

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE

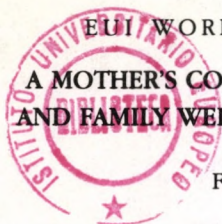
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

EUI WORKING PAPER No. 87/292

**A MOTHER'S COUNTRY: MOTHERS' MEETINGS
AND FAMILY WELFARE IN BRITAIN, 1850 - 1950**

by

Frank PROCHASKA



BADIA FIESOLANA, SAN DOMENICO (FI)

This paper should not be reproduced in whole or
in part without prior permission of the author

(C) Frank Prochaska
Printed in Italy in May 1987
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I-50016 San Domenico (FI)

Frank Prochaska

A Mother's Country :
Mothers' Meetings and Family Welfare in Britain, 1850-1950*

For nearly a century mothers' meetings were crucial to the work of British women in welfare, but now, like other once familiar parish institutions, they are largely forgotten.¹ Sometimes called mothers' classes or maternal associations, they were so widespread one hundred years ago that most married women from the poorer classes either attended one or were invited to do so. Most middle-class women with religious leanings either ran one or were expected to do so. Like other parish charities, such as Sunday schools and district visiting societies, they sought to bring the various classes into closer contact in the hope of creating a common culture. Geared to the perceived needs of underprivileged women they became, as one philanthropist put it, "part of the work of every organization seeking to help the poor".² Established by Anglicans, nonconformists, Catholics, and Jews, they sprang up around the country in the mid-Victorian years, in remote rural areas and city slums. Soon after, they spread abroad, wherever British women were found as missionaries, wives of missionaries or simply in residence.³ By the end of the century one male authority remarked that along with district nursing, the mothers' meeting represented "the most practical and successful" philanthropic work of women.⁴

As with so many unostentatious female institutions, it is impossible to put a precise date on the first mothers' meeting. Elizabeth Twining, the sister of the philanthropist Louisa Twining, claimed to have established the first meeting in London in Clare Market in the 1850s, on the site of the present London

School of Economics.⁵ Inspired by a speech of Lord Shaftesbury, Mary Bayly, the author of *Ragged Homes and How to Mend Them*, formed another meeting in the potteries area of Kensington in 1853. Initially only a few poor women turned up and they looked on her, in her words, "as they would have done at the entrance of the white bear at the Zoological Gardens".⁶ But soon there were 25 women in attendance and the scheme became associated with local ragged schools. Impressed by Mrs Bayly's experiment, the Ragged School Union adopted her ideas and eventually ran about 200 weekly meetings from its schools and mission rooms in the slums.⁷ Another influential figure in the early movement was Ellen Ranyard, one of the most innovative philanthropists of the century, whose Bible and Domestic Female Mission probably did more to expand the urban mothers' meeting than any other institution. Said by her followers to have "invented" the mothers' meeting, she met her first group of wives and mothers in London in 1857.⁸ Ten years later her charity was renting 230 mission rooms in London alone to provide accomodation for its weekly classes.⁹

Stimulated by the activities and writings of influential women like Mary Bayly and Ellen Ranyard, mothers' meetings spread rapidly in the 1860s. As with district visiting societies in an earlier day, they captured the imagination of middle-class women with strong maternal and religious sentiments. The Ladies Sanitary Association (1857), which produced millions of tracts on public health and related matters, paid tribute to the growing importance of the meetings when it declared that they were "just the opportunities for imparting sanitary knowledge to poor mothers".¹⁰ By 1870 there was an identifiable and lucrative trade for the religious publishing houses in what was called "mothers' meeting literature".¹¹ The institution was ascendant when Mrs Mary Sumner, wife of a leading churchman and mother of three, founded the Mothers' Union in 1876. A formidable institution, its

membership rose to over 400,000 Anglican women within four decades.¹² By the end of the century the mothers' meeting was triumphant, the most pervasive female agency for bringing women together on a regular basis outside the home in British history. Not even the expanding female trade unions could match the memberships figures for mothers' meetings. In Lambeth alone, a borough not noted for a high level of religious observance, Anglicans and nonconformists ran fifty-seven meetings in the Edwardian years with 3,600 members.¹³

What brought the mothers' meeting into existence? In the broadest sense it was a peculiarly female response to the problems and opportunities associated with economic and religious change. In other words, it was a voluntary expression of what may be described as a maternal culture which began to take institutional form by the early nineteenth century. Privileged women shared many of the assumptions which commonly are labelled paternalistic. Like paternalists they believed that society should be organic, pluralistic and hierarchical, led by people of property with a sense of social responsibility.¹⁴ But as they saw themselves as different from men, with different sources of information and inspiration, they translated these assumptions into something distinctively female in their parish work. In their domestic routine they displayed those qualities ritually described as feminine and motherly, among them compassion, tenderness, and self-sacrifice. As commercial expansion gave them the leisure to join or to run their own charities, they applied these maternal qualities to the world outside their homes. Naturally enough, they turned their attention to causes in tune with their own experience and their own values, most notably those connected with women and children. That the government was unwilling or unable to contribute to these causes was a considerable stimulus. So too was the hesitancy of many philanthropic men, who were poorly equipped

to pursue charitable practices which were assumed to be decidedly female in character. By definition a mothers' meeting was an exclusive organisation and its expansion an expression of a vital maternal culture with economic resources.

The charitable activity most common among women who established mothers' meetings was district visiting, which was widespread by the 1830s.¹⁴ House to house visiting was largely the preserve of women who had the leisure to volunteer, and female visitors pointed out the desirability of bringing poor women together on a regular basis, free from the isolation of their homes. This was seen as all the more desirable after the religious census of 1851, the results of which alarmed many in the religious establishment. Thus many mothers' meetings, Mrs Ranyard's for example, grew directly out of district visiting. As one writer remarked in the 1870s: "almost every district visitor has a mothers' meeting".¹⁵ Yet many meetings were unconnected with any formal charitable society and began simply out of religious zeal and social conscience. For clergymen's wives, of course, running a meeting became virtually obligatory. They and other women with a strong parochial sense cleverly took advantage of the opportunities afforded by the informality in church or chapel life, which was particularly marked in evangelical communities. But whatever the origins of the meetings, they may be seen as a form of female religious and community life carried on with the blessing of church or chapel but little subject to clerical restrictions. The mothers' meeting gave middle-class women the freedom to preach without offending churchmen, and an opportunity to convert and to ameliorate poor wives independent of their husbands.

As an institutional expression of maternal culture, the mothers' meeting was justified and ennobled by reference to

scripture. As in their other charitable activities philanthropic women scoured the Bible for portions of scripture which would testify to their claims for a wider role in missionary work and social reform. The literature surrounding mothers' meetings was thus suffused with biblical texts concerning women and children, which provided ever-ready topics for discussion in the meetings themselves. Could churchmen oppose a mothers' meeting when the Bible enjoined a woman to "stretcheth out her hand to the poor; yea ... reacheth forth her hands to the needy" (Proverbs 31.20) or pronounced that "a child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame" (Proverbs 29.17)? At the heart of mothers' meetings, for those who ran them at least, was the example of Jesus, whose respect for motherhood and concern for children was ritually celebrated. With Jesus to testify to the sanctity of motherhood, home, and family life, Christian women exalted. So inspired, they let flow that maternal missionary zeal, which they called love, and broke out of their own domestic routine. In seeking to extend those domestic Christian influences to less privileged women, the mothers' meeting was very much in tune with Victorian attitudes towards family life and the place of women. The family, it should be remembered, was about the only institution in nineteenth-century England that did not come in for abuse. Whether conscious of it or not, the women who ran mothers' meetings exploited that public respect for the family as a means of emancipation from their homes. The humble women who attended were not likely to share in this emancipation, for an essential purpose of the meetings was to remind them of their domestic responsibilities.

Mothers' meetings would not have expanded so rapidly nor have been counted such a success if the poorer classes had stayed at home. Attendance at the meetings ranged from six or eight to hundreds, the average size being fifty or sixty.¹⁶ The largest meeting that I have found was in Kilburn, London, in the 1890s,

where 426 names were listed on the register with an average weekly attendance of 310.¹⁷ Some organizers frowned upon large meetings because there was less opportunity to get to know the members personally. Wonderfully flexible, the meetings were geared to the hours and needs of working-class or cottage wives. The recruitment of mothers, who were invited to bring their infants with them, was the priority. But all women were welcome and a fair share of older girls and women without children attended. Held in church halls, schoolrooms, vicars' libraries, mission rooms, or in a lady's drawing room, the meetings ran weekly, sometimes fortnightly, and met for two hours or so during those times of the day when women were relatively free from domestic duties or the demands of husbands. (After 1870, many more of their older children would have been in school.) Mid afternoon was favoured, but evenings after dinner had been served were preferred in those communities where many women worked during the day. Some charities preferred Mondays or Wednesdays but they were common on other weekdays. Attendance tended to be higher in the winter when a warm fire was provided and Christmas promised a season of special events and entertainments. In the summer the poor were more often away from home and the heat made sitting in crowded rooms for long periods uncomfortable. Despite a high turnover of members, many meetings ran for decades and could boast of dedicated women who continued to turn up in old age.

But why did so many women from the humbler classes join a mothers' meeting ? The answer was obvious to the institution's promoters: all mothers had an instinctive desire to protect and to provide for their children.¹⁸ In a world in which women were thought to have distinctive characteristics, setting them apart from men, and in which women of all ranks could find themselves excluded and mistreated because of their sex, class differences and antagonisms between women could be set aside in the interests

of female solidarity. To this end the meetings dwelled on those concerns common to women, such as needlework and childbirth. This is not to say that they were free of class tension or that they all ran smoothly. Far from it. Many a member left a mothers' meeting because she felt patronized or was not offered an opportunity to make her views heard.¹⁹ But most of the women who sponsored meetings were highly sensitive to the class distinctions which divided themselves from those they wished to benefit and sought to play them down by treating the poor with courtesy and respect. Comparing the privileged lives of educated women to the lot of the poor, Mrs Sumner remarked, "I doubt if we could face their difficulties or live their lives as bravely and contentedly as they do."²⁰ This remark displayed some self knowledge, for Mrs Sumner, according to her granddaughter, never in her life had to put on her own stockings.²¹ The Mothers' Union, in which the social divisions were marked particularly, was not among the more successful charities in breaking down class barriers, a point the society frequently lamented.²²

In setting up a mothers' meeting the priority was to create a happy working environment, an atmosphere in which the members felt comfortable. In most meetings one or two ladies supervised, though in the larger groups more assistance was required. Some ladies, of course, were better at putting members at their ease, but all wished to achieve it. Many of them, if we are to believe the charitable reports, also managed to form close and lasting friendships among their charges.²³ Mrs Henrietta Barnett, who with her husband Canon Barnett set up three mothers' meetings in the parish of St Jude's in the East End in the 1870s, was in no doubt that such meetings promoted friendships between organizers and humble mothers. Over twenty years after leaving the parish she continued to receive numerous Christmas blessings from former members of her classes.²⁴

In urban meetings it became common for working-class Bible women or missionaries to help out, an idea pioneered by Mrs Ranyard. Often recruited from the meetings themselves, they spoke the language of the poor and came from the local neighbourhood. They were thus very useful in easing tensions and getting proceedings underway. The organizers insisted on setting a high moral tone, a spirit of mutual respect and reverence. Complaints about neighbours or other members were out of order. Sensitive to criticism that the members did not contribute enough themselves to the meetings, the wiser supervisors brought them into discussions and made sure that they voted on the rules governing their gatherings.²⁵ By these and other means, personal feuds and social differences were kept from disrupting proceedings. There was often disruption enough coming from outside, especially in the slums. Reports were common of fights on the doorstep of mission halls, stones thrown through windows, and eggs pelted at the members. In Spitalfields, on one occasion, a black man barged into a meeting and danced in the midst of the assembled mothers.²⁶

Mothers' meetings were divided into two complementary parts, religious and secular, both of which were designed to promote family life among women who were often rough and despairing. On the religious side, the meetings opened and closed with a prayer, and usually contained a hymn. Typically, there was also a religious address, often in the form of a commentary on a tract or a passage from scripture, which resembled a sermon. This form of address was much favoured by women who would have gone into the church but for their sex. Mrs Ranyard, among other evangelicals, was insistent that the address should consist of unadorned scripture and many meetings resembled Bible classes with extensive readings from the testaments, especially those passages with an especial meaning to women. Less Bible centred, Catholic classes might use the penny publications of the Catholic Truth Society,

stories, or extracts from improving books. Many meetings, regardless of their particular faith, offered short stories or readings from poetry; Tennyson was a favorite. *Mothers in Council* (1891-92), a periodical of the Mothers' Union edited by the novelist Charlotte Yonge, gave advice on the choice of readings and related matters. Whatever form the address took, it usually lasted for twenty or thirty minutes and was defended on the grounds that poor mothers, many of whom could not read, enjoyed listening to the educated reading aloud. The prayers and addresses were chosen with the particular needs of individual members in mind, so that, for example, a women who had just lost a child would be singled out for sympathetic attention.

Though clerics or male missionaries sometimes participated, the meetings were a distinctively female form of Christian worship which often served as a substitute for church or chapel attendance. Historians of religion have made little of it, but many meetings sought to reach and did reach those levels of working-class life untouched by formal religion, especially in urban centres poorly served by the churches. As Mrs Barnett remarked "to be a member of a meeting may be very far from being a member of a church ... but such membership may be preparation for the highest of all memberships in the body of Christ".²⁷ The Ranyard Mission, among other charities, was most anxious to recruit those women "who considered themselves unfit for church or chapel services".²⁸ For many women who had a vague sense of religion but who failed to attend church because of the distance, a husband's objection or the want of a suitable dress, the local mothers' meeting provided a welcome alternative, as their letters attest. The poor "Mothers of Millwall", for example, wrote to Mrs Ranyard: "It is now 6 years ago that through your kindness Mrs... Opened our Mothers' Meeting in A Small Back Room. There was fifteen of us then but God has prospered us tenfold and the

Meeting has been a Blessing to us our Homes and our Husbands But above all to our souls which were dead in trespasses and sins and are now alive unto God and His kingdom."²⁹

As that letter suggests, there was more to a mothers' meeting than religion; and the secular side of the programme proved very popular. Here the common denominator was needlework. Throughout a meeting the members were busy with their needles, which usually they were asked to supply. Both organizers and members agreed that sewing was invaluable in the domestic economy. Even in the late nineteenth century most of the clothing of women and children was made at home, or in working parties or mothers' meetings. But to the organizers sewing had other advantages, which merged with female piety. Deeply ingrained in women's culture, needlework signified those feminine ideals of home, family, respectability, the suggestion of love for others.³⁰ During a meeting, it also provided an automatic distraction for the hands, which freed the mind to imbibe the religious message. With heads bowed over their needles, as if in prayer, members got on with domestic work that would otherwise have been done at home. As an historian of embroidery argued, "sewing allowed women to sit together without feeling they were neglecting their families, wasting time or betraying their husbands".³¹ Mrs Bayly discovered that husbands, even those hostile to religion, were reconciled to their wives joining a mothers' meeting because it provided clothing for the family without inconvenience to themselves.³²

When the women arrived, usually wearing something black, they rummaged through a stock of prints, calicoes and flannels piled on a table, often of a quality that few of them could afford at retail prices. The organizers took pride in the fact that the material which they provided was superior to the "rubbish" found on local barrows, and they recognized that this was an attraction

of the meetings. After the opening prayer and the taking of attendance, the supervisor organized the sale of the material and noted the purchases in a book set aside for this purpose. Apart from patterns, which were usually supplied free, little was provided that was not paid for. This was holy writ for most of the women who sponsored the meetings, for they were anxious to promote self help and providence and hoped that such attitudes would spill over into family life. Some meetings offered prizes for sewing competitions, but rarely were "bribes" or other inducements permitted. Louisa Twining, who ran a meeting for ten years in connection with the Parochial Mission Women's Association, argued that cloth bought in bulk by the organizers and sold at cost to the members offered sufficient inducement to mothers.³³ With prices that were within the budgets of all but the most destitute few went away empty handed. The records do not tell us what the local cloth traders made of all this.

As initially conceived, the mothers' meeting provided a form of discount fabric shopping in a convivial religious atmosphere, an opportunity to carry on sewing while listening to a reading or picking up tips on domestic management. As we shall see, the interests and activities taking place in the meetings expanded considerably with the years, though religion and needlework remained constants. The beneficiaries could accept the religious indoctrination or simply feign respect for it. As suggested, the promoters knew that mothers, whatever their station or outlook, were not indifferent to their children's prospects. Most were grateful for the support and camaraderie that the meetings provided, and we should not assume that they were alienated by the homilies, which encouraged acceptable social behaviour in their children. Respectability, after all, was not the preserve of the rich and the mothers' meeting was designed to bring it to the many women down the social scale who wanted it for themselves and their

families. One poor woman who wrote to Mrs Bayly spoke for many others when she remarked that her meeting had given her the sympathy of other women, an ideal training for her children, the consolation of religion, and, not least, "rest" from her arduous labours.³⁴

It was always thought to be an advantage of mothers' meetings that they provided a refuge from domestic drudgery. The social investigator Charles Booth believed that they filled "a real want", for they gave "to tired and worried women a peaceful hour enlivened by conversation or reading aloud".³⁵ It became painfully clear to not a few organizers that many poor women attended as an escape from men. Their weekly fellowship with other women was the one "bright spot" in an otherwise dreary routine, refreshment from "the wounded spirit" to use the language of the day.³⁶ "In one thing they were all agreed", said Mrs Ranyard of her first meeting, "they all had bad husbands".³⁷ Drink and familial violence were persistent problems in the slums and rural areas and thus temperance and moral reform were high on the list of subjects discussed at mothers' meetings. It is now fashionable to dismiss the work of Victorian moral reformers and temperance campaigners, but for the many wives and children brutalized by drunken men in the past the need for reform of behaviour, especially male behaviour, was no laughing matter. The mothers' meeting, which provided solidarity and consolation to many long suffering women, may be seen as one of the principal local agencies working toward the reform of manners and morals, a practical response to those calls for social purity which dated back to Hannah More. Its supporters espoused the central axiom "reform the mothers and you begin at the root of our social evils."³⁸ And out of it came ideas which were to have quite fascinating, unexpected repercussions, not least for men.

As one writer of tracts put it, "get at the mothers, and you'll get at the men of the nation".³⁹ And so it turned out, though perhaps not quite as this mother intended. For not satisfied with organizing women the promoters of mothers' meetings organized men in what were called "fathers' meetings" or "men's classes". The object was to round off the work of the maternal meeting, which was thought incomplete as long as husbands and fathers were neglected. Combined meetings in which wives and husbands joined in prayer or bible instruction were common enough in nineteenth century charities. Mrs Pennefather, for example, ran one in her North London Training Home in the 1860s.⁴⁰ But the earliest meeting that I have found set up exclusively for fathers began in 1872 under the auspices of the Ranyard Mission.⁴¹ With an attendance rising to 200 working men, it was run along the lines of a mothers' meeting, with a strong religious message, tempered by secular instruction. Needlework was not included, for it was thought inappropriate for grown men. The mission did provide needlework instruction to males by the end of the century in the form of boys sewing classes.⁴² Other charities did likewise, but the records do not relate whether these were a success or not.

Though never ubiquitous like the mothers' meetings, fathers' classes became increasingly common in the 1880s, perhaps because they offered popular activities such as hymn singing and secular instruction. They were numerous in the Ragged School Union, for example, where along with parents' meetings and mothers' meetings they formed an integral part of that charity's temperance and missionary work.⁴³ The West London Mission, a Methodist society established in 1887, also ran men's classes alongside its mothers' meetings.⁴⁴ Whether run by the sisters as an adjunct to their maternal meetings, or by male missionaries, an essential purpose of such classes was to promote male respect for Christian family

life and motherhood. These were purposes in tune with those of the many other agencies of moral reform, such as the White Cross Army, which recruited large numbers of working men in the 1880s.⁴⁵ The transformation of the relations between the sexes seemed all the more urgent to female reformers in a society in which so many men could not resist the temptations held out by those institutional expressions of working-class culture, the pub and the working-men's club.

Obviously, the campaign for the reformation of manners and morals was not altogether successful. Large numbers of working men showed a reluctance to turn up at church or chapel, nor were they freed from their addiction to one another as drinking companions. The fathers' meeting, like the mothers' meeting, now appears an historical curiosity. It could be argued that mothers' meetings and other forms of female philanthropy contributed to the popularity of pubs and other male working-class preserves, for in bringing women together outside the home, they left men to their own devices. Certainly, conflicts must have arisen between sober and pious wives and their less than temperate husbands, which raised tensions in working-class neighbourhoods. This, along with the antagonism between the rough and respectable poor, helps to explain those eggs and stones hurled at women attending mothers' meetings. Some of the ideas discussed in fathers' classes must also have alarmed many working men (and may come as a surprise to us). In one piece of fathers' meeting literature it was argued that when men marry they place their women on a level of "complete equality" free "to do as they please", and that wives had "as much right" to a man's earnings as he had himself.⁴⁶

The fathers' meeting suggests the dynamism of those familial ideals at the heart of maternal culture, but it was only one of many institutions with an essentially religious purpose that

developed out of the ethos of the mothers' meeting. Parish life was wonderfully rich in interrelated and mutually supporting voluntary societies run by women. Many of them involved needlework in some way. At the heart of female culture in the nineteenth century, needlework was crucial to women's philanthropy at home and abroad. Middle-class working parties and Dorcas meetings, for example, supplied clothing to be sold or recycled in mothers' meetings.⁴⁷ Mothers' meetings, in turn, not only produced garments for the use of members, but frequently contained their own Dorcas societies, which provided clothing for foreign mission stations.⁴⁸ As it reached young mothers and infants, the mothers' meeting was seen as a crucial training ground of religious experience. And while it sought to promote church or chapel attendance, it promoted a host of closely related institutions, which, like itself, often served as a substitute for church or chapel; among these were prayer meetings, maternity societies for pregnant women, bible classes, temperance societies, juvenile missionary associations, and bands of hope. Invariably, mothers and their young were encouraged to join one or more of these gatherings, which carried on the work of evangelizing in another form. Ideally, as the younger generation of girls became wives themselves, they would return to the mothers' meeting, which had initiated their religious education. So the Christian cycle turned.

Social, regional and religious differences insured that mothers' meetings were richly various. A gathering of the Mothers' Union among cottage wives in a lady's drawing room in rural Devon, for example, would seem a strange world to the women who attended a class in a mission hall in a Liverpool slum. But whatever their setting or character, they usually pioneered schemes relevant to local needs. Across the country, one major problem was the irregular management of domestic finance, usually blamed on

husbands, which compelled many wives to take recourse in pawnshops.⁴⁹ Fathers' classes were eventually part of the campaign to regulate household expenditure. But from the early years, savings banks or provident societies became associated with mothers' meetings and spread widely. Thrift, it should be remembered, was a sign of respectability among the labouring classes; it did not have to be imposed from above.⁵⁰ In the first ten years of its operations, Mrs Ranyard's Mission collected L 44,000 for clothing and furniture through provident schemes.⁵¹ It was assumed that people with property were respecters of property.

By the end of the century, the range of social schemes, activities and entertainments was phenomenal. Clothing, boot, blanket and coal clubs were commonly attached to mothers' meetings and augmented the savings banks and thrift societies. In addition to its penny banks and clothing clubs, the West London Mission provided "numerous small pensions" for needy senior members of its meetings. Here was a clever application of the bazaar to social purposes, for they were financed from sales of work.⁵² The meeting in Kilburn, though unusually large, was not untypical of urban gatherings. In the 1890s it boasted a blanket club, a medical club, a doctor's fund, a sick benefit society, a lending library with 320 volumes, and a crèche in an adjoining room.⁵³ Other meetings lent saucepans, sold recipes, offered lantern lectures, reading classes, singing classes, and country holidays. Most hosted annual parties and outings and provided the ubiquitous teas. All in all they could be marvellously adaptable institutions, wrapped in Godliness, which saturated the poor with an ingenious mix of benevolence and self help. It is not surprising that they were so popular with the labouring classes, though not presumably with the pawnbrokers. It was common for charities to "sift" through their members to get rid of

"travellers" who went from meeting to meeting taking advantage of the benefits.⁵⁴

With the years more and more attention was given over to an expansion of the mothers' meeting as a clearing house of information on family welfare. The pioneers of the movement recognized that it was easier to give hints on cleanliness and sanitation to poor women in meetings rather than in their own homes, where they were more inclined to be affronted.⁵⁵ Thus from the early days talks on cookery, diet and health, and the management of babies were common. With the assistance of institutions such as the Ladies Sanitary Association and the Charity Organisation Society they gradually became more informative and less amateurish. As Henrietta Barnett put it, readings from "goody-goody books" were dropped in favour of talks on more relevant matters. In her own meetings she and her husband introduced illustrated newspapers to help explain public events.⁵⁶ Any issue with domestic implications became suitable for discussion at a mothers' meeting, from infant welfare to the state of the housing market, from venereal disease to votes for women.⁵⁷ Such issues led female philanthropists into little known territory, not least the male preserve of government. In their view, stable family life would render state activity in social policy unnecessary; yet calls for government action on specific issues were made by those who promoted mothers' meetings. As early as the 1850s, Mrs Bayly asked for greater state involvement in sanitation and housing.⁵⁸ Whether shy of the state or not, female philanthropists kept in close touch with government proposals affecting family life. The Mothers' Union, for example, sought to influence legislation on issues such as education and housing.⁵⁹ In 1910 it gave evidence to a Royal Commission on marriage and divorce. Thus the tendrils of the humble mothers' meeting reached the corridors of powers.

As practical, temporal activities came to the fore a subtle shift in tone and emphasis can be detected in mothers' meetings. The many references to parties, outings and teas, for example, suggests the growing importance of the meetings in the recreational lives of members and their families, especially in the country and in evangelical communities where restrictions on entertainments were considerable. (The countless trips to the seaside made each year by parties of mothers should interest historians of working-class leisure.) In many meetings the religious emphasis gradually diminished, perhaps because of pressure from a membership more interested in diversions and physical well being than in the rigours of religious instruction. The decline in religion, however, should not be overstated, for well into the twentieth century all meetings contained a religious element and many remained centred on Bible readings and prayer. For its part, the Ranyard Mission was slow to introduce entertainments and thereby relax the religious format of its meetings. But then it worked with the poorest class of women, whose need for spiritual consolation was thought paramount. As noted elsewhere, attentions to the soul took precedence in an age in which there was little hope for the body.⁶⁰ But as education and the standard of living improved for many families, a trend not unconnected with mothers' meetings, more was required than the Christian prescription that the poor put up with their conditions in the hope of better things to come. The mothers' meeting had to move with the times.

Nowhere is the versatility of the mothers' meeting better illustrated than in its connection with children's health. The welfare of children was, of course, a central issue for women; and it had stimulated the creation of myriad charities, many of them run by females, for over a century. The organizers of mothers' meetings, like philanthropists before them, were painfully aware

of the high rate of child mortality, and they compiled their own rudimentary statistics which showed the dimensions of the problem in their neighbourhoods. Having practical experience of dead and dying children themselves, they had a heightened sense of the terrible toll of infant mortality, which government statisticians only corroborated. Mrs Bayly, for example, discovered in the 1850s that there were almost two infant deaths per mother among women in the Kensington potteries.⁶¹ It is not surprising therefore that talks on infant health were increasingly common. Louisa Twining invited Dr. Pope of the National Health Society to give a series of lectures in the 1870s.⁶² The Barnetts provided talks by an expert on "Bodies and Babies" in 1881.⁶³ For its part, the Ranyard Mission showed its sensitivity to the issue through its extensive district nursing programme, initiated in 1868.⁶⁴ With a growing interest in maternity and antenatal care, its Bible nurses visited women in confinement and inspected the babies and toddlers of mothers' meetings, often referring cases to local hospitals and dispensaries. By 1908 the Mission also received assistance from the London County Council, in the form of a lady who did the rounds of mothers' meetings giving lectures on child care.⁶⁵

Despite the long-standing interest of historians in child welfare, the subject has been treated with virtually no reference to mothers' meetings.⁶⁶ The local institutions which do receive attention are the infant welfare centres and the schools for mothers, which emerged in the Edwardian years, partly in response to the growing government concern over child mortality and the needs of national efficiency after the Boer War. Some of them qualified for and took up government subsidies before the First World War and received assistance from the medical profession; thus they came into the state's purview and consequently the records of government in a way that mothers' meetings did not. This helps to explain their prominence in the histories of child

welfare. Yet the neglect of maternal meetings would astonish Edwardian women. For many of them infant welfare centres and schools for mothers were institutions which carried forward their own traditional concerns; as one writer put it, they were "descendant(s) of the mothers' meeting".⁶⁷ Looking back on her own maternal classes in the 1870s and 1880s, with their emphasis on children's health, Henrietta Barnett remarked that they were "an anticipation of the Schools for Mothers now subsidized by government".⁶⁸ It is hard to avoid the conclusion that had women like Henrietta Barnett, Mary Bayly or Ellen Ranyard been medical men or employees of the state their work would have been more widely celebrated. Seeing the subject of infant welfare primarily from a male or a collectivist perspective, historians of social policy have concentrated too narrowly on government and the medical establishment. Indeed, studies of the infant welfare movement are essentially coterminous with the history of state intervention. The way the questions are formulated emphasizes the role of the state and relegates the voluntary sector to the periphery.⁶⁹

In putting the cause of children's welfare into wider focus, a deeper knowledge of philanthropic work shows its continuity with the past. The closer we look at mothers' meetings, for example, the clearer it becomes that infant welfare centres and schools for mothers were their "descendants". Take the St Pancras School for Mothers. Established in 1907, it is often cited, with some justice, as pioneering. Stimulated by a scheme in Belgium and sponsored by a Medical Officer of Health, it was an influential institution despite its local character. But most of its features, including the inspection of infants, lessons on cookery, sewing and housewifery, provident maternity club, home visiting, temperance work and fathers' classes were nothing new or extraordinary. They were staples of countless British mothers'

meetings established decades earlier. Having said this, the relationship between a school for mothers such as that at St Pancras and the more established mothers' meeting was not one way. Mothers' meetings too were influenced by the lively discussion of child mortality and the needs of national efficiency taking place at the turn of the century; and it is clear that these discussions and the institutions of infant welfare which emerged in their wake reinvigorated many mothers' classes. Lectures on the health and management of babies from government officials became increasingly common in mothers' meetings as the work of schools for mothers and infant welfare centres became more widely known.⁷⁰

Despite the give and take among the various institutions associated with infant welfare in the early twentieth century, they did not all share the same priorities. Serving somewhat different functions, schools for mothers and infant welfare centres were not synonymous with mothers' meetings. This was recognized by societies like the Mothers' Union and the Ragged School Union, who gave these new institutions considerable publicity or founded some of them themselves.⁷¹ Typically, schools for mothers and infant welfare centres put a higher premium on preventive medicine and health education than was the case in mothers' meetings. With a larger contribution from the medical profession, they were more preoccupied with the body than the soul. Yet they were not without religion. Though historians of social policy rarely mention it, many infant welfare centres were established by religious charities, like the Ragged School Union; if not, they usually had clerics on their committees. The St Pancras School for Mothers was founded by a Quaker, Alys Russell, and a Methodist, Dora Bunting. The West London Mission gave it accommodation in one of its halls, and religious leaders were prominent in its management.⁷²

When incorporated into the history of child welfare, the mothers' meeting helps to push the subject back several decades. Having said that, we should not conclude that it was simply a forerunner of the state services for children, rapidly vanishing with increased state intervention. To assume this would be to lapse into Whiggishness. The majority of infant welfare centres, like mothers' meetings, were charities run by women, with little or no support from government authorities. At the end of the First World War, for example, there were 1525 infant welfare centres in Britain, most of them voluntary societies without state subsidies.⁷³ But this figure, though impressive, was only a fraction of the number of maternal meetings taking place at the time. In 1918 the Mothers' Union alone was running regular meetings in each of its 8,273 branches in Britain.⁷⁴ The Ragged School Union set up nine infant welfare centres, but it did not reduce the number of its mothers' meetings as a consequence. In the late 1930s it ran just under 200 of them, the highest figure ever reported by that society.⁷⁵ Before the Second World War, the mothers' meeting continued to be far and away the most pervasive grass roots agency dealing with issues of maternal and child welfare in Britain. And its decline has a complicated history, one that cannot be told simply by reference to the rise of the Welfare State.

Although deeply ingrained in British culture as recently as the 1930s, the mothers' meeting is now little remembered except by women of an older generation and by members of societies which carry on the tradition in an attenuated form. The Mothers' Union, for example, still runs numerous women's fellowships among its one half million members, which are direct descendants of the meetings established by Mrs Sumner. Then there are the "evangelistic meetings" of young wives in the Church of England, which alternate bible classes with talks on home-making, nursing and child care.⁷⁶

But a deterioration of the venerable ancestor set in in the early twentieth century which resulted in its transfiguration into the various Christian women's meetings of today.

In the broadest sense, anything which threatened the self sufficiency and status of the family threatened the mothers' meeting, from the increasing availability of cheap manufactured clothing to widening employment opportunities for women. The drop in the birth rate, which began among the middle classes in the 1870s and spread to the working classes in the early twentieth century, was perhaps the most obvious threat. Six live children were born to married couples on average in the mid-Victorian years. With the adoption of family planning the figure was down to just over two per couple by the 1930s.⁷⁷ An implied attack on the ideology of maternalism, birth control not only diminished the number of potential recruits to mothers' meetings, it reduced the span of years mothers might find them useful.

It was argued years ago that a necessary condition for the adoption of family planning is a rising standard of living.⁷⁸ An essential reason for the existence of the mothers' meeting was the widespread poverty in the mid-Victorian years. With improvements in living standards some organizers noted that their meetings had lost their sense of purpose and had become little more than gatherings for gossip and recreation. The Ranyard Mission, which carried out a survey of the conditions of trade in London's slums, noted a "vast" improvement in the appearance of mothers in the 1880s.⁷⁹ By the early twentieth century it lamented its failure to adjust to the needs of better off and better educated wives and mothers, who were beginning to drift into other organizations. During the First World War it reported that its mothers' meetings were falling into disrepute with respectable women, who regarded them as occasions for "gossip and cadging".⁸⁰ Thus it introduced

fresh ideas and invented new names for the meetings, such as women's fellowships and mothers' clubs. But the results were not altogether encouraging. The Mothers' Union too worried about their meetings becoming "stagnant" and it detected a similar trend during the First World War as many of its working-class members moved on to other institutions such as schools for mothers and women's institutes.⁸¹ But unlike the Ranyard Mission, it always found it easier to recruit new members among the wives of tradesmen and artisans.

In accelerating social change the two world wars had an unsettling effect on mothers' meetings. Charities like the Mothers' Union, the Girls' Friendly Society and the Ranyard Mission were zealous in their support of the British case in the First World War and demonstrated their patriotism by promoting the sale of war bonds: making articles for men at the front, and assisting recruitment drives. The Mothers' Union also assisted the Board of Trade in registering women willing to do war work.⁸² Their close contacts with the missionary movement and their other links overseas strengthened their loyalty to an Empire which they had adopted as part of a mother's domain.⁸³ At first, they little realized that the war would undermine the ideological basis of the Empire and with it have implications for maternal culture. Nor did they understand its more immediate meaning for their communities and the lives of women. As a generation of men went to the front parish life was fractured. As young women took their place in agriculture and industry they had little time to give to those female institutions which might otherwise have filled their idle hours. One witness put it neatly: women and girls were "cast from the service of the home and of the class amid the whirl of wheels".⁸⁴ The growing difficulty of recruiting younger members to mothers' meetings often meant that a rump of older women had to carry on as best they could for as long as they could. When

mothers died off without being replaced by their daughters, that generational cycle, so important in the transmission of Christianity, was broken.

If anything, the Second World War had a greater impact than the First on mothers' meetings and maternal culture. Total War not only reduced those social distinctions which were bound up with mothers' meetings, but the aerial bombing often disrupted or put an end to proceedings, especially those of the city missions. (The Mothers' Union, with its base in the shires, was less unsettled.) The Ragged School Union, for example, reported a dramatic decline in its classes for mothers after 1939. Thirty-eight of its missions suffered bomb damage.⁸⁵ Furthermore, the society, like others, had to cope with the continual calling up of its volunteers for the forces. The evacuation of children further dislocated families and neighbourhoods. Before long, the emergency resulted in many missions and schools being requisitioned by the authorities. Rooms in which mothers' meetings had been held became recreation centres for servicemen or wards for casualties of the blitz. Many charities, not least those which ran mothers' meetings, found it difficult to recover lost ground in 1945, especially as the war had changed the public's expectations in regard to the social services. The postwar evolution of the Welfare State in Britain took away further ground, especially among those charities which provided medical or material benefits. Those savings banks and provident schemes, for example, which were still a feature of mothers' meetings in the interwar years, became outmoded with increased state benefits and a rising standard of living. In this new social terrain, could women who had travelled far from home during the war, who had taken up new employments and seen new possibilities be satisfied with a return to the disrupted rituals of parish life? Having worked alongside men in war, industry and agriculture, could those age old beliefs in the

differences between the sexes, which underpinned maternalism, any longer satisfy or persuade?

Among the casualties of war was community religious life and all it represented. To most philanthropic women, Christianity was the fountain of family and community values and, by implication, national purpose. The Girls' Friendly Society put its finger on the dangers to religion at the end of the First World War, when it reported on a society in which children were no longer buried in the same churchyard as their parents and grandparents.⁸⁶ In an increasingly mobile and material world, the Christian mothers' meeting, like maternal culture generally, could not survive intact. With the decline in religious faith, those expressions of maternalism which mixed so well in the mothers' meeting, compassion and needlework, declined as well. That compassion was stimulated by religious precept is obvious. But there was also an element of religion in needlework. Before the mass marketing of manufactured clothing, sewing took up so much of a woman's existence that it was part of her femininity. Sewing and religion merged in the church stitch church routine of Victorian women, a tendency strengthened by the Biblical prescription that women sew for the benefit of others. But just as there were signs that British women were losing their piety, reports appeared that they were also losing touch with their needles and consequently their meetings, a trend not unconnected with the invention of the sewing machine with its distracting whirr.⁸⁷ In more and more meetings singing classes, lantern lectures and other entertainments filled hours formerly devoted to Bible reading, needlework and prayer. Such trends would have alarmed those god-fearing pioneers who created the mothers' meeting in the nineteenth century. For they never doubted that their dear cause floated on a sea of faith and flannel. It sank when the praying and the sewing stopped.

Footnotes

*This article is a revised version of a paper delivered in Florence at the European University Institute, Department of History and Civilization, in November 1986.

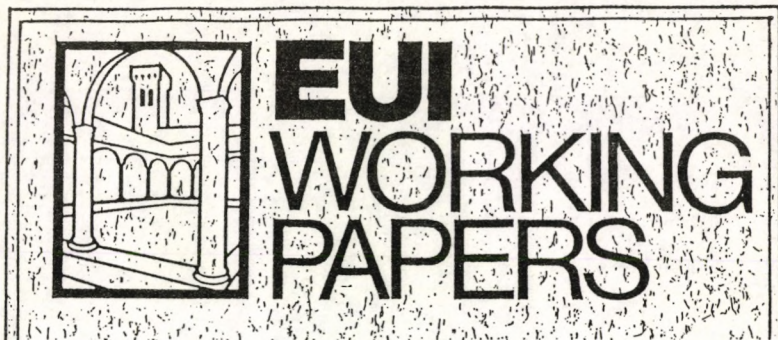
- 1 Very little has been written about mothers' meetings, but there are passing references to them in Jeffrey Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society, Lambeth 1870-1930* (New York and Oxford, 1982), pp. 71-2, 101; Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood", *History Workshop*, issue 5, 1978, p. 41; Brian Harrison, "For Church, Queen and Family: The Girls' Friendly Society 1874-1920", *Past & Present*, number 61, Nov. 1973, p. 124; Jane Lewis, *Women in England, 1870-1950: Sexual Divisions and Social Change* (Sussex and Bloomington, 1984), p. 37; G.F. McCleary, *The Early History of the Infant Welfare Movement* (London, 1933), p. 86; Standish Meacham, *A Life Apart: The English Working Class 1890-1914* (London, 1977), p. 91. See also F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1980).
- 2 *Ranyard Magazine*, vol. xlvi, Jan. 1929, p. 3. See also, Virginia Crawford, *Ideals of Charity* (Edinburgh and London, 1908), p. 62; Miss (Louisa) Hubbard, "The Organization of Women Workers", *Woman's Mission*, ed. Baroness Burdett-Coutts (London, 1893), p. 278; *Women Workers, the Official Report of the Conference held at Nottingham... 1895* (Nottingham and London, 1895), p. 118; Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 17 vols. (London, 1903), 3rd series, vol. vii, p. 9.
- 3 The Mothers' meeting abroad is a large subject in itself. The periodicals of the Mothers' Union and the Ranyard Mission provide much useful material.
- 4 *Woman's Mission*, ed. Burdett-Coutts, appendix, p. 412.
- 5 Elizabeth Twining, *Readings for Mothers' Meetings*, (London, 1861), p. iii. I am grateful to Sally Davis for this reference. Louisa Twining corroborated her sister's statement years later in *Supplement to some Facts in the History of the Twining Family* (Salisbury, 1893), p. 31.
- 6 Mary Bayly, *Ragged Homes and How to Mend Them* (London, 1860), p. 112. This work was stimulated by the writings of Ellen Ranyard.
- 7 See the annual reports of the Ragged School Union and Shaftesbury Society.
- 8 In *Biblewomen and Nurses*, vol. xxii (April 1, 1905), p. 82 it was said that Mrs. Ranyard "discovered" the mothers' meeting, but her followers later argued that she "invented it". See *ibid*, vol. xxviii (June, 1911), p. 105.
- 9 (Ellen Ranyard,) *London, and Ten Years Work in It* (London, 1868), p. 16. 1868), p. 16.
- 10 S.R.P. (Miss S.R. Powers), *Remarks on Woman's Work in Sanitary Reform* (London, (1862)), 3rd ed., p. 19.

- 11 See the ads at the end of Ellie Hopkins, *Home Thoughts for Mother and Mothers' Meetings* (London, 1869). Other examples of "mothers' meeting literature" are Twining, *Readings for Mothers' Meetings*; (J.M. King) *A Happy Mothers' Meeting and Other Addresses for Mothers* (London, (1901)); (J.M. King) *A Letter for You, and Other Addresses for Mothers' Meetings* (London, (1898)); *A Mother, Bright Glimpses for Mothers' Meetings* (London, 1868); *A Mother, Pictures of Cottage Life... for Mothers' Meetings* (London, 1874); Charlotte Yonge, *Burnt Out: a Story for Mothers' Meetings* (London, 1879). For further information on this literature and details on setting up meetings see Charlotte Yonge, ed., *Mothers' in Council*, 2 vols. (London, 1891-92), a periodical of the Mothers' Union.
- 12 For the annual figures of membership see the *Mothers' Union Handbook and Central Report*.
- 13 Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society*, p. 71,
- 14 For an interesting discussion of paternalism see David Roberts, *Paternalism in Early Victorian England* (New Brunswick, N.J. 1979).
- 15 *The Fathers Meeting. Half-an Hours' Reading for Working Men* (London, (1873)), p. 4.
- 16 In 1916 the Mothers' Union, the largest society running mothers' meetings had 415,354 members and 8,266 branches, an average of 50 members per branch. See the *Mothers' Union Handbook and Central Report* (1916), p. xxx. In the Ragged School Union and Shaftesbury Society in 1895, 9,580 members were enrolled in 133 meetings, an average of 72 enrolled per meeting. See the *Fifty-First Annual Report of the Ragged School Union and Shaftesbury Society* (London, 1895), p. 13. The average membership was 63 in the 57 mothers' meetings in Lambeth. See Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society*, p. 71.
- 17 *Biblewomen and Nurses*, vol. xiii (Aug., 1879), pp. 156-7.
- 18 Bayly, *Ragged Homes and How to Mend Them*, p. 118.
- 19 See examples of this in *Life as We have Known It*, ed. Margaret Llewelyn Davies (London, 1977), p. 40.
- 20 Quoted in Joyce Coombs, George and Mary Sumner. *Their Life and Times* (London, 1965), p. 120. See also her remarks in *Mothers' in Council* ed. Yonge (April, 1891), vol. i, pp. 113-19.
- 21 Coombs, George and Mary Sumner, p. 188.
- 22 See, for example, *The Mothers' Union Workers' Paper* (Sept., 1914), pp. 134-35; *Mothers' Union Handbook and Central Report* (London, 1903), p. 33.
- 23 *Biblewomen and Nurses*, vol. vi (Oct., 1889), p. 192.
- 24 (Mrs. H.O. Barnett) Canon Barnett. *His Life, Work, and Friends*, 2 vols. (London, 1918), i, p. 100.
- 25 Bayly, *Ragged Homes and How to Mend Them*, p. 120.
- 26 *Missing Link Magazine*, vol. 1 (March, 1865), p. 77; *Biblewomen and Nurses*, vol. xv (June, 1898), p. 11.
- 27 (Barnett), Canon Barnett, vol. 1, p. 101.

- 28 *Biblewomen and Nurses*, vol. xxviii (June, 1911), p. 106.
- 29 (Ellen Ranyard), *Nurses for the Needy or Bible-Women in the Homes of the London Poor* (London, 1875), pp. 212-41.
- 30 See Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch; Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London, 1984), passim.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- 32 Bayly, *Ragged Homes and How to Mend Them*, p. 198.
- 33 Louisa Twining, *Recollections of Life and Work* (London, 1893), pp. 208-09. See also, *Bible Work at Home and Abroad*, vol. ii (Aug. 1885), pp. 235-6.
- 34 Bayly, *Ragged Homes and How to Mend Them*, pp. 254-55. On mothers' meetings as a sign of respectability see Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society*, pp. 71-2.
- 35 Booth, *Life and Labour*, vol. vii, pp. 18-19.
- 36 *Missing Link Magazine*, vol. xvii (Sept., 1881), p. 263; Bayly, *Ragged Homes and How to Mend Them*, p. 253.
- 37 *Ranyard Magazine*, vol. xlvi (Jan. 1929), p. 2.
- 38 Report on the Visitation of Females at their own Homes in the City of Westminster (London, 1854), p. 4.
- 39 A Mother, *Bright Glimpses for Mothers' Meetings*, p. 2.
- 40 See *The North London Training Home: What is it Doing?* (London, (186?)).
- 41 *Missing Link Magazine*, vol. xviii (May, 1882), p. 130. Mrs Sumner was running a fathers' class about this time as well. See Coombs, George and Mary Sumner, p. 63.
- 42 *Biblewomen and Nurses*, vol. xv (June, 1898), p. 112.
- 43 *The Fifty First Annual Report*, p. 13.
- 44 *Advance*, vol. viii (Feb. 1909), p. 27 and passim.
- 45 See Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England*, pp. 214-16.
- 46 *The Fathers' Meeting. Half-an-Hour's Reading for Working Men*, p. 32. One woman's reading of the Bible led her to the conclusion that it supported equal pay for women and their right to sit on all public bodies on equal terms with men. See L. Sapsworth, *The Emancipation of Women* (London, 1913), pp. 16-17.
- 47 (Ranyard), *Nurses for the Needy*, pp. 291-3.
- 48 See, for example, *Biblewomen and Nurses*, vol. xiii (Aug. 1896), pp. 157-8.
- 49 See Melanie Tebbutt, *Making Ends Meet: Pawnbroking and Working-Class Credit* (Leicester and New York, 1983), chapter 2. The problems of family expenditure which reduced wives to pawnshops are poignantly described in Lady Bell, *At the Works* (London, 1969), chapter iii.
- 50 See Paul Johnson, *Saving and Spending: The Working-Class Economy in Britain, 1870-1939* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 225-7.
- 51 (Ranyard), *London, and Ten Years Work in It*, pp. 8-10.
- 52 *Advance*, vol. v. (Oct., 1906), p. 92.
- 53 *Biblewomen and Nurses*, vol. ix (May, 1892), pp. 94-5; vol. xiii (Aug., 1896), pp. 156-7.

- 54 Ibid., vol. xxii (March, 1905), p. 59. See also Booth, *Life and Labour*, vol. vii, pp. 18-19.
- 55 Olive Parker, *For the Family's Sake: A History of the Mothers' Union 1876-1976* (Folkestone, 1975), pp. 32-3.
- 56 (Barnett), Canon Barnett, vol. i, p. 100.
- 57 See, for example, *Advance*, vol. vii (April, 1908), p. 77. The periodicals of the Mothers' Union, especially the *Mothers' Union Journal*, provide an excellent guide to the wide range of topics discussed by that society.
- 58 Bayly, *Ragged Homes and How to Mend Them*, pp. 244-6.
- 59 On the 1906 Education Bill, for example, see Parker, *For the Family's Sake*, p. 35-9. On housing see the *Mothers' Union Journal*, (April, 1919), p. 19.
- 60 See my forthcoming article "Body and Soul: Bible Nurses and the Poor in Victorian London", *Historical Research*.
- 61 Bayly, *Ragged Homes and How to Mend Them*, p. 89.
- 62 Twining, *Recollections of Life and Work*, p. 207.
- 63 (Barnett), Canon Barnett, vol. i, p. 100.
- 64 See Prochaska, "Body and Soul: Bible Nurses and the Poor in Victorian London".
- 65 *Biblewomen and Nurses*, vol. xxv (July, 1908), p. 125; (Aug. 1908), pp. 133-4.
- 66 On the Infant Welfare Movement see Deborah Dwork, *War is Good for Babies and other Young Children: A History of the Child Welfare Movement in England 1898-1918* (London and New York, 1987). See also McCleary, *The Early History of the Infant Welfare Movement*; G.F. McCleary, *The Development of British Maternity and Child Welfare Services* (London, 1945); Jane Lewis, *The Politics of Motherhood: Child and Maternal Welfare in England 1900-1939* (London, 1980); Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood".
- 67 *Ranyard Magazine*, vol. xxxiv (Feb., 1917), p. 37.
- 68 (Barnett), Canon Barnett, vol. 1, p. 100.
- 69 In 1906 a woman writing of the Salvation Army's social work, a charity deeply involved in the welfare of children, remarked: "The real work of social reform ... appears to be so far beneath the notice of Parliament, municipal authorities, and Poor Law guardians." Mrs. Harold Gorst, "Down in the Abyss", *Sketches of the Salvation Army Social Work* (London, 1906), p. 87.
- 70 See Reports on the National League for Physical Education and Improvement.
- 71 The Ragged School Union and Shaftesbury Society, for example, organized its own infant welfare centres, which operated alongside the more traditional mothers' meetings. See details at the back of the society's annual reports. The Mothers' Union regretted that it was not a pioneer in establishing schools for mothers or baby welcomes, but it did help to set some up and gave them publicity. The *Mothers' Union Workers' Paper* reported regularly on the infant welfare movement from 1914 on.

- 72 Evelyn M. Bunting et al, **A School for Mothers** (London (1907)) lists the members of the Committee of the St Pancras School for Mothers, pp. 85-6. Several members of the committee were on the staff of the West London Mission. See also **Advance**, vol. xvii (Sept., 1918), pp. 9-10.
- 73 **The National League for Physical Education and Improvement. Annual Reports, 1918** (London, 1918), p. 12. In 1928 there were about 3,000 infant welfare centres. See **National League for Health, Maternity and Child Welfare. Annual Report for 1928 and Retrospect, 1905-1928** (London (1929)), p. 5.
- 74 **The Mothers' Union Official Handbook 1919**, p. xxxv.
- 75 **In the Making. 94th Annual Report 1937-1938 of the Shaftesbury Society and R.S.U.**, p. 24.
- 76 **Se Women's Meetings in the Parish. A Handbook for Leaders** (London, 1960), pp. 8-9.
- 77 J.A. Banks, **Prosperity and Parenthood** (London, 1954), p. 3.
- 78 J.A. and Olive Banks, **Feminism and Family Planning** (London, 1964), p. 2.
- 79 **Missing Link Magazine**, vol. xvii (Sept. 1881), p. 263; **Biblewomen and Nurses**, vol. vii (May, 1891), pp. 92-3.
- 80 **Biblewomen and Nurses**, vol. xxxii (July, 1915), p. 122.
- 81 **The Mothers' Union Workers' Paper** (July, 1918), p. 89; (Sept., 1914), pp. 134-35.
- 82 **The Mothers' Union Official Handbook 1916** (London, 1916), p. xxxii. **The Mothers' Union Journal** also provides much useful information on that charity's contribution to the war effort.
- 83 See Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood", and Harrison, "For Church, Queen and Family".
- 84 **Toward the Sunrise. The Story of the Shaftesbury Society and Ragged School Union. 72nd Annual Report 1915-1916**, p. 6. See also **Friendly Leaves**, vol. xlv (Aug., 1919), p. 115.
- 85 **Shaftesbury Magazine**, vol. xcvi (June, 1945), p. 11.
- 86 **Friendly Leaves**, vol. xlv (Aug., 1919), p. 115.
- 87 On the decline in needlework see Crawford, **Ideals of Charity**, p. 64.



EUI Working Papers are published and distributed by the European University Institute, Florence.

A complete list and copies of Working Papers can be obtained free of charge -- depending on the availability of stocks -- from:

The Publications Officer
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I-50016 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy

Please use order form overleaf

PUBLICATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE

To The Publications Officer
 European University Institute
 Badia Fiesolana
 I-50016 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
 Italy

From Name.....
 Address.....

Please send me: ☐ a complete list of EUI Working Papers
 ☐ the following EUI Working Paper(s):

No.:.....

Author, title:.....

Date:.....

Signature:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 86/243: Pierre DEHEZ and
Jacques DREZE | Competitive Equilibria With Increasing
Returns |
| 86/244: James PECK and
Karl SHELL | Market Uncertainty: Correlated
Equilibrium and Sunspot Equilibrium in
Market Games |
| 86/245: Domenico Mario NUTI | Profit-Sharing and Employment: Claims
and Overclaims |
| 86/246: Karoly Attila SOOS | Informal Pressures, Mobilization and
Campaigns in the Management of
Centrally Planned Economies |
| 86/247: Tamas BAUER | Reforming or Perfectioning the
Economic Mechanism in Eastern Europe |
| 86/248: Francesc MORATA | Autonomie Regionale et Integration
Européenne:
la participation des Régions
espagnoles aux décisions
communautaires |
| 86/249: Giorgio VECCHIO | Movimenti Pacifisti ed
Antiamericanismo in Italia (1948-1953) |
| 86/250: Antonio VARSORI | Italian Diplomacy and Contrasting
Perceptions of American Policy After
World War II (1947-1950) |
| 86/251: Vibeke SORENSEN | Danish Economic Policy and the
European Cooperation on Trade and
Currencies, 1948-1950 |
| 86/252: Jan van der HARST | The Netherlands an the European
Defence Community |
| 86/253: Frances LYNCH | The Economic Effects of the Korean War
in France, 1950-1952 |
| 86/254: Richard T. GRIFFITHS
Alan S. MILWARD | The European Agricultural Community,
1948-1954 |
| 86/255: Helge PHARO | The Third Force, Atlanticism and
Norwegian Attitudes Towards European
Integration |
| 86/256: Scott NEWTON | Operation "Robot" and the Political
Economy of Sterling Convertibility,
1951-1952 |

- 86/257: Luigi MONTRUCCHIO Lipschitz Continuous Policy Functions
for Strongly Concave Optimization
Problems
- 86/258: Gunther TEUBNER Unternehmenskorporatismus
New Industrial Policy und das "Wesen"
der juristischen Person
- 86/259: Stefan GRUCHMANN Externalitätenmanagement durch
Verbaende
- 86/260: Aurelio ALAIMO City Government in the Nineteenth
Century United States
Studies and Research of the American
Historiography
- 87/261: Odile QUINTIN New Strategies in the EEC for Equal
Opportunities in Employment for Men
and Women.
- 87/262: Patrick KENIS Public Ownership: Economizing
Democracy or Democratizing Economy?
- 87/263: Bob JESSOP The Economy, the State and the Law:
Theories of Relative Autonomy and
Autopoietic Closure
- 87/264: Pietro REICHLIN Endogenous Fluctuations in a Two-
Sector Overlapping Generations Economy
- 87/265: Bernard CORNET The Second Welfare Theorem in
Nonconvex Economies
- 87/266: Nadia URBINATI Libertà e buon governo in John Stuart
Mill e Pasquale Villari
- 87/267: Edmund PHELPS Recent Studies of Speculative Markets
in the Controversy over Rational
Expectations
- 87/268: Pierre DEHEZ and
Jacques DREZE Distributive Productions Sets and
Equilibria with Increasing Returns
- 87/269: Marcello CLARICH The German Banking System; Legal
Foundations and Recent Trends
- 87/270: Egbert DIERKER and
Wilhelm NEUEFEIND Quantity Guided Price Setting

- 87/271: Winfried BOECKEN
Der verfassungsrechtliche Schutz von Altersrentenansprüchen und -anwartschaften in Italien und in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland sowie deren Schutz im Rahmen der Europäischen Menschenrechtskonvention
- 87/272: Serge NOIRET
Aux origines de la reprise des relations entre Rome et Moscou. Idéalisme maximaliste et réalisme bolchevique:
la mission Bombacci - Cabrini à Copenhague en avril 1920.
- 87/273: Gisela BOCK
Geschichte, Frauengeschichte, Geschlechtergeschichte
- 87/274: Jean BLONDEL
Ministerial Careers and the Nature of Parliamentary Government:
The Cases of Austria and Belgium
- 87/275: Birgitta NEDELMANN
Individuals and Parties - Changes in Processes of Political Mobilization
- 87/276: Paul MARER
Can Joint Ventures in Hungary Serve as a "Bridge" to the CMEA Market?
- 87/277: Felix FITZROY
Efficiency Wage Contracts, Unemployment and Worksharing
- 87/278: Bernd MARIN
Contracting Without Contracts
Economic Policy Concertation by Autopoietic Regimes beyond Law
- 87/279: Darrell DUFFIE and Wayne SHAFER
Equilibrium and the Role of the Firm in Incomplete Markets
- 87/280: Martin SHUBIK
A Game Theoretic Approach to the Theory of Money and Financial Institutions
- 87/281: Goesta ESPING ANDERSEN
State and Market in the Formation of Social Security Regimes
A Political Economy Approach
- 87/282: Neil KAY
Markets and False Hierarchies:
Some Problems in Transaction Cost Economics

- | | |
|---|---|
| 87/283: Leslie OXLEY and
Donald GEORGE | Perfect Foresight, Non-Linearity and
Hyperinflation |
| 87/284: Saul ESTRIN and
Derek JONES | The Determinants of Workers'
Participation and Productivity in
Producer Cooperatives |
| 87/285: Domenico Mario NUTI | Financial Innovation under Market
Socialism |
| 87/286: Felix FITZROY | Unemployment and the Share Economy: A
Sceptical Note |
| 87/287: Paul HARE | Supply Multipliers in a Centrally
Planned Economy with a Private Sector |
| 87/288: Roberto TAMBORINI | The Stock Approach to the Exchange
Rate: an Exposition and a Critical
Appraisal |
| 87/289: Corrado BENASSI | Asymmetric Information and Financial
Markets: from Financial Intermediation
to Credit Rationing |
| 87/290: Johan BARNARD | The European Parliament and Article
173 of the EEC Treaty |
| 87/291: Gisela BOCK | History, Women's History, Gender
History |
| 87/292: Frank PROCHASKA | A Mother's Country: Mothers' Meetings
and Family Welfare in Britain, 1850 -
1950 |
| 87/293: Karen OFFEN | Women and the Politics of Motherhood
in France, 1920 - 1940 |
| 87/294: Gunther TEUBNER | Enterprise Corporatism |

