organised by NIGET, below: "Voices of young people in institutions (France - 20th century)"***)

From the late 1940s to the 1960s, approximately 5,000 Métis children and youth (3,000 boys and 2,000 girls) were "repatriated" from Indochina with the objective of educating them and turning them into "bridges" between France and their country. Then, as decolonisation became effective, the objective became assimilation. These children are sheltered in specially organised homes or scattered in a multitude of religious institutions and do not have the right to speak their mother tongue. They are more objects of a singular migration and postcolonial biopolitics than subjects who are actors in their own personal stories. Despite the very tight restrictions imposed on them, the wards of FOEFI (the main organisation responsible for their care) express themselves through words and deeds. Thus, boys' foster homes are the scene of "rebellions"; among nuns, girls are demanding better treatment, etc. As adults, the people concerned activated a delayed speech about their childhood experiences.
The communication will question the subjective construction of Eurasians and the drivers of emancipation through speech and action. How have these children constructed themselves individually as women/men, mixed race and migrant in a coercive environment?
The unpublished sources mobilised consist of about thirty testimonies from the persons concerned (born between 1935 and 1962). The anthropological and sociological method of "participant observation" has been used, particularly at gatherings of former residents of educational institutions.

**OLUSOGA, Yinka**

**Transition from Working-Class Child to Working-Class Schoolchild: The Sensory Construction of the Dame School and the Day School in the Report of the Newcastle Commission of 1861**

Mid-19th century debates about working-class mass education focused on two key discursive fabrications: the child and the school. The Report of the Newcastle Commission (Education Commission, 1861), set out an extensive, detailed articulation of the prevailing debates and tensions on both subjects. From a Foucauldian perspective (Foucault, 1977), in doing so the Report did not merely reflect an existing set of realities. It actively drew on, interlinked and constructed a complex set of discourses about the working-class child, family and community. These discourses established judgements on the antecedent, current and potential future conditions, character and conduct of the poor and their offspring. They were productive in shaping schooling as a topic and the working-class child/schoolchild as objects of knowledge (Hall, 2001).
Across its pages the Report identified, and indeed reified, a series of categories of poor, working-class child. Accompanying this construction of the child, it also provided a detailed classification of the types of school institution available to the working classes. Again, however, this was not merely an audit of provision. It was a construction of that provision, that was discursive but also sensory in nature. This paper examines the category of 'the independent poor'; the child of the working poor family, not in receipt of poor relief. Drawing on data from the Report, this study applies the discourse-historical approach to critical discourse analysis (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016). Findings uncover how the Dames School and Day School were positioned in material and sensory terms as

(im)moral spaces for children, and how their capacities for containing the body and agency of the working-class child and disciplining/transforming it into the working-class schoolchild were compared.

**PHILLIPS, Claire**

**Speaking Up and Speaking Out: Adult Memories of a Childhood in the London Foundling Hospital, c. 1860-1950**

Whilst under the care of the London Foundling Hospital in its last 100 years, children were unable to speak up about the ways in which they were raised or treated. Children endured bullying, but forged life-long friendships. They were provided education, yet trained for a life in domestic service or the military. They also maintained a life-long stigma attached to being foundlings. However, their adult lives allowed them to finally speak up about their time in the London Foundling Hospital, their education, training and preparation for their future. Adulthood allowed them to speak out about the wrongs they felt had been dealt to them, and the ways in which the Foundling Hospital had cared for them.
Using the autobiographies written by an Anonymous Foundling, largely believed to be Hannah Brown, in 1919, Charles Naldon in 1989, and Tom MacKenzie in 2014, along with oral testimonies held by the Foundling Hospital Museum, all produced during adulthood, this paper aims to discuss three main areas of foundling life, which are discussed through these sources. Firstly, the education that was provided to the foundlings, and the preparation that they were given for domestic service and life in the armed forces. Second, it will examine the bullying that foundlings often discussed, both by other foundlings and by the teachers and those in charge of their care. Finally, this paper will take an examination of the stigma attached to foundlings both throughout their time in the Foundling Hospital, and in their lives thereafter. This paper will argue that children were prevented from speaking up in an institutional setting, but their voices and memories were encouraged as adults. Their memories of their time within the Foundling Hospital provide an important aspect of child care within institutions.

**JOLIFFE, Pia**

**Children and religious dissonance: Jesuit discourses on early 17th century Japanese child martyrs (*Part of panel organized by MARTIN, below: Finding and Hearing Children's Voices in Religious History*)**

This paper analyses children's voices within the context of the persecution of Christianity in 17th century Japan. Based on Jesuit letters and reports from Japan, my research highlights the prominent role of child martyrs in these official sources. This is very relevant given the fact that within the historiography of Japan's "Christian century" (1549-1650), children remain marginalized if not invisible actors. I argue that children's voices – recorded and mediated by Jesuit missionaries – tell us a great deal not only about children in early modern Japanese society but also about the Catholic mission to Japan and its transnational link to Counter-Reformation Europe.
I situate the Jesuit discourse on child martyrs historically. Here I draw attention to European discourses on child martyrs, as well as on children's position within the late 16th/early 17th centuries Japanese society. I also briefly outline the historical context of religious persecution of Christians in Japan and explain how information about this persecution was received in Counter-Reformation Europe.
The main part of my paper discusses various ways Jesuits documents quote children's voices in the above described context of persecution and martyrdom. My analysis suggests that Jesuit authors emphasized children's religious devotion, constancy and perceived innocence. They also argued that these qualities had a strong emotional impact on Japanese adults, including those officials who dealt with children's arrest, torture and execution. I moreover argue – at the example of the Jesuit baroque theatre play *Mulier Fortis* - that Jesuit reports of Japanese child martyrs had a strong impact on their European readership.

**COHEN, Boaz**

**Witnessing murder and Genocide: The early testimonies of Holocaust Child Survivors**

The extermination of Jewish children, and prior to that, their exclusion and ostracization, was an integral part of the Nazi war on the Jews. Children were the group with the least percentage of survival. Only about 11% surviving the Holocaust and in Poland specifically even less – between 0.5 to 2.5%. (1)

How did the few surviving children speak of their experiences of Genocide and who was listening?  Thousands of testimonies taken from child survivors in the immediate aftermath of the Holocaust, enable us to address these questions. Taken while the children were still children or teenagers, they have exceptional authenticity in representing the voice of the child.

This presentation will focus on children experience of murderous events, mass murders and personal encounters with death. It will explore both the actual events in the children's eyes and the way they recounted their survival. It will explore the issue of survival by children either by their own agency or by chance encounters with benevolent 'righteous among the nations' or more realistically by a combination of both.

The testimonies enable us to better understand children's experience of Genocide, but also attest to adult interest in this experience. Therefore, they provide indispensable insights to historians of children and specifically to those interested in  agency and resistance of children in conflict.

(1)  Debórah Dwork (1991), Children with a Star: Jewish Youth in Nazi Europe. New Haven: Yale University Press.

**NIC CONGAIL, Ríona**

**Panel: 'Gaelicising and Radicalising: Irish Children, Cultural Revival and Political Revolution, 1880-1923'**

**'Radicalised Youth? The Irish-Language Summer College and the Shaping of Irish National Culture, 1904-1920'**

By the turn of the twentieth century, several social campaigners and charities in London had decided that poor city children should be sent on holidays to rural areas, where they could benefit from fresh air, open spaces, good food and leisure time. Members of the London Gaelic League (an Irish cultural nationalist organisation established in 1893) adopted this same approach in the first decade of the twentieth century, by sending small groups of London children to rural Ireland. Along with the benefits listed above, these children would learn the Irish language and become immersed in Irish culture.

What began in London quickly became a cultural phenomenon among Irish children and youths. To this day, approximately 25,000 Irish youths spend three weeks of their summer holidays in rural Ireland, immersed in the Irish language and culture, in an institution best known as "Irish College". The Irish colleges, although rurally based and catering for young people, are often entangled with Irish politics: for example, the fall of the Northern Irish Assembly in early 2017 related in part to the DUP's decision to abolish grants to youths wishing to attend Irish colleges.

My paper will focus on the early years of the Irish-Language Summer College, tracing its evolution. It will address the extent to which Irish colleges served as breeding grounds for nationalism in the period leading up to Irish independence. Some Irish colleges were blatant in their approach, with one advertising itself as "An ideal spot to learn military tactics and to learn the Irish Language. Ample facilities for Shooting" (*Irish Volunteer* 1914), while others inculcated nationalism in a less militaristic manner. This paper will provide an insight into how young people were schooled in Irish nationalism during their summer holidays, with many of these young people proceeding to become prominent twentieth-century politicians and writers.

**CORCORAN, Abigail**

**Training the Next Generation of Abolitionists: Juvenile Anti-Slavery Societies in the Antebellum United States**

In 1835, the American Anti-Slavery Society, responding to the creation of several juvenile anti-slavery societies in Providence, R.I. and Utica, NY, argued that children innately understood the immorality of slavery. They resolved to support the formation of more juvenile anti-slavery societies to take advantage of and channel the natural anti-slavery sentiments they saw in children. These juvenile anti-slavery societies became a fruitful site of discussion about childhood, family, and race in the mid-1830s and early 1840s. The American Anti-Slavery Society and other abolitionist adults saw juvenile anti-slavery societies as a way to teach their children abolitionist principles, both so that children could contribute to the movement in the present, and also so that they could learn how to be effective activists as adults. Juvenile anti- slavery societies, which comprised of children ages two to seventeen, pushed children into public activism, as they learned from their parents to conduct meetings, collect signatures for petitions, hold sales of anti-slavery items, and give speeches to their peers. Some juvenile anti-slavery societies also provided children with opportunities for interracial and cross-gender socializing. Although juvenile anti-slavery societies were often short-lived, they succeeded supporting the larger anti-slavery movement. Some societies raised substantial amounts of money for abolitionist causes, while also serving as incubators for future activists in abolitionism and other social reform causes. For example, abolitionist George B. Vashon and women's right's activist Abby Morton Diaz both belonged to juvenile anti-slavery societies as children. In this paper, I will examine how juvenile anti-slavery societies functioned as teaching spaces to create the next generation of activists.

**DiGIROLAMO, Vincent**

**The 'Contagion' of 1886: Schoolchildren's Strikes in Gilded Age America**

From March 1886 to May 1887, thousands of American students at dozens of schools used the strike weapon to win shorter hours, longer recesses, lower fees, and better books. They issued demands and organized walkouts in Brooklyn, Troy, and Newburg, New York; in Columbus and Cleveland, Ohio; in Vandalia, Salem, Rockford, Clinton, and East St. Louis, Illinois; in Indianapolis and Elkhart, Indiana; as well as in Detroit, St. Louis, Baltimore, Boston, and Philadelphia.

The strikers, mostly boys, made "incendiary and anarchic speeches," called non-striking classmates "scabs," and likened their principals to slave drivers or the capitalist villains Jay Gould and Andrew Carnegie. Strikers in Baltimore nailed shut the gates of their school with six- inch nails while those in Troy filled the keyholes with mud. Some school boards capitulated to demands, but most had the leaders flogged and expelled. The upsurge nevertheless inspired choirboys in New Haven to strike. These children were inspired not just by adult trade unionist but workers their own age, particularly newsboys who struck newspapers and newsdealers in Boston, Chicago, Brooklyn, Washington, DC, Detroit, and San Antonia, Texas. Those in the Lone Star State formed an organization called the Kids of Labor, while their counterparts in Boston founded the Juvenile Knights of Labor. These organizations and uprisings included blacks and whites, and were direct results of heightened working-class consciousness and activism surrounding the 8-hour day movement. They ended abruptly after the bombing in Haymarket Square in Chicago and the ensuing crackdown on the Knights and other groups.

Children have never been examined in relation to these landmark events. I touched on the subject in my book, *Crying the News: A History of America's Newsboy* (Oxford University Press, 2019), but I would like to make better sense of it and address key questions: Who were these schoolchildren? Why did they strike in the places they did? What kind of support or opposition did they get from their communities? And what does their actions tell us about what was in their heads, that is, the level of class consciousness that underlay their protests. I will rely on newspaper accounts, municipal reports, and memoirs.

**DILLENBERG, Elizabeth**

**"The Girlhood of Māori Girls": Domestic Servant Debates in New Zealand**

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the chronic shortage of servants in New Zealand reached an acute stage, creating a "servant crisis." Domestic service in New Zealand had traditionally been done primarily by British girls or girls of British descent, but the attraction of better paying, less labor-intensive, and more respectable employment opportunities for girls and women meant that the demand for servants perpetually exceeded supply in New Zealand and throughout the British Empire more broadly. In 1908, a seemingly radical solution was proposed: train Māori girls as domestic servants. While some embraced this solution, it was also greeted with widespread consternation.

This paper examines the debates surrounding the proposal to train Māori girls as servants and how they drew attention to different understandings and experiences of girlhood. Māori communities recognized that training girls as domestic servants would break girls' ties with their homes and suppress their language and culture. Māori women in particular articulated their opposition to these efforts by underscoring the incompatibility and impracticality of British notions of domesticity and domestic training for Māori girls. These debates at the beginning of the twentieth century formed part of a broader history of contested efforts to train Māori girls as servants. In the early nineteenth century, missionaries to New Zealand sought to train Māori girls as servants in order to convert Māori society to a Christian way of life, but like later schemes, their plans were also greeted by resistance from Māori girls and the wider Māori community. Using popular literature, newspapers, government reports, correspondences, and memoirs, this paper examines how discussions about Māori servants intersected with broader political, economic, and social debates and how they brought into focus competing ideas about gender, childhood, nation, empire, and race.

**DUGAL, Alexandra**

*"What is peace? Why will it not show itself to us?": Voices from the Japanese Eiwa mission girls' schools in Pacific War Japan*

The narrative of a total permeation of nationalism into the Japanese public during the Pacific War is complicated by intellectual trends among Japanese Christian women in this period, including students of mission girls' schools. This paper will bring to light the voices from the Eiwa girls' schools of Tokyo, Shizuoka, and Kōfu, Japan, founded in the 1880s by the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada. It will utilize compositions written by Eiwa students and published in school magazines in the 1930s to suggest how the sentiments students utilized in their writings demonstrate connectivity to intellectual trends within wider Japanese society and around the world, and how they can challenge existing narratives of students of mission schools in Japan in the Pacific War. These compositions show that students of the Eiwa girls' schools expressed their opinions on transnational relations, religion, and societal conditions, and in particular, on war, peace, and internationalism well into the 1930s. The importance of this discussion is that it brings the voices and experiences of young Christian women of girls' schools to light using documents that are missing from the current historiography, demonstrating that the voices of these young women were not silenced in war-time, and that mission girls' school students – their voices largely absent from existing historiography – contribute to our understanding of religious and pacifist ideas among Japanese women in the 1930s. Eiwa students were not passive recipients of narrow patriotism despite state and military intervention in school life; instead, they wrote on the turbulent international situation they lived through. Thus, these young women stand as a corrective to a discourse of a passive Japanese populace engulfed in war fever and illuminate a greater connection to wider intellectual trends in Japanese society and beyond.

**FARRINGTON, Jamie**

**Apprenticed to Work: Dissecting the Apprentice/Master relationship in the Cotton Industry at Quarry Bank Mill (1800-1850)**

The industrial revolution of the nineteenth century is widely recognised as a period of extensive technological innovation, and the development of large-scale industries across England. A major

factor in the success of this industrial development was the apprentice system of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century which ensnared children as young as nine (and sometimes as young as seven) in employment. These children have been seen been to have exploited, made to work long hours in factories and mills often risking their health and, in some cases, even their lives in dangerous workplace conditions to enable each industries' success. For the factory masters apprentice children were a cheap and sustainable source of labour, and once indentured the child could be retained as workers unable to leave their employment until they reached adulthood, which varied between the ages of 18 to 21. This paper examines the case study of the child apprentices at Quarry Bank Mill run by the Greg family in the first half of the nineteenth century. It argues that by employing a paternalistic management structure the Gregs attempted to construct a cooperative relationship with their apprentices. The paternalistic relationship was expressed through the provision of food, housing, and healthcare and was intended to be reciprocated through productivity as a member of their workforce. However, this paternalism was also a method of control used to structure the apprentices' lives and creating a system in which the child worker was seen as a resource rather than a person. Nevertheless, it highlights that apprentices through acts of resistance such as misbehaviour and truancy would challenge the Gregs authority.

**FREEMAN, Catherine**

**Football, Arson and Not Cooking: forms of protest at girls' schools in Surrey between 1870 and 1914.**

While the 2005 Children's Rights International argued that children's voices need to be heard to understand their lives, (1) Darian-Smith and Pascoe noted that "children's "lives are always influenced by the expectations of the adult world about how 'children' and ...'childhood' may be defined and understood". (2) This paper will use schoolgirls' voices found in magazines, reports and logbooks to examine their acts of protest in the late-Victorian period. From playing football at a girls' high school to an arson attack on an industrial institution, girls' education in Surrey from 1870 to 1914 illustrates various examples of rebellion.

Such behaviour will be contrasted with the expected behaviour for girls in three categories of schools: industrial, elementary and middle class, taking the concept of respectability as a framework for the expected outcomes of education. In so doing, the seldom-heard voice of the schoolgirl will be aired, allowing us to further understand girls' education and their opinions of the education provided for them. I will thus address Kevin Swafford's argument about the relationship between respectability and security in the late Victorian period, and (3) its relationship with class. This paper seeks to further redress the historical imbalance between expectations and lived experience and acknowledge that the dissident girls' voices may not have been the loudest.

1) James Allison, 'Giving Voice to Children's Voices: Practices and Problems, Pitfalls and Potentials', in *American Anthropologist* Volume 109, No. 2 June 2007, DOI: 10.1525/AA.20007.109.2.261 [Retrieved 24/10/2017]
2) Kate Darian-Smith and Carla Pasco, 'Children, childhood and cultural heritage. Mapping the field' in Kate Darian-Smith and Carla Pasco, *Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage*. (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2013), 2.
3) Kevin Swafford *Class in Late-Victorian Britain the Narrative Concern with Social Hierarchy and its Representation* (Youngstown, New York: Cambria Press, 2007), 51

**GALLAGHER, Emily**

**The age of the Baby doll: The politics of doll families in Australia, 1890-1940s**

The Baby doll arrived on the Australian toy market hesitantly at first, and then in a deluge. At the heart of a new, cheaper and more versatile generation of dolls in the early twentieth century, the Baby doll nudged the modern toybox closer towards the family and added a new layer of realism to girls doll play. Playing house had long been a cornerstone of girls doll play, but it was only in the late nineteenth century that dolls began to so deliberately betray their youth. Baby dolls, with their little patches of hair, red cheeks and big open eyes, held less of the solemn angelic femininity of their Victorian sisters. Lighter, less fragile, more flexible, warmer and softer to touch, they were designed and marketed, almost exclusively, for girl mothers: as babies to be cuddled, comforted and cared for.

Together with girls' own writings, this paper examines an extensive photographic archive to explore how girls growing up in Australia in the early twentieth century reinforced and reimagined contemporary understandings of motherhood and the family to manage a rapidly expanding doll market. In a period that saw a dramatic increase in doll ownership, the doll family emerged as the central organising principle of girls doll play. It was not just that girls were imagining their dolls as their children, but that they were developing complex, sometimes intensely hierarchical, family and household arrangements to accommodate the diversity and abundance of the doll market. Often positioned within the intimacy of the family, doll families gave a new fluidity to the divide between childhood and adulthood, acting as a powerful way for girls to navigate the social and cultural politics of the adult world and to exert control over their own lives.

## GOOCH, Emma

### 'A Place to Play and Be a Child: Using material culture to explore the home lives of children in Classical Greece, 480-323 BC'

Throughout history, a primary domain of many children – especially the youngest juveniles – has been the house. Children played and were socialised from the earliest days in their life courses within the confines of domestic space. Ancient Greek sources and iconography indicate that within the boundaries of the *oikos,* the household, was the location in which children, in particular most children younger than the age of seven and girls up until the age of marriage in their early to mid-teens, passed the majority of their time. Yet children have been dismissed as 'invisible' or 'inaccessible' when investigations of ancient Greek excavated houses have been conducted, if not overlooked entirely. I suggest traces of children's activities are accessible in the archaeological record of some Greek houses, provided the investigation looking to identify them is informed by a comprehensive awareness of the material culture that children interacted with in their lives, and in domestic space especially. In this paper, I focus upon material culture associated with children in Classical Attica, identifying a material culture of children through analyses of iconographic depictions of them and burials. I analyse the distribution of examples of that material culture of children in some houses excavated at the late Classical settlement at Olynthus to explore what can be said about children's uses of domestic space in Classical Greece and what the distribution of material culture in houses more generally suggests about children's relationships with their caregivers and possible playmates. In short, I investigate the archaeological evidence of juveniles in one of the primary places in which, in ancient Greece, children were encouraged to play and be a child: at home, with their families.

## GOWER, Amy

### 'Well I do understand how you feel, Mrs Jones, but I do like my girls to *look* like girls, and trousers get so *dirty* in the playground': Trousers protests in English Secondary Schools, 1979-2004.

In 1979, feminist periodical *Spare Rib* ran a feature on the protests of adolescent girls against rules forbidding them from wearing trousers at school. The magazine compiled the words of teenage girls who had protested skirt-wearing at their schools and provided guidance for adult readers to support protestors. Feminists viewed trousers protests as part of the wider liberation of girls from prescribed ideas of femininity; yet the recollections and experiences of individual pupils reveal that for many schoolgirls, trousers were not a feminist issue. Rather, girls protested their uniform for a variety of factors, such as discomfort in winter weather, restrictions on physical movement, and the stifling of their engagement with fashion and consumer culture. Trousers were widely accepted elements of women and girls' wardrobes by the late-1970s, and fashion was a key vehicle for the formation of girls' individual and group identities. Therefore, for many girls, uniform was seen as a restriction on their ability to achieve social and cultural capital among their peers.

This paper will contribute to wider historical debates on childhood, girlhood, and agency, and argue that trends in teenage consumer culture were complimented by the decline of traditional authoritarian schooling, meaning that even 'good girls' challenged their schools for the right to wear trousers. School uniform protests were not uncommon in the late twentieth century, and the enforcement of skirt-wearing for girls was a popular issue; clothing and the body were clearly important sites for the negotiation of ideas of girlhood and femininity for girls and adults. By

considering the importance of clothing in girls wider cultural and social lives, it is possible to move beyond an analysis of uniform protests which assumes a rejection of school altogether, and instead explore girls' negotiation of identity, femininity, and status in late-twentieth century English secondary schools.

## HAMDOUD, Samir

### Children at The Royal Albert: Embodying care, life and death in Victorian and Edwardian Britain

This paper is about the lives of a group of children accommodated at one of Britain's largest institutions of care, The Royal Albert Institution (hereafter the Royal Albert). It accommodated, fed, educated, medicalised and cared for thousands of children deemed idiots, imbeciles or in some way mentally deficient or feebleminded - some of whom resided within its walls well into adulthood. The paper is based on analysis of over 350 case files, sampling approximately 10% of the 3800 children who had experienced institutionalised care from 1870 – 1920, young people of various ages, backgrounds, personalities and life experiences. The first section reconstructs some broad characteristics of these children – their socio-economic background, duration of stay, the localities from where they came, and their destinations after a period in care. This continues the work of largely quantitative studies exploring demographic and social features of children caught up in residential institutions.

The second section teases out qualitative aspects of a selection of children's experiences at the Royal Albert. It examines features of inter-peer relationships and explores conflicts, play and schooling, illness and death, and behaviour considered to be subversive. It situates these themes within broader narratives of vulnerability, dependency and ideas about child citizenship as these intersected with perspectives on abnormality, social utility and childhood morality. The paper illustrates how the marshalling of children's physical bodies and perceptions of their minds through practices of medicine and regimes of care rendered them subjects in need of social intervention and objects of medical investigation – thus justifying the existence and promoting the programmes of educational physiological treatment the Royal Albert became renowned for. It also speaks to contemporary debates about relations between children, adults, the state, and the manufacturing of medically sanctioned knowledge about young people in settings of residential care.

## HANDLER, Sophie

### Art by Children and Children by Art: Emancipating and Exploiting the Voice of Childhood in Modernist Art

The nostalgic 'Cult of Childhood' which emerged in Europe and North America in the latter half of the nineteenth century contributed substantially to a creative, intellectual, and cultural movement found juxtaposed between past and future, tradition and innovation: Modernism. From psychologist James Sully's belief in the close relationship between play and artistic creativity, and Roland Barthes' equation of the child's mind and the camera obscura, to prominent artists collecting, copying, and exhibiting child art, interest in the relationship between children, childhood, and the creative arts was reaching fever pitch around the turn of the twentieth century.

Coinciding with the fin-de-siècle glorification of regressing to the unsullied wisdom of youth to counter the corruptive decay of modernity, the child and its condition was carrying an increasingly significant charge in Modernist culture. Both in their powerful symbolism of 'otherness' and what was perceived as their uniquely untaught and insightful creative vision, children, their state, and their voices had emerged and were finally being recognised and valued. Simultaneously, however, their resulting exploitative value for this burgeoning creative movement was also recognised, and so children and their voices were harnessed as a blueprint for the Modernist thought and practice of others: adults. Through their role both as both active agents and as mobilised tropes in Modernist art, this paper explores the ways in which this movement facilitated both the emancipation and the exploitation of the voices of children and childhood. By looking to the imaginative world of play, children's art, and the work of key figures engaging with the child's insight and voice, such as Roger Fry, Paul Klee, Henri Matisse, and Pablo Picasso, this paper elucidates

both the manifestations of and the relationship between these two complex and interconnected roles of the child in such an influential creative and intellectual movement.

**HARASIMOWICZ, Julia**

**Child art and war. Collecting memories of the second world war in Poland**

The paper will concern war, mainly the Second World War, from a perspective of child art, precisely – of use of child art. The elaborated example will be (not described yet by the reaserchers) the file of hundreds child drawings collected in the *Archiwum Akt Nowych* (Archive of New Files) in Warsaw. The mentioned works were created by children on initiative of the emerging socialist government of Poland in 1946, when the Ministry of Education (probably with support of well-known Polish pedagogues) called Polish schoolchildren to do a visual representation of their war time memories

These documents have been exhibited and published multiple times during the Polish People's Republic (1952-1989) and after the breakthrough on 1989. In the paper I will talk through the origins and process of governmental project, will analyze the works and the political context (i.e. earlier exhibitions and collections of Polish children art concerning the First World War).

The paper will contain formal analysis and typology of the existing works from the Warsaw Archive – representations of war experience and also visual metaphors used by the young authors. What should be emphasized, many of these children couldn't read and write due to different war obstacles. Analysis of the drawings and paintings stands a chance of show the persuasive use of art and figure of childhood in general. The reference to socialist and current historical narrative may let determinate in what way use of this documents can create different visions of the Polish past.
I will apply few methodological perspectives. Firstly, I will refer to visual studies and history of art, including affect theory and memory studies. Secondly, I will refer to history of image, history of exhibiting child art. Lastly, the paper will connect Polish trauma and childhood studies.
The mentioned research is a part of the PhD research concerning child art in Interwar period in Poland.

**HARRISON, Laura**

**'I don't want to go back to the Home, I don't wish to go into anymore homes': young women and the records of the York Penitentiary Society, c.1845-1919**

The York Penitentiary Society, a charitable female reformatory in York, was formed in 1822 and in 1845 opened a long-term sheltering home to provide 'asylum for such women as, having followed vicious courses, are desirous of obtaining the means of reformation'. The Society did not intend to reform hardened street walkers with lengthy criminal records, but young women who had not been 'on the streets' long enough to be intractable from their habits.

The public records of the Society recount the success stories of the Penitentiary regime; girls who were rescued and, after receiving two years of moral, religious and educational training returned, fully repentant, to their family and friends, or found a position in service. The voice of these 'reformed' young women is largely absent from such accounts. The documents that were not intended for public consumption are rather different in tone, and provide a more revealing picture of the day-to-day running of the Home, and include the admission notes for the young women who applied to the Refuge. Yet, even here, between the applicant telling her story, the Society recording it, and the historian recounting it, there is little space for the voice of the young female 'inmates' to be heard. Once admitted to the Home, the voices of these young women are even harder to discern, with only fleeting glimpses into their perceptions of the Refuge.

It is these glimpses that form the basis of this paper; some young women wrote letters, maintained contact with the matron after they left the institution, or returned to the Refuge for visits, while others engaged in small acts of disobedience, caused trouble, or ran away from the Home. These young, largely working-class, women used various methods to convey their own feelings and views, and a close reading of the Penitentiary records allows for an examination of how young women resisted, confronted and accepted attempts to define and regulate their behaviour.

**HAY, Marnie**

**'Witnesses, participants and commentators: adolescent engagement with the Irish Revolution'**
*(Part of panel, organised by NIC CONGAIL, above, 'Gaelicising and Radicalising: Irish Children, Cultural Revival and Political Revolution, 1880-1923')*

The past twenty years have seen growing public and academic interest in the history of Irish children and adolescents as well as increasing access to a wider variety of primary sources relating to the period of the Irish Revolution (circa 1913-23). This combination of interest and access has encouraged many historians, journalists and members of the general public to seek a greater understanding of how children and adolescents experienced the years of the Irish Revolution and engaged with events leading to the establishment of the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland. Testament to such interest were the strong sales figures of RTÉ broadcaster Joe Duffy's 2015 book, *Children of the Rising,* which documents the lives and deaths of the forty children aged sixteen and under who died during the Easter Rising of 1916.

This paper explores how adolescents engaged with the events of the Irish Revolution during the period 1916-23 by highlighting some of the different types of primary sources available for such research. These include diaries, witness statements, articles in school magazines, and creative writing such as poetry and short stories. The paper examines three categories of adolescent engagement with the Irish Revolution, that of the witness, the participant and the commentator, though none of these categories are mutually exclusive. For the purposes of the paper, adolescence is defined as the transitional years between childhood and maturity, the ages of approximately twelve to nineteen. The adolescents under consideration were all resident in Ireland, though not all were Irish in nationality. Their responses to events were influenced by such factors as age, gender and family background, the latter encompassing social class, religion and politics. The ultimate aim of the paper is to record the voices of youth who spoke up and spoke out during the Irish Revolution.

**HUMBERT, Laure**

**Remaking the 'minds' and 'bodies' of DP children in French Occupied Germany, 1945- 1947.**
*(Part of panel organised by CARDEN-COYNE, above: Performing and Rehabilitating Childhood: Displaced and Refugee Children after the Second World War)*

The Second World War triggered intense discussion about the 'rehabilitation' of displaced children. As Europe was reckoning with the aftermath of war and genocide, DP camps in Allied occupied Germany became sites of experimentation, where ideas about how best to heal the physical and mental wounds of the war were exchanged between experts and relief workers from different national, religious and professional backgrounds. Histories of the 'rehabilitation' of DP children focus overwhelmingly on the British and American zones. Written from the perspectives of British and American relief workers, these studies have traced relief workers' efforts at re-establishing the boundaries between childhood and adulthood and re-imposing gender norms amongst DP children and teenagers. They have also highlighted the growing influence of psychology on the treatment of refugees, British and American relief workers approaching refugee welfare armed with the psychoanalytic theories and practices of social work prevalent in the United States and the United Kingdom at mid- century.

Drawing on field workers' reports and correspondence from the French occupation zone, this paper revisits this history of the 'psychological Marshall Plan' in Europe. It contends that the influence of the psy-sciences in shaping discussions over the rehabilitation of DP children was more qualified in the French zone than existing historical studies have maintained. In the French zone, the majority of relief workers were French. French relief workers did not embrace the norms and international standards established by 'refugee experts'. They brought with them a specific set of assumptions and experiences, based on pre- war ideas about the 'return to the countryside', which framed how they approached rehabilitation. They placed a great emphasis on the re-education of DP mothers and rest in the countryside for DP children as a means to improve mental and physical health. This paper interrogates relief workers' confidence in the 'therapeutic' nature of open-air homes in the black forest in Germany's South West, where DP children spent days in the fresh air and sun and ate an ample diet. It shows that the temporary placement of children in sanatorium and children houses caused grave anxieties amongst a number of DP parents and DP children, who found these temporary

separations emotionally difficult. In so doing, this paper uncovers the tensions between the 'disciplinary' and 'therapeutic' nature of rehabilitation. Crucially, it reveals that connections between refugee 'expert' discourses on the effects of mother-child separation and everyday practices were far from straightforward.

**HEEKS, Jasper**

**'Holding the street' and demanding attention: overseas reactions to Australian larrikin gangs, 1871-1898**

Young people were active in struggles for the control of urban spaces as cities expanded and transformed from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards. Youth gangs laid claim to neighbourhoods and their distinctive use of public space saw them draw lines across their cities and act according to alternative maps with marked topographies. Young people took the streets for themselves – to play, promenade and pass time – often with little regard for other members of the community. They made their presence known with eye-catching attire, physical intimidation and verbal and musical accompaniment. Concern over the damaging effects of urban life and a degeneracy crisis brought youth gangs and street cultures into focus in European societies worldwide and, as anxiety grew, they made a newsworthy topic for rising numbers of newspapers with increasing circulations and print runs. Coverage and fascination grew across cities and continents. By focusing on overseas reactions to Australian juvenile street gangs, this paper will explore how these young people figured globally and how gangs characterised their cities and vice versa. First acknowledged in Melbourne in 1870, 'larrikin' youths outraged respectable bourgeois society and quickly the term was adopted across Australia to describe deviant and delinquent youngsters. Far from exclusive to Australia, news was taken far and wide by the global movement of people and information. For example, the term 'larrikin' was used in Britain in the 1880s and 1890s. This paper considers the extended discussions stimulated by the topic of larrikins, a subject which revealed communities' attitudes, aspirations, intentions and fears and how boundaries of local, regional and national citizenship were drawn. The paper deploys a transurban approach to highlight the influence of connections and interactions across borders and how cities and towns were defined, measured and compared with reference to their defiant youthful residents.

**HEYWOOD, Sophie**
*The Little Red Schoolbook* **(1969) and schools activism in Europe: Empowering children to speak out?**

This paper proposes to examine the attempts at the peak of the children's rights movement in the late 1960s early '70s to try to empower children to speak out, and its impact on freedom of speech legislation in Europe.
The focus of the paper will be the Danish *Little Red Schoolbook* (1969). With its opening salvo, "all grown-ups are paper tigers", the book was designed to appeal to young '68ers. The book provided children with information on the social structures and mores that shaped their lives, such as the school system, but also sex, drugs and democracy, in order to give children the tools to claim their rights and liberate themselves from adult authoritarianism.
Some of the different uses, adaptations and appropriations of the book by student revolutionaries and schools' unions across European countries will be used to compare different ways in which adults tried to empower children to speak out (and why), and how children used the book. For example, its English publisher assembled a team of teachers and pupils from Holland Park Comprehensive School, to adapt the manual to fight the inequities of the English education system. It was distributed with the Schools Action Union. Meanwhile, the French publisher, in partnership with Trotskyist youth revolutionary groups, became embroiled in a 'fight to the death' with the Ministry of the Interior, to resist State repression of the '68ers.
The book was banned in several countries, and its English publisher eventually took his case to the European Court of Human Rights in 1976, arguing its censorship was a violation of his right to freedom of speech. The European court ruled that each state had the right to decide for itself, within certain limits, on the moral protection of its citizens, particularly in cases of child protection. This was one of the court's most important decisions, for it set a precedent that has been used many times since in freedom of speech cases dealing with protection of morals or religious sensibility. The paper

will conclude by underscoring the crucial role the book's youthful readership played in the court's decision, and the thorny questions this raises about how and why children's right to freedom of speech is balanced with their right to protection.

**HODGSON, Jack**

**"Free Harry Eisman: The story of America's youngest political prisoner and the Young Pioneer's campaign for his release"**

This paper examines the story of Harry Eisman, a New York schoolboy dubbed 'America's youngest political prisoner' by the Civil Liberties Union after his arrest at an unemployment demonstration in Union Square in 1930. Eisman, a chief agitator for the Communist Young Pioneers of America, had been expelled for spreading propaganda in school, and previously arrested for assaulting police, joining strikes during school hours, and considerable events of public disorder including obstructing the departure of a Cunard Ocean liner. The Young Pioneers organised a 'free Harry campaign', advocating for him by writing in sympathetic periodicals and holding protests in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia whilst Eisman staged a hunger strike. Ultimately Eisman was released less than two years into his six-year sentence after the intervention of Soviet Education minister Nadezhda Krupskaya, on the condition he go to the Soviet Union. Securing the release of their comrade was an impressive success for what was in essence a Communist children's club. This paper argues that this success stemmed from Eisman's status as a child, and that his youth was deployed by him, the YPA, and their supporters to nullify state efforts to suppress him. Furthermore, the group of New York teenagers who worked to secure his release demonstrated impressive levels of political skills, showing children to be politically autonomous and active citizens, managing to make contact with senior Soviet government officials and have them intercede in the case of an American boy's juvenile delinquency charges.

**HODKINSON, Owen**

**Panel: Our Mythical Childhoods. Children's Experiences and Cultural Identity through Classical Myth and History in Britain, c.1800-2005 —an *Our Mythical Childhood*[*] panel**

Ancient Greek and Roman history and myth, as cornerstones of British education and culture until at least the early 20th century, have long played a central role in children's own writing and play, as in literature for children since its inception. While children's voices can be heard using Classical heroes and narratives to mediate their own experiences and to express their identities in cultural products and practices throughout the last two centuries, the changing status and place of Classical narratives in an evolving British society—from discourses of colonialism and the military experience to postcolonial explorations of non-European cultural inheritances—have inevitably altered the ways in which children express themselves in terms of and in opposition to models from antiquity. Likewise, the ways in which adult voices have taught children about *and* via Classical narratives, and have mediated children's expressions in their writing and play, have changed to reflect socio-cultural trends in pedagogy, in the creation of consumer products and texts for children, and other areas. This panel examines young voices in Britain speaking out in play and in creative writing across a broad chronological scope (ca. 1820s – 2000s), exploring how knowledge of Classical culture both informed their perceptions of the world around them and was used to mediate their own experiences and construct their identities. This chronological scope will allow the panel to shed light on substantial continuities and radical changes alike in three case studies of young people choosing or encouraged to use Graeco-Roman antiquity as a central facet of their self-expression.

[*] The panel is a delegation of *Our Mythical Childhood*, a five-year ERC-funded project on the use of Classical antiquity in modern children's and young adults' culture. [For more on the *Our Mythical Childhood…* project, see paper by DEACY and MAURICE, above.]

**Constructing dual-heritage identity through Classical and African myth: Helen Oyeyemi's *The Icarus Girl***

Icarus' myth has remained a popular subject in British children's literature from its beginnings: from straightforward retellings (usually in collections of Greek myth for children), to more allusive and allegorical adaptations or receptions of Icarus as a figure for exploring transformation and transcendence, and their failure. Like many characters of culturally shared narratives retold for children, from 'Classical' and other mythologies to national histories, the capacity of child readers to identify with Icarus has at various times been exploited by adult authors using literature for didactic or moralising purposes, as well as encouraging a notion of cultural identity constructed from the assumed common heritage of Classical myth in traditional European children's literature. Children's literature in recent decades has responded to cultural changes both by the increasing attempts at convincing portrayals of children's voices like the readers' own (instead of 'talking down' to children and using literature as an overtly didactic tool); and by becoming in some cases more inclusive to readers whose heritage is not that of the dominant culture where the book is published, necessitating the revision of previous easy assumptions about shared narratives and common heroes for child readers to identify with. Helen Oyeyemi, a dual-heritage Nigerian-British author, entered into the tradition of creative adaptations of the Icarus myth with her 2005 novel *The Icarus Girl*, written when she was still studying for her A-Levels. She employs the Icarus myth and other Classical allusions in concert with more prominently foregrounded Nigerian myths in order both to construct and to explore the dual-heritage identity of the novel's 8-year-old girl protagonist, who has one Nigerian and one British parent. As a child author giving voice to a protagonist who shares many of her own experiences, Oyeyemi speaks to other children wrestling with plural identities, discrimination, and with the feeling of not being 'at home' in either culture. The possibility of escaping through flight is one way in which the eponymous Icarus myth is hinted at.

**HONECK, Mischa**

***Eigen-Sinn*: a way out of the agency trap? (Part of panel organised by SLEIGHT, below: *Rethinking agency: experience, contextuality and relationality*)**

The issue of sources has plagued historians of childhood and youth since the inception of their field. Some simply lament the fact that the voices of the young are hard to capture; others have launched into creative inquiries into what it means to treat young people as historical actors. Partly inspired by postcolonial theory, most of these debates have circled around the question of children's *agency*, a term that has recently been assailed for its rationalist bias as well as for falsely privileging expressions of resistance over less rebellious forms of youthful conduct.

My paper speculates whether the concept of *Eigen-Sinn* might relieve some of the interpretative constipation over young people's contributions to history. Coined by the German historian Alf Lüdtke, *Eigen-Sinn* is difficult to translate. A placeholder definition might describe it as putting up with authority and power to the degree that one must, while pursuing autonomy to the degree that one can. Historiographically, *Eigen-Sinn* emerged out of the context of *Alltagsgeschichte* (the history of everyday life), whose practitioners struggled to understand the behavior of rank-and-file individuals other than attributing it to big abstractions such as class or gender.

Surprisingly, *Eigen-Sinn* has made few inroads into childhood studies (perhaps because of its linguistic origins and/or elusive meaning). My paper seeks to change that. Using examples from my own research in the history of organized youth movements throughout the twentieth century, I want to discuss ways in which *Eigen-Sinn* might be deployed more forcefully and fruitfully in our field. This means steering clear of idealistic understandings of children's agency while also appreciating the capacity of young people to carve out semi-autonomous spaces in worlds tangled by webs of hierarchy and discipline.

**KAMPHUIS, Kirsten**

**'The spirit of the young': Muslim student's activism in colonial Indonesia, 1920s-1930s**

Reformist Muslim activists played an important role in anticolonial struggles in the Dutch East Indies. The experiences of young people in the Muslim anticolonial movement, however, remain understudied, as the existing scholarship mainly consists out of institutional histories and biographical studies of prominent individuals. In such narratives, the numerous young activists who formed the backbone of the movement tend to fade into the background.

This paper will offer a different perspective on this current in the Indonesian anticolonial movement by focusing on young politically active Muslims and their everyday activism. Most of these young men and women were still in secondary school. The school newsletters and journals they published represent a valuable source for the study of their activist involvement. This paper will draw from the publications of one particular student association in West Sumatra, *Persatoean Moerid-moerid Dinijjah School* [The Union of Students of Religious Schools]. This group published two journals in the 1920s and 1930s: *Kodrat Moeda* [The Spirit of the Young] and *Soeara Moerid* [The Voice of the Students].

The paper will be concerned with young people's everyday experiences and the ideological underpinnings of their activist work. The first part of the paper will highlight the wide range of activities they were involved in. Secondly, to give an idea of the debates the students were involved in amongst themselves, one of the themes that dominated the pages of their publications is singled out, namely the place of women within the student movement.

**KING, Helen**

**Actual events, movingly told: the painful affect of child activism in Beverley Naidoo's anti-apartheid fiction**

In this paper I explore the communication of pain to the reader as a function of activist fiction for children. Using Beverley Naidoo's *Chain of Fire,* I will explore how she mediates the pain of her historical material in order to offer a model of child activism to the reader.

Published in 1989, *Chain of Fire* takes place in the last decade of the apartheid regime. In this fictional account of forced removal, a group of children engage in civil disobedience in protest to the destruction of their village and subsequent displacement. Using Naidoo's archive, held by Seven Stories: The National Centre for Children's Books, UK, I investigate how she crafts this fiction in response the lack of anti-apartheid material available to British children, as 'a sort of window through the which young people could look'. (Naidoo, Seven Stories, BN/01/01/08/02)

The 'unabashed social responsibility' (Maddy and McCann, 131) of *Chain of Fire* is bound up with the ways that it mediates pain. This text suggests that experiencing pain is the beginning of civil disobedience, but also that this pain must controlled and sublimated to enable one to participate in this resistance. In communicating her anti-apartheid message, Naidoo not only creates a painful reading experience, but offers the reader an affective blueprint for civil disobedience. In so doing, Naidoo positions her implied reader as a potential activist.

**KOHLT, Franziska**

**"Be Bold, be brave, be true" – and why: The science of how Children's Literature can really change the world**

In M.G. Leonard's *Beetle Boy* trilogy (2016-17), it is children who uncover a global cooperation's unethical genetic manipulation of insects to control food supplies. In Sita Brahmachari's *Where the River Runs Gold* (2019) a girl becomes the voice of nature struggling to regenerate after climate breakdown against an oppressive political system reminiscent of Suzanne Collins's *Hunger Games* (2008-10).

Brahmachari's Shifa is deliberately modelled on Greta Thunberg; her family's motto 'be bold, be brave, be true' mirrors Extinction Rebellion's demands. Thus, these texts *seem* to echo a society, in which children have *appeared* as the major voice of change.

Yet, despite wide media coverage of these youth movements, and a spike in children's environmentalist fiction, noted by press and publishers alike, there has been little critical engagement with *why* both have been so successful as communicators, and where they reach their limit.

This paper investigates the role of childhood in communication, firstly, from a historicist perspective, and secondly, that of communication science and environmental psychology, to present an approach of how narrative patterns associated with childhood can be harnessed for empirically effective climate communication – for young and old.

I will show how the fantastical imagery and empowering narrative patterns of such children's fiction as Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking-Glass* (1871) and John Wood's Natural Histories is employed not only in contemporary literary and media narratives, but how they were previously popularised as a medium for negotiating challenges posed by environmental crisis, by 19th and 20th century social and scientific writers, such as Rachel Carson, in *Silent Spring* (1963).
Responding pleas for fiction to become a 'weaver of attachment' to complex issues such as climate change, I will frame these findings with recent studies in environmental psychology, to illuminates *how* childhood narratives can really affect behavioural changes.

**KRAWETZ, Alexandria**

**Local Radio and the Children of New York City's Police Athletic League**

From its official founding in the 1930s by the Crime Prevention Bureau, New York City's Police Athletic League (P.A.L.) facilitated afterschool programs for children to improve relationships between children and police officers and combat juvenile delinquency. These programs fused education with recreation in their efforts of citizenship formation and community building between adults and children. This paper examines the perspectives and portrayals of child participants in one of these extracurricular activities, the P.A.L.'s radio program *Pals of the P.A.L.*. It asks, to what extent were the voices of these child members of the P.A. L. preserved in the radio archive, and how were their performances mediated by the adult members of the P.A.L. who programmed and produced the show?

Through the investigation of show recordings from the radio station WNYC, local and national newspapers, and radio trade magazines, this paper examines how the show framed child P.A.L. members as entertainers. In doing so, it explores the show as a meeting ground between the voices of child members of the P.A.L., police officers, professional entertainers, and the broader community listening to the show. It investigates how children from a variety of ethnic, racial, and socio-economic backgrounds performed on the air and participated in fundraising efforts and how the producers of this show arbitrated child participation through an emphasis on virtuosic performances and the arrangement of show segments. By extending previous discussions of the P.A.L. by scholars such as Tamara Gene Myers (2019) and Jennifer S. Light (2020), the paper extends the analysis of children's material culture and a nuanced approach to children's voices into the sonic realm. It demonstrates how scholars can read sonic sources as a strategy to hear children in the archives of organizations, institutions, and governments.

**LAMB, Edel**

**The Disruptive Potential of the Girl's Voice in Early Modern Culture**

The early modern girl, as scholars have argued, is challenging to define and difficult to locate in the historical record. She is often only visible or audible at moments of resistance, and is, therefore, by definition a disruptive figure. This paper emerges from my current project on the ways in which young women wrote in the seventeenth century to negotiate their place in the world, to add their distinctive voices to social, religious and political debates, and to reclaim what it meant to be a girl. Exploring the disruptive potential of the girl's voice in seventeenth-century England it will focus on the participation of girls in politicized and social debates. Ranging from Rachel Speght's *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (1617) to Sarah Egerton's *The Female Advocate* (1686), it will evaluate the extent to which adolescent writers framed their contributions to public debates about women's roles in the period in terms of their youth. In doing so it will ask in what ways the material conditions of mediating the girl's voice in print cultures of the period shaped girlhood, and will explore the ways in which being a child or young is invoked to license the disruptive female voice. It will thus argue that in the early modern period the voice of a 'girl' to a certain extent facilitated women's participation in social and political debates.

**LAMB, Gillian**

***"I wish I had stayed in Canada when you first sent me": institutionalised children's agency and its consequences (Part of panel organised by SOARES, below: Children's agency and experience in residential institutions in Britain, Australia and Canada, c. 1850-1973)***

Institutionalised children represent the archetype of the malleable non-agentic child. Until recently, much of the scholarship, limited by the difficulty of uncovering children's voices, has viewed such children as ciphers, mere carriers of state policy or philanthropic zeal. Rarely has the child's perspective been centred in the historiography and examples of agentic or positive experiences, such as the one that opens Ellen Boucher's book *Empire's Children*, are often considered outliers. Furthermore, much of the research into such children's lives is limited to their time in institutional care and does not consider their life-paths afterwards. Yet, children existed both within and beyond the institution and the decisions made about their futures had far-reaching consequences.

This paper considers some of these outcomes. It engages with recent debates around agency to explore children's responses to their time in care and their engagement with institutional aims, focusing in on fine-grained case studies of one hundred girls and boys who passed through two Surrey institutions between 1850 and 1890. Through innovative reconstruction of their lives and relationships as well as analysis of their case records and the letters they left behind, it demonstrates that while it is true such children were constrained in many ways by the structures of care, institutionalisation did not erase children's ability to speak up and speak out about their views on institutional or imperial life. It also shows that, once they had left care, many children took their future into their own hands, choosing either to embrace or reject institutional values, sometimes with unanticipated consequences. Through an exploration of these and of the different trajectories pursued by institutionalised children, we can gain a greater understanding of children's agency in the past and develop new insights into children's history.

**LAMBERT, Michael**
**Listening to 'problem families': love, poverty, welfare and the state in post-war England**

In 2012 Louise Casey, the Director of the Coalition Government's Troubled Families Programme (TFP), published *Listening to Troubled Families*. In the report, Casey claimed to have listened to 'troubled' families, using their life histories to legitimate a punitive policy of behavioural intervention. She drew heavily upon familiar tropes of intergenerational deprivation and representations which positions the families as an underclass:

> Listening to the families there was a strong sense of them having problems and causing problems for years... In many cases their problems began with their own parents and their parents' parents, in cycles of childhood abuse, violence and care which are then replayed in their own lives.

If Casey *was* listening, it was to the voice 'from above' of the state and its professional judgments of families and their 'troubles' rather than to mothers, fathers and children of families *in trouble*. These judgments are far from new, being identical to those made about 'problem families' by a myriad of social, health and welfare professionals during the 'golden age' of the welfare state in post-war England. This paper listens to the voices of children of these 'problem families' to present a different narrative; one which challenges familiar tropes and professional judgments. It is one of family love and loyalty; getting by, poverty and inequality; gendered and generational inequality; and the ambivalent attitude of the state and its agents. Based on oral history interviews with individuals who contacted me following online publication of my doctoral thesis – often in an effort to learn more about their own case files as young children of 'problem families' who attended residential rehabilitation centres in England from the 1940s to the 1970s – this paper presents these voices 'from below' to speak truth to power, and up against those 'from above'.

**LEAHY, Carla Pascoe**

**'The last generation: environmental activism and the history and future of the family'**

It is becoming difficult for historians of childhood, parenthood and family to ignore environmental history as we live through the age of the Anthropocene. Intergenerational and sociohistorical shifts in family life are increasingly impacted by polluted ecosystems, extreme weather events and mass

extinction. More adults are choosing to forgo having children or limiting family size due to overpopulation and climate change. A new wave of environmental activists is rising, with children and parents – those with a tangible connection to the future – prominent among their ranks. This article focuses upon oral history interviews with Australian parents and grandparents involved in environmental activism. Through detailed analysis of three life history interviews, it explores the ways in which motivations for environmental activism in the present draw upon intergenerational legacies from the past and imagined futures of families. It concludes that the relational and intergenerational lenses employed by historians of childhood and parenthood have much to offer environmental studies and that an attention to environmental context can enrich studies of the family.

**LUKE, Anne**

**In the shadow of the Sixties: Youth Activism and the 1978 XI Festival of Youth and Students in Havana**

In 1978 over 100,000 young people from across the globe gathered in Havana for a week long youth festival. Unrecognisable to the veterans of socialist youth festivals of the post-war era, this event was unique in both its reach and scope. Young activists from the capitalist world interacted with activists and youth leaders from the socialist and non-aligned worlds, variously debating international politics, participating in cultural events and street parties and visiting the beach. Through a combination of documentary history and oral histories this paper aims to throw further light on the role of youth activists of the 1970s, a decade which has been overlooked with reference to the twentieth century history of youth due to the dominant presence of the powerful trope of the Sixties in both academic research and in popular culture. The Cuban context somewhat belies the paradigm that youth voices might be ignored; rather the Cuban social construction of youth - as powerful, participatory and hegemonic - dominated the ethos of the Festival. Through exploring the stories of non-Cuban participants, this paper will explore the complex interactions between the young activists at the meeting point of alternative models of youth and activism, and will go on to explore how memories of 1978 created a new vision of youth in the imagination of these activists.

**LUNDBERG, Bjorn**

**Children's global activism in Postwar Scandinavia**

This paper presents research on children's activism and the politics of globality in Scandinavia after World War II. Since 15 year old Greta Thunberg initiated her weekly school strike in 2018, the *Fridays For Future* movement has been described as a virtually unique example of political mobilization among children and youth. However, it is not the first time Scandinavian children engage in transnational political activism. This paper contributes to the genealogy of youth-led global activism by examining the emergence of the national campaign Operation Day's Work (*Operation Dagsverke*) in Sweden around 1961, an annual fundraiser among school children and students to support international humanitarian efforts and increase awareness of global development. Initially organized in the early 1960s and coordinated by the Swedish organization of student councils, SECO, the campaign enabled children and youth to actively push an agenda of global solidarity. Within a decade, the campaign had spread across Scandinavia – becoming a transnational phenomenon in its own right.

Further, Operation Day's Work provides a historical example of youthful activism that enables us to rethink the history of postwar globality. The term 'globality' has been introduced to describe the 'consciousness of the world as a whole' (Robertson 1992). While this is not unique to the post-war era, it has been argued that notions of globality after 1945 were forcefully driven by technological and geopolitical change (van Munster & Sylvest 2016) and the historiography of globality has examined political, scientific and cultural institutions to trace the integrative agency of 'cosmopolitan elites' (Selcer 2018). Less attention has been given to the agency of children and youth as agents of globality. This paper aims to highlight children's contributions to the consciousness of the globe as a single ecological and socio-political space by examining a case of international humanitarian activism.

**MARTIN, Mary-Clare**

**Panel: Finding and Hearing Children's Voices in Religious History**

**Religion and the voices of children and young people, 1600-1900**

This panel takes an interdisciplinary approach to questions relating to agency and the education of children with special needs, drawing on pedagogic, literary, media-based and sociological theories and sources, from the late sixteenth century to the present. This multi-faceted approach permits a more perceptive analysis than observation via the lens of a single discipline. Moreover, these perspectives, and the arguments presented in each paper, have significant implications for contemporary practice. The panel embraces a number of conference themes including:
- Autonomy, dependence, interdependence: relations between children, adults, and the state
- 'In the best interests of the child': children and their experts
- Experiences of school and higher education
  - Simone Laqua-O'Donnell Finding their voice? Writing, narration and the creation of missionary childhoods
  - Hugh Morrison Voices heard in hindsight: the value of adult's memories from childhood for the practice of religious history
  - Pia Jolliffe Children and religious dissonance: Jesuit discourses on early 17th century Japanese child martyrs

**McCORMACK, Samantha**

**Buried within the historical record? Accessing the voices of disabled children in twentieth century England**

This paper will draw on my new research, 'Childhood experiences of disability in England, 1919- 1970', which examines the experiences of people growing up with disabilities during the period in which England's universal welfare state was formed and an equal social democracy was established. The project provides a useful lens through which to understand the impact of state policy-making and the practice of institutionalisation on children's - and their families - lives, as professional care and specialist schooling were developed for increasing numbers of 'defective' or 'handicapped' children who were identified as beyond 'normal' provision. Most importantly, my research seeks to tell this story of professionalization, institutionalization and inequality from the perspective of disabled children themselves. The twentieth century, as a highpoint of state and institutional record-keeping, provides an important window into non-elite children's private experiences, which will contribute new insights into historical discussions on the family, on sibling and peer relationships and the centrality of parents to post-war activism and social change. This research, which utilizes child-authored sources, local authority and voluntary body case files and an oral history project – speaks to a number of themes of this conference, notably the triangular relationship between children, adults and the state and the idea of 'unequal voices'. Given that capturing the experiences of children was not the main purpose of surviving records, children's voices were often secondary to those of medical professionals and to those of their parents. My
and *which* focus on the lived experiences of children, then, raises important questions about when young people have been able to 'speak up and out' in the past. In addressing how marginalised children's voices have then been neglected or overlooked by historians, this paper will seek to offer important conclusions about our role in finding and restoring 'voices from the margins'.

**McFALL, Kimberley**

**Speaking Up: How Women are standing up to gender norms (part of panel organised by MICHULKA, below: *In search of  self-identity? Speaking up:  young literary heroes and contemporary challenges*)**

Gender schema theory explains how individuals become gendered in society and how sex-linked characteristics are maintained and transmitted as a cutler. (Bem, 1981). In society, gender stereo types are being challenged in mainstream media most recently through the #MeToo movement

in America. The awareness of the treatment of females will lead to less violence against women who then stay silent for fear of retribution.

In many places, victims of violence are shamed because they feel that they are wrong or less than. In the following examples, female characters deal with trauma and then learn to navigate society's stereotypes of being shamed. By standing up for themselves, they become a role model for other females that might not speak up against such actions.

Speak (1999) by Laurie Halse Anderson is a book that examines how important it is to speak up for yourself after a wrong has been encountered. Even 20 years later, the book is so important to culture that is has been re-released as a twenty year anniversary book. (2019). The protagonist deals with not fitting in anywhere; enduring much social turmoil due to actions she took at a party and must deal with trauma friendless and turns to her art as a lifesaving outlet. It parallels gender and political issues that have become a major news issue as the #MeToo movement.

Asking for it by Louise O'Neill (2016) is a book that details navigating society after being publicly shamed by her peers for actions that happened at a party. Both books address a much needed strong female character that eventually learns to stand up for herself, even though the gender norm is to just be quiet and take what happens when the unthinkable happens. These books are important to the young adults because they empower the reader to stand up for justice.

## MICHULKA, Dorota

### Panel: In search of  self-identity? Speaking up:  young literary heroes and  contemporary challenges

### Without an Exit? "Generation Nobody" - On Communication and Axiological Loss of the Heroes in Contemporary Polish Young Adult fiction

Contemporary Polish literature for young adults has created a new type of hero of the consumer society - the representative of the so-called "Generation Nobody" – an individual lost in communication and axiology. Non-heteronormative teenage protagonists of novels representing different social views are confronted with the traditionalism of their parents' beliefs, e.g. related to excessive religiousness or schematic thinking about the family model. The protagonists are embroiled in difficult intergenerational dialogues which often causes disagreement with adults (e.g. breaking relations with the family) and social isolation. This kind of narrative is called the literature of anthropological sensitivity, the literature of initiation of the "net generation", promoting the principle of "playing in values" or "seeking lost order and self."

Misunderstandings between characters - especially children and adults - are caused by the lack of acceptance or empathy on the part of the parent, indifference, misreading the speaker's intentions, "atrophy of willingness and the possibility of compassion, using the wrong / different language codes" (A. Sadecki).  I refer here to the concept of interpersonal communication - which is a multi-faceted phenomenon and communication behaviours that are an expression of the human value system that an individual possesses - and narrative perspective (including cognitive science narrative).

The strength of the narrative of these novels is - resulting from communication misunderstandings between the characters - locating it on the psyche of children and youth heroes and reflecting their internal states together with emotional tensions (e.g. through thoughts, mental images, imaginary schemes, sensual impressions) and the introduction of the self-reflective character of the narrative (e.g. heroines write letters, keep diaries and blogs, including www.zamknieta.pl). I choose for interpretation and discussion three books:  *Taboo* by Kinga Dunin (1998) (here: differences in ideology), *Should be clean*  by Anna Cieplak, (2016) (here: social differences)  *Fanfik* by Natalia Osińska (2016) (here: sexual otherness).

## MINSLOW, Sarah

### *Separate is Never Equal*: Minority Child Activists for Racial Justice in the South (US) in Narrative & Visual Culture

Racism has deep roots in the American South. Following the Civil War, Jim Crow laws were passed to ensure freed slaves remained oppressed. "Southern segregation gained ground in 1896 when the U.S. Supreme Court declared in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that facilities for blacks and whites could be 'separate but equal.'"[1] Narratives of the historical struggle for civil rights have tended to focus on adult activists – Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King Jr., and Malcolm X – while child activists have remained mostly invisible. In US collective history children are the victims of racial violence and injustice with widespread attention given to the lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till in Mississippi in 1955 and the Birmingham 16th Street Church bombing that resulted in the deaths of four girls in 1963.[2] With the exception of Ruby Bridges, who was the first black girl to attend an all-white school in the South, books about black children who were activists during the Civil Rights Movement have been non-existent. I will interrogate why this may be the case. Further, I will showcase picture books that highlight the roles that young people played in securing civil rights in the US: *Sit-in: How Four Friends Stood Up by Sitting Down* (2010); *The Youngest Marcher: The Story of Audrey Faye Hendricks* (2017); and *Separate is Never Equal: Sylvia Mendez and Her Family's Fight for Desegregation* (2014). Lastly, I will examine recent children's books that actively encourage young people to be vocal activists for equality. I will argue that the visibility of child activist globally is reflected in contemporary children's literature; however, the books also serve as a reminder of the oppression so many children of color still face and the dangers that exist for black children who do speak out.

## MORUZI, Kristine
### "Rethinking children's voices in the periodical press" (Part of panel organised by RYAN, below: What does 'Children's Voice' do?)

Children's periodicals tell us a great deal about children and childhood during the period of their production. Lyn Pykett explains that 'periodicals have come to be seen as central component of [their] culture ... and they can only be read and understood as part of that culture and society, and in the context of other knowledges about them' ('Reading' p102). Yet children's periodicals – like children's literature more generally – are vexed by the problem that they are typically written, edited, and published by adults, with only minimal participation from the children themselves.
If we want to uncover children's voices in and through the periodical press, then, we need to reorient periodical studies to read these publications with a particular focus on highlighting the child's perspective, while also interrogating the role of adults in the production and dissemination of those voices. We need to consider whose voices are appearing, why, and what they suggest about children's culture in that moment. At the same time, we need to account for the materiality of the magazine and the potential it offers children to be heard.

Children's 'voices' thus appear in multiple ways that include textual evidence such as contributions of articles, fiction, and correspondence but can also be interpreted and interpellated from child readers' extra-textual engagements with their magazines. This paper will draw on examples from nineteenth and early twentieth-century children's periodicals to consider the possibilities and the limitations of the children's voices found in the periodical press and what those voices might be able to tell us about childhood during the period.

## MULLER, Beate

### *War Children, Generational Discourses, and Imagined Communities: West German Student Essays on the Nazi Era from the 1950s*

This paper is about war children's autobiographical stories and their significance for post-war political re-orientation in Adenauer's Germany. A national exercise conducted in the mid-1950s resulted in a vast collection of 76,000 unpublished schoolessays written predominantly by 16-18 year olds. Of these texts held in the Roeßler Archive, ca. 6,800 focus on the war. How did this youngest 'experiencing generation' process and portray what they knew, heard, and remembered about Nazi

Germany and the occupation years? Looking beyond obvious thematic concerns – bombing raids, flight and expulsion, Allied occupation, or post-war shortages – it emerges that these adolescents use their narratives to carve out positive, forward-looking identities for themselves, their peers, their families, and their nation. They do this by inventing themselves as a generation, and from the vantage point of this 'imagined community', they mediate between different war-affected generations, ultimately striving for transgenerational reconciliation in a climate of ideological re-orientation and new beginnings.

**MURREY, Ellie**

**Sibling care as 'parenting': Children's expressions of familial authority, maturity and independence in mid-twentieth century England**

This paper explores the means through which children were able to speak up and make their voices heard within the context of the unequal generational hierarchies of family life. Scholars have stressed children's agency in negotiating the boundaries imposed by parents and delegating unwanted chores to younger, less powerful members of the family (Seymour and McNamee, 2012; Punch, 2001). Through exploring children's accounts of siblinghood from across the mid-century, this paper argues that older children found another way to emphasise their independence - by parenting. Older siblings transcended generational boundaries by taking on parenting roles or emphasising the parent-like nature of their sibling care practices, to demonstrate their worth there and then as children. In doing so, they developed parental ways of thinking and feeling, re-shaping our understandings of the mechanisms driving generational change.

This paper examines the shifting ways children illustrated their maturity and the varying mediums available to children growing up in different family structures. By the inter-war period, decreasing family sizes had re-shaped the nature of children's responsibilities. Rather than taking complete charge of infant siblings, older children believed that they equally shared childcare responsibilities with their mothers. Those only asked to help occasionally stressed their parent-like maturity in comparison to the childishness of the siblings they had had to sacrifice time to mind. This irritableness became more common post-war, as children voiced their frustration at being disturbed by younger siblings or emphasised their goodwill in entertaining them. Children's changing perceptions of their family roles help explain the shift from *child*-centred to increasingly *self*-centred parenting attitudes later in the century. In this way, children were not only speaking up to draw attention to their own importance as children, but also laying the foundations for significant change in adult parenting identities.

**MYERS, Tamara Gene**

*'She's Leaving Home': the Rise of the Runaway in the 1960s and 70s*

In the last two decades, 1970s historiography has exploded and despite its acknowledgment of profound changes to the North American family, teenagers, especially girls, are notably absent. This silence is curious for several reasons: adolescence underwent a major transformation in the 1970s, fueled by the successes of 1960s social movements; the decade's cultural shifts in manners and morals were popularized by young people; and cautionary tales about the runaway teen permeated academic and popular culture. Films, made-for-tv movies, novels, as well as social scientific studies and both serious and spurious journalism obsessed the white, suburban girl who left home. These "streetwise" girls – liberated from family and mainstream society – exist in primary documents as despised and pitied, delinquents and victims. Both as trope and as a historical subject, the runaway girl of the 1960s and 70s United States and Canada permits a view to changing sexual, gender, and racial identities of the era. This paper delves deeply into the meaning of the cautionary tales generated about runaways and also the "pardon tales offered by those who were caught." This paper fits the objectives of the 2020 CHS conference in several ways. As an act of transgression, running away is a "non-verbal communication." Authorities collected statistics on running away and "read" this mobility through very specific historically-contingent lenses an examination of which assesses the "autonomy, dependence, interdependence: relations between children, adults and the state". Perhaps most importantly, this is an exploration of girls' stories (voices) behind the act of

running away. These are complex narratives of resistance and apology that raise questions about the transformation of gendered adolescence in the 1960s and 70s that this research project seeks to answer.

**NEIWERT, Rachel A**

**Great Expectations: Growing Up Girl in the British Empire, 1900-1950**

In the first half of the twentieth century, the Parents' National Educational Union (PNEU), a British home-school organization, was deeply concerned about the education of girls. The *Parents' Review*, the journal of the PNEU, offered a flurry of articles focused on the proper education of girls, proper careers for girls, and good parenting of girls. Through its home-school curriculum, the PNEU worked to create a particular type of girl—patriotic and imperialistic, smart and engaged in the world around her, but still also domestic. Also in the *Parents' Review* are letters from girls wrestling with their own understandings of the world around them. It is clear they did not just passively receive lessons from their parents and school. The archival collections of the PNEU also include exams taken by children in the home-school group, providing another opportunity to see how the girls articulated their own understandings.

The letters and exams are especially interesting sources. On the one hand, they are amazing opportunities to hear the voices of children from the past. On the other hand, the voices of the children are mediated through adults—journal editors, who picked the letters; parents, who wanted their children to represent their family positively; and teachers, who got to grade the exams. They present an interesting opportunity to consider the relationship between children and adults. In this paper, I will compare the PNEU's attitudes about girls with the messages that the girls themselves articulated in their letters and exams. The letters and exams provide evidence that the girls took the opportunity to speak out, develop their own voice, and worked to define the British nation and empire they would live in.

**NEILSON, Holly**

**British board games c.1900-1960: the muteness of objects and locating play**

During the period c.1900-1960 board games, from chess to Snakes & Ladders, were a hugely popular pastime and entertainment provided to children. A board game on its own can show us many things. It can show us politics, cultural influences, societal issues. However, these games rarely show us the players themselves. Historians such as Ludmilla Jordanova have noted what historical games can, and cannot, tell us. In her chapter 'Object of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Museums' she wrote about the "muteness" of these objects, that they "do not themselves indicate who bought them, why they did so, how the games were used, whether children enjoyed them, or what impact they had on those that used them". By using sources such as oral histories, letters, and marginalia found on the board games themselves we can begin to construct the play that happened around these "mute" objects and learn about the role these games played in the lives of the children who owned them. We can also understand the time periods these children grew up in and the varying societal pressures they were exposed to as expressed through these games and the style of play they entailed.

Drawing on games published between 1900-1960 this paper will explore what we can learn from these sources, and the limits of this knowledge. It will argue that while we must avoid seeing designer intention as reception, by using supplementary sources we can begin to locate the players of these games.

**NGUYEN, Maya**

**Participation of children in Indochina and Vietnam wars.**

Child soldiers are often associated with passive victimhood, stolen childhood and deep trauma; however, this approach has been increasingly questioned and challenged (Denov, 2010; Peters and Richards, 1998; Cortes and Buchanan, 2007). This paper aims to contribute to the

discussion of children's war participation and challenge further the idea that child soldiers are necessarily victimized and deprived of agency. By drawing on 40 interviews with former child soldier in the Vietnam and Indochina Wars, this paper analyses the children's experiences prior and during participating in the wars. it analyses the socially embedded nature of their decision to participate in the war and argues that it was neither fully coerced nor completely independent but also deeply related to other actors around the children – friends, family, guerilla cadres, neighbours etc. Secondly, it demonstrates how child soldier experiences go beyond victimhood and involve active attempts to accumulate sophisticated understanding of the political climate and actively interact with the environment around them. Thirdly, the paper analyses the experiences of the children during combat and argues that participation in the military efforts did not necessarily diverge from their understanding of what constitutes childhood. More specifically, their participation was in line with the local perceptions of children's duties and labour. Overall, the responses from participants not only defy the victimized child soldier stereotype but point to a fluidity, complexity and social connectedness of child soldier experience.

**NIGET, David**

**Panel: "Voices of young people in institutions (France - 20th century)"**

**" When "bad girls" speak out. Expertise, subjectivity and emancipation in French reforms schools (1945-1970)**

This paper discusses the influence of medical and psychological expertise on the juvenile justice system in 20th-century France. It examines more in particular the construction of such expertise through daily practices of 'scientific' observation of juvenile delinquents (or "child guidance") within the french institution of the Good Shepherd of Angers between 1945 and 1970.
The practice of "child guidance" introduced the instrument of social and medical-psychological inquiry in the judicial treatment of delinquent youth. In doing so, expertise allowed young people to express themselves as psychic subjects, throught different kings of tests, writings, drawings, interviews, etc. Based on individual case files of young delinquents placed under observation, this paper aims to highlight the highly gendered nature of expert discourses, as well as significant shifts in experts' definitions of moral danger and risk in the post-war period. It seeks to capture the children's voices through the highly normative sources of judicial, medical and social work archives. Indeed, these procedures of expertise may have raised different forms of resistance on the part of young people which may be interpreted as a subversion of expert knowledge. We will question how the normativity of the expertise could participate in the construction of the subjectivity of the girls and thus become, paradoxically, the base of their emancipation, against the authority that intended to govern them.

**PURI, Anisa**

**Rethinking Agency in Memories of Youth Emigration to Postwar Australia**

This paper uses life story oral history interviews recorded by the Australian Generations Project to consider experiences and memories of individual agency during youth emigration to postwar Australia (1946-1973). Agency is commonly emphasised in both migration histories and in histories of childhood and youth. This paper builds on recent work by historians of childhood and youth who have critiqued an over-reliance on binary concepts of agency. This paper also responds to Kristine Alexander's call to consider 'emotion work' when interpreting historical agency. I suggest a new conceptual approach that complicates and decentres, but does not displace, agency as a category of analysis of youthful experience. I combine agency, 'emotion work', and imagination as three linked conceptual lenses that I use to analyse migration interviews, and in so doing I illuminate new ways of thinking about youth migration experience and memory.

**PIERRE, Eric**

**Opposition as personal development, the different forms of Resistance for the Juveniles of the Reformatory of Mettray in the 20' and 30' (*part of panel organised by NIGET, above, "Voices of young people in institutions (France - 20th century)"*)**

The corrections regulations of the penal agricultural colony of Mettray, founded in 1839, are all about a tight control of the young prisoners. The colony borrows its disciplinary structures from the army, the church, the school, or the world of work. For the juveniles's true redemption, the colony's founders use values as such as sense of honor, group's solidarity, masculinity, etc., and above all submission. They want to produce obedient workers, who could be used as farm workers, farmhands, or farm servants by the social elite.
Besides a kind of mild resistance from most of the young colonists, some individuals oppose more strongly to the institution by destroying harvests and buildings, or by escaping. The punishments (the brutality of the prison guards, the solitary confinement, the food deprivation) don't prevent them to try it again and again. Some put their health at risk because of too many cruel punishments.
The colony's civil servants cannot understand such acts of rebellion or misconstrue them as a kind of mental disease ("escaping monomania"); but it is also possible to consider this attitude as necessary steps in the construction of the juvenile's identity. The recurrence of acts of rebellion followed by periods of punishment show a ferocious determination to not comply and to assert themselves at all costs as resistant individuals.

**RAINE, Melissa Elizabeth**

**Boys Being Heard in Middle English Literature**

Medieval children's voices are largely lost to us, presenting historically oriented scholarship with a methodological challenge; what kind of access to these ephemeral utterances from the past is now possible? While fictional voices are no substitute for those of living children, they often draw upon the social, emotional and ethical precepts through which living children's voices were evaluated. In this paper, I explore the stringent constraints on the value of a child's voice in Middle English versions of the enormously popular *Seven Sages of Rome* tradition, where a prince-son speaks with authority to his king-father. The *Seven Sages*' framing narrative emphasises the dependence of youths upon the wisdom of their male elders for their survival. This theme is re-imagined in a gentle-mercantile context in *The Tale of Beryn*, a cautionary tale about mis-spent youth and social re-integration, the result of a childhood lacking strong discipline, causing disruption to the desired connection between voice and reason. The most intriguing expression of the circumscribed value of a child's voice in the *Seven Sages* tradition occurs in *Jack and His Stepdame*. The narrative's momentum is generated by yeoman child Jack's inability to articulate the mistreatment meted out by his stepmother and her accomplice the friar. Through his resourcefulness and self-determination, Jack resembles modern ideals of a child protagonist more readily than do children in other Middle English texts, but these admirable qualities prove to be bestowed conditionally. Whether royal, gentle or mercantile, all of these boys must demonstrate their worthiness of protection in the present by proving that under all circumstances, they will uphold the interests of their fathers and the networks of male privilege they belong to.

**RYAN, Patrick**

**Panel: What does 'Children's Voice' do? Interdisciplinary round-table short presentations, opening out into discussion on 'children's voice'.**

Phrases such as the 'voice of the child' or 'children's voices' are useful, important, but contested terms in the social studies of childhood and youth. Drawing upon the conference theme, we propose an interdisciplinary round-table session with short presentations by an anthropologist, a literary scholar, and an historian speaking to a common question from the perspectives of their own fields and research experiences:

*What are the advantages, problems, significance, or limitations of the concept of 'children's voice' for contemporary commentary upon and/or historical analysis of young people's participation in economy, culture, and politics?*

We would like this session to deviate from the standard three 20-minute paper format. To us, it would be more useful for each speaker offer a 10-minute reflection on the question, and then to draw the audience into a participatory situation. This would allow for unplanned comments, questions, and answers, but we will also introduce discussion exercises - as we might in a seminar. The three of us are more interested in speaking with our colleagues about how the concept of "children's voice" is used in diverse research fields and efforts, than we are in presenting research findings, or stating our current positions on the matter.

Below we have each offered an abstract in preview of what our initial comments will entail. If our proposal is accepted, we will plan the inactive part of the session further. And, of course, we would welcome conversation with the organizers of the conference about how to best do this.

### Chasing Children's and Youths' Words and Actions

I chase the archived words and recorded actions of children and youth in court records, poverty relief files, foster care notes, household budget surveys; in high school magazines, newspapers, yearbooks, and memorabilia; in the investigations of child labour reformers, the research materials of scientists, the assessments and interviews of guidance clinics; and in the popular press, in diaries, and through the written memories of adults. Many of your efforts are like my own, and I am interested in sharing ideas about why we do this work and how we might do it better.

I'd like to start by positioning our pursuits upon the landscape of modern childhood itself. I find three interpretative layers in the historical pursuit of children's words and actions. Sometimes we have drawn upon the discourse of the conditioned child, when we read childhood texts for the ways they expose the transmission or disruption of culture over time. Yet, here *voice* remains conceptually ancillary. *Voice* emerges with strength only at junctures where we experience the romantic association between childhood and authenticity – that is when the words and actions of children and youths are read by us to reveal something occluded by dominant ideologies. Paradoxically, this romantic inspiration is precisely what pushes *voice* into the political analysis of childhood. The *recovery of voice* gives us the remit to sketch a figure of the political child (and other subalterns), who thereby become visible as competent actors working within a social network.

Through these transpositions, *voice* has become an index for drawing resources from three competing discourses of childhood (socialization, romanticism, and political agency), and for cloaking our readings (listenings, observations, calculations, etc.) with the authority of experience or the essence of what has been said or done. This is the seduction of *voice*, but it also makes me (and others) doubt the promises *voice* makes. Why do we need *voice* at all? Why let it roll like a Trojan horse into research practice and thought as something Foucault called an *a priori* and ahistorical 'principle of validity'? I would like to outline an alternative reason for chasing and reading children's words and actions which dispenses with the concept of finding, recovering *voice(s)*, and instead rests only upon connecting the linguistic, logical, and practical elements of the text-discourse relationship upon which all readings of evidence rely.

### SACHS, Miranda

### "She's a Little Runaway": Delinquent Girls in Interwar Paris

On the evening of September 26, 1936, a group of adolescent girls at a reformatory located in the Parisian suburb of Boulogne charged their monitors. The ringleaders succeeded in gagging the reformatory's cook and cutting the telephone cord. Eight girls managed to escape before the police arrived. Three days later, eight girls at a reformatory on the other side of Paris gagged their monitors with napkins and climbed over the garden wall. The runaways were young, working-class, delinquent, and female, all characteristics that left them disenfranchised in Interwar France. By attacking their monitors and escaping from these correctional homes, they tried to take back control over their lives. In this paper, I examine the representations of these two incidents to understand the image and treatment of female juvenile delinquents in this period. The press coverage of these events presented these girls as victims of a repressive system or as delinquents on the loose. The official investigation represented the girls as rowdy, but recognized the repressive circumstances in the reformatories. I also look at the longer institutional histories of these two reformatories, both of which emphasized

teaching girls domestic skills to rehabilitate them. These various accounts capture the conflicting views on female juvenile delinquency. While, reformatories had traditionally focused on structured rehabilitation, reformers were calling for more humane treatment.

Turning to the girls' actions and the transcripts of their interviews in official records, I seek to understand how and why these young women tried to break free from the spaces and regimes of these reformatories. Through their escapes, they challenged norms of female behavior. A close analysis of these incidents demonstrates the ways in which working-class girls tried to subvert societal expectations of femininity, the tools available to them to shape their identities, and the limits they faced in doing so.

### SANDS-O'CONNER, Karen

### Whose City? Our City! Children's Voices, Belonging and Searle's Anthologies

In 1970, a young teacher began working with a group of London children who had been placed in a remedial stream of their school. Belittled and even beaten by other members of staff, many of these students saw themselves as voiceless, forced to stay on at school by a recent change in the school-leaving age but without prospects of a career either. While many people saw not only the schoolchildren, but the entire area of Stepney in London's East End, as deprived, Searle saw poetry in both students and landscape. Noting that William Blake and Isaac Rosenberg had both been nurtured by the area and its people, Searle took students out into the streets of Stepney to record, in poetic form, what they saw. Impressed with the results, Searle compiled their poems and asked the board of governors to help him publish them.

The governors refused, citing what they saw as negative perspectives of many of the students—by which they meant their clear-eyed view of effects of institutional racism and poverty on residents. The board saw poetry as something to uplift, but Searle and his students saw it as a voice for change. Indeed, valuing students' voices benefited Searle when he was sacked—his students subsequently went on strike, using their newly-found political voices to demand Searle's reinstatement.

Searle continued to publish student writing throughout his career, most notably during the Greater London Council's Year Against Racism, with an anthology examining racism in London entitled *Our City*. This paper will examine the connections between young people's writing, activism, and sense of belonging in these poetry collections, arguing that poetry about "negative" subjects allowed young writers to claim, rather than reject, citizenship in British society.

### SCHENKOLEWSKI, Zehavit

### Emigration, Absorption and Identity of Jewish Immigrants Children to Israel during the Mandate Period

Between 1928 and 1945, about 57,000 children up to age 16 immigrated to Mandatory Palestine. Statistics about the number of child immigrants before then are unavailable. The prevalent belief was that children are endowed with special unique emotional capabilities that allow them to adapt to a new environment, and consequently do not require assistance and support from the host society. But contrary to these assumptions, and perhaps precisely because of them, absorption was often a difficult experience for immigrants children. This article sheds light on these children's hardships through their own life stories, as reflected in what they wrote for their school newspapers. The use of immigrants' stories as a way to understand immigration processes is a well known and common method in migration studies. Telling their stories allows immigrants to organize their memories and develop a new identity. The novelty of this article is the use of stories written by child immigrants in order to make their voices heard. The research is based on dozens of compositions written by children and published in school newspapers during the years 1918 - 1948. These compositions express children's voices with almost no intervening filter. The importance of this study goes beyond its historical value, because, the immigration experience has universal characteristics that remain relevant for the mass immigration today.

In their work, the children express difficult experiences. The feeling of being uprooted from the familiar surroundings and from friends, who gave rise to feelings of mourning and loss. The blow to family cohesion. Post-traumatic signs that accompanied immigration since child migrants are often refugees. They flee countries where there is economic hardship, war, and sometimes persecution.

The difficulties of settling into the new homeland and absorbing in school and in the new society. Finally, the unsatisfactory response they received from the adults to their difficulties.

Listening to the children's voices when they write about their immigration exposes the deep scars they bear and the heavy price they pay. They paint the adult world as insufficiently sensitive to their troubles and as failing to take account of the diverse needs that the absorbing society must satisfy in order for the immigrant children to integrate successfully. As a first step, these children should have been allowed to describe their experiences directly, whether in conversation, creative writing, or free artistic expression, thereby making it possible to provide a response better suited to the individual needs of each immigrant child. Moreover, educational systems cannot be satisfied with providing a learning solution and by helping to acquire language. Migrant children need extensive mental assistance to deal with the difficult experiences they had during the immigration process, and with their feelings of grief and loss. The absorbing society must show patience and openness to their different culture and educate their children to accept the new comers. Perhaps above all, various channels must be developed through which immigrant children can express themselves and thus enable open channels of communication between the adult and the immigrant children.

## SEIBERT, Felix

### Understanding the Juvenile Style in Ancient Roman Literature

In ancient Rome language and literature were strictly organized by rhetorical and stylistic rules the young men learned at school based on the works of few canonized authors. Nevertheless, there existed a specific juvenile style used by the Roman *adulescentes*. According to Cicero and Quintilian, who describe its characteristics in their rhetorical works, the language of the young men is characterized as redundant, risky, emotional, full of exaggerated pathos and by a general lack of gravity. All in all, their view of the juvenile style is quite negative. This fact is closely related to the common image of youth in ancient Rome, which is perhaps best seen in the person of Caelius Rufus. In his defence speech for the young man, Cicero draws a colourful picture of his youthful character as well as of the Roman youth in general. Both the youth and their language are perceived as deficient in relation to the mature Roman *vir*, who is regarded as the model to be attained. The youthful voices, therefore, are usually used by older authors to characterize young men as not yet full-part-members of the society. On the other hand, younger poets like Catullus and the Neoterics intentionally broke with the given rhetorical norms and rules, stylizing themselves in a youthful manner, in order to express their opposition to the prevailing system. In the first part of my paper I will give an overview of the concept of the language of young men in ancient Rome and its connection with the predominant image of youth at that time. In the second part I will show on the basis of select examples from literature the different manifestations of this juvenile style and the different functions of its use by different authors.

## SHORE, Heather

### The Voice of the Young Offender: Court, Prison and Reformatory, c. 1835 to c. 1968

This paper will focus on the 'voice' and agency of children and young people in the criminal justice system. We rarely hear the voices of historical young offenders. in part this is because their voices simply weren't recorded. More broadly, this is symptomatic of the larger silencing of the offender voice in the criminal record. Surviving historical court transcripts often minimize the testimony of the accused, and in any case, it's unlikely that children and young people in the courtroom would have been allowed the space to speak other than to semi-scripted comments. For example, in December 1812, when 13-year-old John Jaker was tried at the Old Bailey for picking pockets, he claimed 'I am innocent of the crime' (t18121202-27 https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/), the ubiquitous appeal to the court used by defendants found both guilty and innocent. There are other records however, in which we can hear children and young people speaking out. These come in two forms. The first is rare – and is the recording of the words of children caught up in the criminal justice system. It isn't always clear that the recording of childrens' words are verbatim. Nevertheless, these documents give us an unprecedented insight into the world of historical young offenders. Here I will draw on interviews with young offenders taken on board the *Euryalus* prison hulk in the 1830s, and other material from this period that survives in the Home Office (HO) and Metropolitan Police (MEPO) records at the National Archives. The second are those instances where the child is represented by an adult voice, who nevertheless claims to speak on the child's behalf. Here I will use two accounts from whistleblowers in youth justice institutions in the 1910s (Akbar Reformatory Training Ship) and 1960s (Court Leeds Approved School). Realistically such accounts are sometimes the only way that children were able to have able to have their voice heard in the past.

## SLARK, Charlotte

### "If I was you I would not close it down": Children's involvement in the 1982 campaign to save the Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood from closure

In 1982 the Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood (MoC) nearly closed down. Despite being part of the V&A, arguably one of Britain's most influential national museums, what actually saved the MoC was a public campaign mounted by its staff and local community.
Unsurprisingly for a museum of childhood, children have always made up a large percentage of the MoC's visitors and many of these children played an important part in the campaign to save the museum from closure. Despite this, when the story of the closure is, admittedly rarely, discussed, the input of children in the campaign is never mentioned.

This paper seeks to rectify this oversight. Using archival sources from the Museum of Childhood's own archives, it will examine the different ways in which children contributed their voices to the public campaign to save their much-loved local museum. It will question why the voices of children might have been considered by previous reports as not important enough to be acknowledged and how this links to wider questions surrounding the value of young people's voices, particularly in museums.

FINALLY, this paper will look at the ethical implications of children's involvement in the protest. It will also look at questions of agency; whether the children were willing participants, aware of what they were doing, and more importantly why the agency of children is questioned, especially when it comes to protest and demonstration.

## SLEIGHT, Simon

### Panel: Rethinking agency: experience, contextuality and relationality

### *From 'agency' to 'experience': deeds and words in the histories of childhood and youth*

'Agency' as a concept for understanding youth in the past has come in for sustained critique in recent years. Researchers on childhood and youth have spoken 'Against Agency', sought to undercut the epistemological and archive- based assumptions of the idea, and cautioned unwary scholars against tumbling into a presumed 'agency trap'. Historians of emotion have often been to the forefront in these attacks. In other fields, however, historians have by and large continued as before, relatively untroubled by (or ignorant of) the criticisms. At a conference gathering on the theme 'speaking up and speaking out', a reconsideration of the idea of agency seems especially compelling. Commencing with a delineation and evaluation of the main points of contention about historical agency, this paper calls for a taking stock and a sideways step. Its chief purpose is not to defend agency – though a case could certainly be mounted using sharpened analytical tools and by drawing more widely than hitherto on the insights of half a century of social history. Instead, I argue for the idea of 'experience' to have its day. 'Experience' is a blood relation of 'agency', but more open in outlook. With 'experience' there are fewer hang-ups about the 'discovery of' youthful (often male) political activity in the past, or confusions about youthful self-expression as an all-or-nothing act. Instead, it will be proposed, a focus on youthful experience allows for modes of self-presentation to be better understood, and for the feel and fabric of youthful everyday life in the past to be recaptured in capacious ways. In support of my arguments, I will range widely in deploying both scholars and sources, including via a reconsideration of photographic evidence depicting children and youth in the past.

**SLOAN, Catherine**

**"J. Muggins. Essy on Kats" (Essay on Cats): How 19<sup>th</sup>-century children constructed the child's voice**

This paper argues that children and youths transformed the child's voice in nineteenth-century England. Focusing on the period 1860-1905, this paper shows that by focusing on young people's writings, we can challenge the narrative of how the concept of childhood changed. It has been widely agreed that childhood was conceptualised as a prolonged stage of innocence, freedom, and vulnerability. As the market for books and periodicals expanded at mid-century, the child became a widespread literary motif, serving as a model of piety and hard work for child readers, and appealing for the protection of adult readers, in the form of labour reform and philanthropy. This paper explores writings by young people in Lancashire to argue that middle-class young people were active in this transformation of the child's voice, as they benefited from new educational, political, and imperial opportunities. While they used accurate writing to construct an educated and privileged voice for themselves, this paper explores their contrasting construction of younger, foreign, migrant, or working-class voices. In a parodic "Essy on Kats" (Essay on Cats) in a magazine by boys at the Manchester Grammar School in 1901, fourteen-year-old boys used spelling and grammar errors to portray the charming innocence and naivety of an imaginary younger schoolmate "J. Muggins". These parodies of child writing were particularly common in depictions of "other" children and young people. I argue that by examining how young people constructed the child's voice, we can uncover how writing and literacy was used as a marker of holding an empowered and privileged position in the world.

**SOARES, Claudia**

**Panel: Children's agency and experience in residential institutions in Britain, Australia and Canada, c. 1850-1973**

"I want to strike out for myself and get on in the world": cooperation, contestation and agency in the children's institution, Britain, Australia and Canada, c.1850-1930
Studies of children's welfare in the past have traditionally told the story of what institutions did to children in their care, drawing attention to the discipline control, and power that vulnerable inmates were subjected to. As such, children in residential care have too often been presented as passive agents: victims of trauma, abuse and exploitation at the hands of institutional staff, whose voices are rarely heard, personal experiences are little documented, and whose feelings and emotions are rarely articulated. The families of these children also occupy a peripheral position in such scholarship. Emerging research however, is beginning to overturn this dominant narrative through consideration of children's experiences and feelings and by looking at their individual histories and trajectories. Additionally, a recent re-focus on the concept of 'agency' and its methodological use and value by scholars has reinvigorated discussions and debates about the interpretation of childhood agency in the past. This paper, and the panel as a whole, engages with such debates on the concept of agency, its interpretation and uses, in examining the stories of children who spent part of their childhood in institutional care.
This paper focuses on inmates' cooperation and contestation with institutional power structures, welfare policies and practices to re-assess the ways that they navigated, negotiated and envisioned their relationship with institutions in order to meet their own ends. In doing so, the paper considers how institutional inmates exerted agency over their care and other experiences they encountered. While the paper draws on children's letters as sources that allowed them the opportunity to 'speak up' and 'speak out', it also draws on archival research that produces 'against the grain' readings to grapple with and understand different forms of childhood agency in the past and to uncover subaltern subjects from history and from the archives.

**SUNDERLAND, Helen**

**'One of the greatest events in the history of our constituency': Schoolgirls' mock elections in Edwardian England**

Mock elections are one important example of how adolescent girls developed and used their political voice at school in Edwardian England. They challenge assumptions in the existing scholarship that girls' schools were apolitical spaces and demonstrate that citizenship education extended beyond questions of national and imperial identity to party and constitutional politics. Through this embodied political education, schoolgirls were active participants in the highly charged elections of the early twentieth century. Schoolgirls and teachers followed electoral procedure closely. Girls stood as candidates, campaigned for their party, and voted by ballot, years before women had the parliamentary vote. At school, girls recreated political spaces like the election meeting and polling station, reclaiming sites from which they were otherwise excluded.
This paper draws on school records and educational periodicals to analyse middle-class schoolgirls' mock elections. Comparisons will be made with elections in working-class and boys' schools. Mock elections show how young people appropriated, imitated, and satirised adult politics. They gave schoolgirls a rare opportunity to voice party political opinions. In their speeches, schoolgirl candidates invoked the major party political issues of the day. As electoral excitement gripped school communities, partisanship entered everyday conversations. The party divisions forged and strengthened in school mock elections spilled over into other aspects of school life. Girls' political expression was creative; they composed political songs, crafted handmade election posters, and wrote election reports in school magazines. Schoolgirls spoke out as much through their actions as their words. While women's suffrage was rarely raised explicitly, through their electoral mimicry, girls made a claim to their fitness not only for the vote but, more radically, election to parliament. As the boundaries of political exclusion in schoolgirls' elections were redrawn around age rather than gender, those deemed too young to participate turned to political protest to have their voices heard.

**ŚWIETLICKI, Mateusz**

**Bad Girls, Bad Boys and Indifferent Adults. Agency and Vulnerability in *Heathers* (2018) (*Part of panel organized by MICHULKA, above: In search of self-identity? Speaking up: young literary heroes and contemporary challenges*)**

The figure of a positive teenage rebel, whose attributes are awareness and a strong sense of identity, was popularized by psychologist Robert M. Lindner who contrasted it with the Soviet "Mass Man ideal," which he called "antibiological and unprogressive in the widest sense" (Lindner 222). The teenage rebel became a vital part of American culture in the 1950s after the release of J. D. Salinger's novel *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951) and Nicholas Rey's 1955 teenpic *Rebel Without a Cause* starring James Dean. Leerom Medovoi argues that the appearance of the rebel was connected to the simultaneous appearance of two other concepts – identity and the teenager, "if the teenager provided the metanarrative of identity with its character, the rebel provided it with a plot: dissent, defiance, or even insurrection mounted against a social order of conformity" (30). *Heathers*, Michael Lehmanns's 1988 critically-acclaimed black humor comedy starring Winona Ryder and Christian Slater, features male and female characters who are satirical representations of the positive rebel figure that had appeared in most teenpics released in the USA during the Cold War. While the film was not a commercial success upon its initial release, it has gained a cult following and was adapted into a musical and a TV series. Despite the popularity of the original film, the release of the 2018 TV reboot was shelved in the USA after the Santa Fe High School shooting. The pilot episode was bashed by critics, with one calling it "a hateful, bigoted exercise in regression hiding behind the guise of dark comedy" (Monson). A heavily censored version of the series was eventually released in the USA in late 2018, but the full version remains available only in selected, non-American territories. In my presentation, I want to compare male and female rebels in the original film and the 2018 TV series and offer an alternative and intersectional reading of both cultural texts, showing that despite the negative backlash, the series is not a show "written for aging Fox News viewers who get angry about people's gender pronouns" (Allen) but a clever satirical representation of the intergenerational conflict between vulnerable teenagers trying to gain agency in a highly competitive high-school environment and indifferent adults failing to see the pressure put on young people.

**TAUBE, Isabel**

**Title: *Granada Television and Northern Youth: Speaking out in the 1950s***

From 1956 to 1959, the Manchester based commercial television company, Granada, broadcast a new series devoted to featuring the voices and opinions of young people from the North of England. The series was broadcast first to the region under the name *Youth is Asking* (1956) before being transmitted nationally under the titles: *Youth Wants to Know* (1957-1958) and *We Want an Answer* (1957-1959). It involved students from schools and universities interrogating and interviewing significant political and cultural figures on a wide range of issues. For instance, programmes on colonialism, trade unionism and the H-bomb all featured on the series, as well as discussions on careers and dating. Crucially, the series was unique in capturing the opinions, and accents, of northern young people and garnered huge praise in the regional and national press where it was declared in several newspapers as being 'the best' of Granada's programmes. Those who created the series deliberately sought to include outspoken young people for each episode. For instance, in a letter to the University of Manchester, researcher for the series, Patricia Owtram, specified the kinds of students Granada was looking for as 'those who are intelligent, think for themselves, and have a genuine interest in current affairs — as distinct from those who think they are born television personalities'.

In this illustrated talk, I will draw upon my original research into the development of the series to explore the various influences that informed it's making. I will explore how the young people's political and regional identity was framed by drawing upon regional and national newspaper reviews. I will trace the significance of the series as a new type of television broadcasting in the late 1950s which, in combining current affairs and young people's opinions, captured the nascent cultural prominence and presence of outspoken youth in post-war Britain.

**TISDALL, Laura**

**'Some young people dislike the older generation because of the threat of Atomic war': children, teenagers and the Cold War in England and the United States**

While historians of Cold War Britain and the US have started to pay attention to the experiences of ordinary people living under the nuclear threat in recent years (Langhamer, 2019; Ziemann and Grant, 2016), children and school-age adolescents still remain invisible, except as passive symbols leveraged by anti-nuclear organisations such as CND or SANE (Peacock, 2014). However, the bomb was especially significant for this section of the population, who were told by adults that they had 'never had it so good', benefiting from post-war affluence after their parents' sacrifices in the Second World War. A set of essays written by fifteen-year-old English school pupils in 1963 – less than a year after the Cuban Missile Crisis – make it clear that many teenagers felt they were living under the shadow of death. They employed the language of age to discredit their parents' claims to maturity, with one respondent writing: 'some young people dislike the older generation because of the threat of Atomic war… it was the old scientist of years ago that gave us this threat because of their childish instinct to create things that cause mass destruction.' Furthermore, the Second World War was invoked not as a source of pride, but as further evidence of adults' militaristic mistakes. These narratives were reiterated in a study of children's and adolescents' attitudes to nuclear war in the US in 1965. While adults often denied the threat that was facing them, or focused on protecting 'innocent' children, young people started to ask '*If* I grow up', rather than when (Holt, 1974). This paper will rethink existing historiographical narratives of the Cold War by highlighting the voices of children and teenagers, who, whether they were involved in organised anti-nuclear protests or not, often thought very differently to adults about the existential threat facing the world.

**VASSILOUDI, Vassiliki and IKONIADOU, Mary**
**Imagining 'homeland' in two magazines for refugee children in the Cold War**

The paper will look into some of the ways in which national cultural identities were formed and performed during the Cold War, by examining the case study of two magazines for refugee children. The *Eaglet s*(*Aetopoula*, 1949-1953), published in Bucharest, and *The Children's Torch* (*O Pyrsos ton Paidion,* 1961- 1968), published in the German Democratic Republic, were Greek language

magazines produced by political refugees who resided in the former socialist states of Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. As such, the magazines were initiated by the exiled Communist Party of Greece (KKE) while their production and distribution — across both sides of Cold War borders — were supported by their host countries.

Drawing on the comparative analysis of a sample from these magazines, the paper will examine visual and narrative depictions of 'homeland' and 'belonging' to refuge children who in their majority not only had never visited Greece but also whose everyday lives differed greatly in each of the host states. Tracing continuities and discontinuities in the magazines' content with regard to the issues of 'homeland' and "belonging', the paper will argue that international Cold War politics directly impacted on the imagining of the future for displaced youth populations. This future was envisaged at the intersection of national, internationalist, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist discourses that at times were in tension with one another.

**WELLS, Elizabeth**

**'Rights of Boys': Pupil Insurgency in English Public Schools in the Age of the French Revolution**

Over 50 significant incidents of pupil insurgency took place across English public schools between 1768 and 1818. At Westminster School in 1791 boys resisted corporal punishment, absconded from lessons and sang Ça Ira, a revolutionary song. Two years later, at Winchester, pupils barricaded themselves into the school buildings and donned Liberty caps. Boys from Merchant Taylors scrawled republican graffiti and flew the Tricolour from the nearby Tower of London. At Rugby, pupils spoke out in defence of 'the Rights of Boys'.

Whilst pupil rebellions are documented outside of this period the frequency and severity of the riots in these particular years represents a distinctive phenomenon. These episodes have been neglected – supressed by schools as an embarrassment and written off by historians as inconsequential outbursts which were the inevitable result of youthful high-spirits and poor management at the schools.

By contrast, this paper argues that these riots were an important expression of pupils' agency. Although the rebellions were at times violent with boys occupying buildings by force and vandalising property, they often started with peaceful means, including letters and petitions. These overlooked sources allow us to recover pupils' voices and provide new insight into their objectives and the form chosen for their acts of resistance. They demonstrate young people's awareness of, and fluency in, the political language and symbols of the time. Pupils' descriptions of their actions will be contrasted with the perspectives of their parents, accounts by the school authorities against whom they rebelled, and reporting in contemporary publications.

**WOODHOUSE, Katherine**

**Discontent and defiance in the adolescent diaries of Sarah Hurst (1736-1808)**

My paper thus begins with the question: if we lack evidence of the verbal declarations of females youths in the early modern period, how are we to define historic youthful defiance or 'speaking out' in this epoch?

To answer this question, I will be undertaking a literary-historical analysis of the diaries of Sarah Hurst (1736-1808). The manuscript records the life of a young, unmarried woman from a trade background, growing up in rural Horsham. Whilst there are few instances in Sarah's diary of her 'speaking up and speaking out', one encounters numerous examples of Sarah's civil and familial passive resistance to those social boundaries that impeded her happiness. Throughout the course of this paper, I will chart how Sarah - in the middle of the precarious transition from youth to young adult - defended and upheld her beliefs and values in less vocal, but visible acts of defiance. After all, silence does not necessarily suggest submission, and it certainly does not indicate contentment when it comes to youth.

The publication of The Youth of Early Modern Women (edited Elizabeth S. Cohen and Margaret Reeves) has reinvigorated early modern scholars to re-question how female youth and adolescence was articulated as a distinct life stage between 1500-1800. Over the course of this paper, I will argue that young women's diaries – like Sarah Hurst's - should play a central role in this task of reimaging and redefining female youth in eighteenth-century Britain. In this paper I will explore

how young adolescent women in the eighteenth century - often extensively critiqued and denied the opportunity of 'speaking out' or even 'speaking up' - expressed their discontent and defiance in writing. It will explore the modes of expression were available to young women processing feelings of dissatisfaction, beyond that which was spoken.

**WRIGHT, Sussanah**

**Peaceful Youth: Memories of British Peace Movement Activism, 1920s-1960s**

From the 1920s to the 1960s, peace movement campaigners in Britain campaigned for a societal transformation which would enable individuals to be peaceful and avoid war, and emphasised the significance of children and young people in securing this desired future. Yet research into relevant 'primary'peacemovements(cfCeadel) -theLeagueofNationsUnion,thePeacePledgeUnion,the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament - has to date devoted limited attention to the place and significance of childhood and youth, and of relationships between adults and young people, within these movements. This paper will examine (1) the influences and relationships in childhood and youth which drew campaigners towards activism within British peace movements; and (2) what these campaigners thought, and did, as adults about promoting their cause among children and young people. It will draw on the narratives which individual activists have offered of their participation in archived oral history interviews (in the British Library and Imperial War Museum sound archive collections), for 30 individuals born between 1900 and 1940. These activists are not the leaders of organisations nationally, but committed individuals, often active locally – their narratives are under-explored. This paper will consider what 'speaking out' of children/young people means when the voice is recorded retrospectively in interview form, and drawn on as data later still by a historian not involved in the original conversation. There are methodological challenges. Notwithstanding these, I argue (cf Gleason and Miller among others)[2] for the value of this analysis in shedding light on a range of agentic responses to adult influences whilst young, including cooperation, intergenerational alliances, and resistance. More ambitiously, I offer this examination of intergenerational dynamics within peace movements as a partial explanation of how these organisations are sustained, and change, over time.