Poverty, Charity and Memory in Post-War Manchester: The Work and Operation of the Wood Street Mission, 1945-1990

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Mark Crosher

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

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Abbreviations

BMA – The British Medical Association

CPAG – Child Poverty Action Group

CCHF – Children's County Holiday Fund

DofE – Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme

FSU – Family Service Units

GMYA – Greater Manchester Youth Association

LCPM – London Police Court Mission

MSSS – Manchester and Salford Shaftesbury Society

MSCSS – Manchester and Salford Council of Social Service

MUS – Manchester University Settlement

NSPCC – National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

SHS – Social History Society

VAHS – Voluntary Action History Society

SPCHC – Salford Poor Children's Holiday Camp

WSM – Wood Street Mission

WRVS – Women's Royal Voluntary Service

Abstract

This thesis investigates the work and operation of the Manchester-based poverty relief charity, the Wood Street Mission (WSM), between 1945 and 1990. While the history of post-war welfare has underlined the survival and growth of the voluntary sector at a national level, the development of middle-class philanthropy at a local and community platform remains neglected. By focusing on the WSM, this thesis explores the way in which a small charitable organization adapted to the post-war welfare state, and responded to important economic and social problems. It argues that local middle-class philanthropy in post-war Britain was a resilient and dynamic force within the mixed economy of welfare. In particular, it demonstrates that the WSM performed a diverse range of work in the fields of health, leisure, education and advice as a means to alleviate urban tension deriving from inflation, unemployment, housing, and juvenile delinquency. Moreover, the study establishes that the WSM combined traditional poverty relief activities with pioneering youth projects in responding to local community needs. Looking beyond traditional explanations of philanthropy as driven by either 'social control' or 'kindness', this research adopts a contemporary approach for the framing of charitable action in the post-war period, which accounts for central and local government policies, voluntary sector associations, and commercial forces.

This thesis also develops historical understanding of the post-war experience of welfare by exploring the oral testimonies of former employees of the WSM, and people that received assistance, within the framework of a theory of memory composure. By drawing on memory theory, it offers a fresh perspective on the role of both altruism and stigma in post-war society by investigating how charity staff and 'clients' have interpreted and reconstructed their pasts. Building on research by Alessandro Portelli, Alistair Thomson and Penny Summerfield, it provides an important theoretical development through applying memory composure theory to the context of poverty and charity. The thesis will argue that charity staff and 'clients' accounts of the past were not only structured by different understandings of poverty, but also shaped by expressions of empathy. It demonstrates long-standing and contemporary definitions of poverty, as well as class, political and religious interpretations of the term, structured their oral recollections of the WSM. Moreover, it demonstrates that wide ranging concepts of empathy were conveyed in the narration of accounts concerning the WSM's post-war activities, including an imagining of oneself in another's situation and being emotionally affected by someone else's experiences. Using the WSM as a site of study, this thesis breaks new ground in the historiography of post-war welfare in Britain by exploring the relationship of poverty, charity and memory.

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Introduction

Constructing the Post-War History of the Wood Street Mission

> And so the Wood Street Mission has continued through the last 140 years, feeding hungry children and housing the homeless in the 19th Century, taking impoverished children to the seaside in the first half of the twentieth century and doing its bit to give clothes and toys to deprived children into the new millennium...We should all think about Wood Street's long and noble history and ask what we can do to help that work long into the future.[1]
>
> - *Editorial of the Manchester Evening News* (30 January 2009)

In January 2009, the *Manchester Evening News* paid a glowing tribute in marking the 140-year existence of the Wood Street Mission (WSM).[2] Under the headline 'Mission We Should All Be So Proud Of', the newspaper praised the WSM for making a significant contribution to the relief of poverty and material deprivation in the city. Established in 1869 by the Methodist preacher Alfred Alsop – the WSM is one of the oldest charities in Manchester. This thesis investigates the development of middle-class philanthropic endeavour in post-war Britain through a microhistory of the WSM from May 1945 to December 1990. Whilst there has been much examination of the survival and growth of charitable action at a national level, this thesis uses a micro historical approach to open a window into the everyday life at a philanthropic institution representative of large segments of the voluntary sector nationwide.[3] Crucially, this microhistory of the WSM's work and operation

[1] *Manchester Evening News*, 30 January 2009, p.8.
[2] For the purpose of conciseness, the Wood Street Mission hereafter will be abbreviated to WSM.
[3] For two overviews concerning development of voluntary action in post-war Britain, see: B. Harris, 'Voluntary Action and the State in Historical Perspective', *Voluntary Sector Review* 1:1 (2010), pp. 25-40; and P. Thane, 'Voluntary Action in Britain since Beveridge' in M. Oppenheimer and N. Deakin (ed.), *Beveridge and Voluntary Action in Britain in the Wider British World* (Manchester: 2011), pp. 120-134. For detailed studies on the subject, see: D. Owen, *English Philanthropy, 1660-1960* (Cambridge, Mass: 1960); M. Brenton, *The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services*

addresses important issues that deepen historical understanding of philanthropy in post-war Britain and its position within the mixed economy of welfare.[4] Using the WSM as a case study, the thesis examines how a small, local charitable institution tackled poverty and connected with its surrounding communities, responded to central and local government policies, financed its philanthropic work, and interacted with the media to promote its cause.

Figure 1: Photograph of the Wood Street Mission (2011).
Source: Given by the WSM.

This microhistory of the WSM seeks to extrapolate the broader processes of welfare provision in post-war Britain, especially the interplay between the state, the

(London: 1985); F. Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London: 1988); A. Ware (ed.), *Charities and Government* (Manchester: 1989) and G. Finlayson, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990* (Oxford: 1994).

[4] Jane Lewis used the phrase 'mixed economy of welfare' to describe the system of welfare in Britain. She argued: 'It is more accurate to see Britain as always having a mixed economy of welfare, in which the state, the voluntary sector, the family, and the market played different parts at different times'. See J. Lewis, *The Voluntary sector, the State and Social Work in Britain: the Charity Organization Society/Family Welfare Association since 1869* (Aldershot: 1995), p.3.

charitable field and local communities. In particular, the thesis uses the example of the WSM to argue that local middle-class philanthropy was a resilient and dynamic force within the mixed economy of welfare in post-war Britain. As the following chapters will show, the organization undertook diverse work in the fields of health, advice, leisure and education as a means to alleviate urban tension deriving from inflation, unemployment, housing degradation, and juvenile delinquency. Furthermore, the organization combined traditional poverty relief activities with experimental youth projects in responding to local community needs. This microhistory of the WSM also seeks to problematize interpretations of philanthropy and voluntary action. The thesis contends that long-standing assumptions of 'social control' and 'kindness' as motors of philanthropy are not sufficient to explain the WSM's post-war history, and that the organization's charitable endeavours were shaped by a combination of government policies, voluntary sector associations and commercial forces.

Another important objective of this microhistory of the WSM is to break new ground in the historiography of welfare in post-war Britain by investigating the way in which former charity staff and clients have internalised and reconstructed their experiences. This aspect of the thesis aims to explore memories of the WSM's post-war work and operation through interrogating the subjectivities of its former employees and clients who received assistance. These testimonies will be examined within a theory of memory composure, which insists that interviewees compose memories by drawing on public discourses to make sense of their past and achieve a sense of personal equanimity.[5] While oral interviews have shed light on experiences of hardship amongst the working classes, there remains no extensive application of

[5] For an overview of the concept of memory composure, see: P. Summerfield, 'Culture and Composure: Creating Narratives of the Gendered Self in Oral History Interviews', *Cultural and Social History* 1 (2004), pp. 65-71.

the theory of memory composure to the context of poverty and charity in post-war Britain.[6] By exploring how former WSM staff and 'clients' have interpreted their pasts, the thesis seeks to provide a fresh perspective on the experience of both hardship and altruism in post-war society and culture.[7]

This introductory chapter is divided into four sections. The first section positions this study of the WSM within the historical scholarship. It discusses the validity of microhistory as a research tool, and surveys histories of the post-war welfare state and voluntary sector. The second section discusses how the WSM provides an effective case study for examining middle-class philanthropic endeavour in post-war Britain. It places the WSM in a national framework, and argues that its origins, initial poverty relief activities, and management, prior to the Second World War, were representative of the voluntary sector as a whole. The third section focuses on research methodology and evidence. It discusses the archival sources used to support the thesis, in addition to the oral interviews that are analysed. The fourth section outlines the structure of the thesis and provides a breakdown of key arguments.

The Understanding of Post-War Welfare: Historiographical Debates

Using the example of the WSM, this thesis adopts a micro historical approach to the study of post-war philanthropy and voluntary action. As Geovanni Levi notes,

[6] Important oral histories of working-class life include: S. Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth, 1889-1939* (Oxford: 1981); E. Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women, 1890-1940* (Oxford: 1984); and A. Davin, *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London, 1870-1914* (London: 1996).

[7] Most recently, the term 'client' has been adopted to categorise people who have needed charitable assistance. However, it should be recognised that 'client', along with 'recipient' and 'claimant', are not neutral terms and have social implications. For the purpose of this research, the term 'client' will be used in places as it is the most sensitive to families and individuals.

microhistory 'as a practice is essentially based on the reduction of the scale of observation, on a microscopic analysis and an intensive study of the documentary material'.[8] More recently, Sigurdur Gylfi Magnússon and Istvan Szijártó have argued that microhistory has three key features.[9] Firstly, a microhistory entails an intensive historical investigation of a defined small unit. This in turn could entail a single event, a person or a family, an institution, or a certain community. Secondly, the aims of a microhistory go beyond a case study, and seek to shed light on wider historical trends and processes. Put another way, the findings of a micro investigation are used to support conclusions drawn from large historical questions. Thirdly, a microhistory places an emphasis on agency, which conceives people not as passive participants moved by underlying socio-economic forces, but as active and conscious actors. This microhistory of the WSM contributes to a neglected area of the historiography of post-war welfare; that is, the development of middle-class philanthropy. This study does not explore the philanthropic interplay between the middle and working classes via the WSM, but instead examines middle-class charitable responses to the growth of state welfare and important post-war urban problems.

Within the humanities, the practice of microhistory has been used to focus on a variety of periods, and analyse diverse aspects of society in Europe, the Americas and Asia. For example, Carlo Ginsburg explored popular culture and religious conditions in sixteenth century Italy through a case study of Menocchio, a miller brought to trial by the Inquisition; Alan Taylor analysed the formation of the American Republic during the eighteenth century by unearthing the experiences of

[8] G. Levi, 'On Microhistory' in P. Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge: 2000), p. 99.
[9] S. Gylfi Magnússon and I. Szijártó, *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice* (London: 2013), pp. 4-5.

William Cooper, the founder of Cooperstown in New York; and most recently, Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied has investigated working-class culture in Singapore and Malaya in the early twentieth century through a study of the murder of a local moneylender named Jewa Singh.[10] The validity of the practice of microhistory is, in large part, connected to the issue of 'everyday life'.[11] John Brewer argued that different strands of microhistory including Alltagsgeschichte in Germany, microstoria in Italy and post-Annales cultural history in France, have all concerned themselves with the everyday lives, experiences, beliefs and practices of those who had previously been 'hidden' from historical analysis.[12] Reducing the focus of investigation, and using a micro historical approach, has been necessary to studies of everyday life for capturing the experiences of individuals, communities and single institutions within dense and complex networks of political, economic and social relations.[13] Microhistory can therefore, open up the social worlds of an individual or institution, enabling researchers to explain the reciprocal relationship between human actions and wider systems and processes.

In investigating the work and operation of the WSM, this thesis demonstrates that microhistory can make an important contribution to the historiography of the voluntary sector during the twentieth century. As discussed at length in the next

[10] See: C. Ginsburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth Century Miller* (London: 1980); A. Taylor, *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic* (New York: 1995); and S.M.K. Aljunied,'Micro-history and the Study of Minorities: Working-class Sikhs in Singapore and Malaya', *Social History*, 36:1 (2011), pp.22-35. For more important micro historical works, see: E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French Village, 1294-1324*, trans Barbara Bray (London: 1978); N. Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Camb,Mass:1983); G. Ruggiero, *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage, and Power at the End of the Renaissance* (Oxford:1993).

[11] For a useful starting point to the subject of everyday life, see: B. Highmore, 'Introduction: Questioning Everyday Life' in B. Highmore (ed.), *The Everyday Life Reader* (London: 2002), pp.1-34. On the historiographical relationship between microhistory and studies of everyday life, see: B. Gregory, Is Small Beautiful? Microhistory and the History of Everyday Life, *History and Theory*, 38:1 (1999), pp. 100-110; and J. Brewer, 'Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life', *Cultural and Social History*, 7:1 (2010), pp. 87-109.

[12] Brewer, 'Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life', p. 90.

[13] Gregory, 'Is Small Beautiful?', p.101.

section, the WSM had features similar to many charitable organizations nationwide. Given that the WSM is a representative, rather than a distinctive case study, this micro investigation opens a window into how large chunks of the voluntary sector function on a national level through exploring the everyday life of a conventional organization. In contrast to macro histories that analyse the voluntary sector as a whole, or even studies of a group of organizations, a micro historical approach can alter the production of knowledge by providing the historian with a way to delve into the everyday life and social world of a charitable institution.[14] Drawing on a combination of archival and oral evidence, this thesis explores in depth the post-war world of the WSM, reconstructing the institution's management committee meetings, proceedings of its AGM's, and staff and client experiences of poverty relief work within its premises.

By exploring everyday life at the WSM – its actions, practices, routines and ethos – this thesis establishes that microhistory can add to the knowledge of the mixed economy of welfare. This microhistory of the WSM seeks to yield valuable evidence concerning the relationship between the state, the voluntary sector and local communities. For example, it provides an insight into the ground-level impact of government policies on the voluntary sector from the founding of the post-war welfare state under the Labour governments of 1945-51, to the passing of neo-liberal reforms under the Conservative governments of 1979-90. Moreover, it sheds light on how charitable institutions organised their work and operations at times of social and economic instability, including the inflation crisis of the 1970s, and emergence of mass unemployment during the 1980s. Given the religious origins of the WSM, this research also raises awareness of the interplay between the state, the voluntary sector

[14] Examples of macro histories of the voluntary history include: Owen, *English Philanthropy, 1660-1960*; Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain*; and Finlayson, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990*.

and local communities by tackling the issue of secularisation on a micro level. While Callum Brown and Sam Brewitt- Taylor have argued that the 1960s witnessed a secular discourse revolution, this thesis unearths the ways in which a philanthropic institution internalised and responded to this social change.[15] Thus, this micro study of the WSM aims to develop understanding of poverty, charity and secularisation in post-war Britain.

It is important to recognise that historical understandings of post-war welfare are clouded by overlaps in the terms 'philanthropy', 'charity' and 'voluntary sector'. Philanthropy is an extremely broad category, covering the massive efforts of global humanitarian agencies to small, spontaneous individual acts of benevolence. Charity, in contrast, can be defined by the legal requirements and obligations of registration with the Charity Commission.[16] Adding to the problem of definition, the 'voluntary sector' is not a synonym for either philanthropy or charity. Indeed, the term emerged during the 1940s as social observers classified the provision of welfare into spheres of voluntary, commercial, informal and the state.[17] Despite this categorisation, it would be mistaken to assume that the voluntary sector in post-war Britain is a rigid and unyielding entity. Jeremy Kendall and Martin Knapp have described the voluntary sector during the 1990s as a 'loose and baggy monster', which encompassed a wide range of organizational forms, activities and motivations.[18]

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[15] See C. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation* (London: 2009), pp. 175-192; and S. Brewitt Taylor, 'The Invention of a 'Secular Society? Christianity and the Sudden Appearance of Secularization Discourses in the British National Media, 1961-64', *Twentieth Century British History*, 24:3 (2013), pp. 327-350.

[16] In the case of the WSM, it registered the Charity Commission under its official name of the Manchester and Salford Street Children's Mission in October 1963. Details of this registration are located on the Charity Commission's online database. See: http://www.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/RemovedCharityMain.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=223934&SubsidiaryNumber=0 (accessed: 22 October, 2012)

[17] Finlayson, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain*, p. 287.

[18] J. Kendall and M. Knapp, 'A Loose and Baggy Monster: Boundaries, Definitions and Typologies' in J. Davis Smith, C. Rochester & R. Hedley, *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector* (London: 1995) p. 66.

Although there are parallels between philanthropy, charity and the voluntary sector, it is necessary to recognise that these terms have separate meanings and different boundaries.

Through this micro investigation of the WSM, the thesis aims to readdress a historical focus on the post-war welfare state and voluntary sector at a national level. Unsurprisingly, a predominant focus of historical interest has been the role of the government in welfare provision, with many studies exploring the origins of the post-war welfare state, as well as its impact in alleviating the effects of poverty nationally.[19] Despite its popular usage in scholarly and popular circles, the expression 'welfare state' has become highly contentious. As Rodney Lowe notes, the expression has been used as a substitute for a small array of social services, along with an extensive range of powers exerted by government and society as a whole.[20] Important definitions of a welfare state are entwined with the notion of citizenship. Writing in the 1960s, Asa Briggs argued that its purpose is to 'ensure that all citizens without distinction of status or class are offered the best standards available in relation to a certain agreed range of social services'.[21] This definition sits comfortably with T.H Marshall's views on the development of citizenship, in which the eighteenth century saw the advancement of rights in individual freedom, the

[19] On the origins of the post-war welfare state, see: P. Thane, *The Foundations of the Welfare State* (London: 1982); and B Harris, *The Origins of the British Welfare State: Society, State and Social welfare in England and Wales, 1800-1945* (Basingstoke: 2004). On the impact of the post-war welfare state, see: K. Laybourn, *The Evolution of British Social Policy and the Welfare State: c; 1800-1993* (Keele: 1995); H. Glennerster, *British Social Policy since 1945* (Oxford: 1995); R. Lowe, *The Welfare State in Britain in 1945* (Basingstoke: 1999; and D. Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: A History of Social Policy since the Industrial Revolution* (Basingstoke: 2009).
[20] Lowe, *The Welfare State in Britain since 1945*, p. 10.
[21] A. Briggs, 'The Welfare State in Historical Perspective' in C. Pierson and F. G. Castles (eds.), *The Welfare State Reader* (Cambridge: 2006), p. 16.

nineteenth century in terms of political participation, and the twentieth century in terms of social welfare.[22]

This interweaving of welfare and citizenship fits a 'welfare escalator' approach to the post-war welfare state, although Briggs and Marshall did not propose this view. Early interpretations put forward a Whiggish narrative of reform, which explained the growth of state welfare as an uninterrupted and linear movement driven by progressive ideals.[23] Maurice Bruce suggested in the early 1960s that the welfare state was the outcome of an enlightened society, the culmination of efforts to free 'the British people from the poverty, insecurity and inadequate provision for healthy living'.[24] Viewed from the standpoint of the early 1960s – a period of rising living standards and prior to the 'rediscovery of poverty' argument – it is understandable that Bruce emphasised the roles of social concern and compassion in the development of the post-war welfare state. With the hindsight of stern criticism of state welfare from the 'New Right' in the 1980s, recent interpretation of the post-war welfare state is not as triumphal. Contemporary understanding stresses the existence of a mixed economy of welfare based on a flexible and pragmatic partnership between the state, private and voluntary groups, and the individual. Geoffrey Finlayson described the interplay of the state and the voluntary sector in the inter-war period as a 'moving frontier' of welfare.[25] This 'mixed economy' interpretation has proposed a nuanced formation of the post-war welfare state,

[22] T.H. Marshall, 'Citizenship and Social Class', in C. Pierson and F. G. Castles (eds.), *The Welfare State Reader* (Cambridge: 2006), pp. 30-39.
[23] Early assessments of the post-war welfare state, include: M. Bruce, *The Coming of the Welfare State* (London: 1961); B.B Gilbert, *The Evolution of National Insurance in Great Britain* (London: 1966); and G. Williams, *The Coming of the Welfare State* (London: 1967).
[24] Bruce, *The Coming of the Welfare State*, p. 294.
[25] See: G. Finlayson, 'A Moving Frontier: Voluntarism and the State in British Social Welfare, 1911-1949', *Twentieth Century British History* 1:2 (1990), pp. 183-206.

challenging assumptions that its evolution was a direct movement framed by a progressive vision.

Building on this interpretation, this thesis maps the post-war relationship between the WSM and the state. From the 1980s onwards, historical discussion of the welfare state has challenged the notion of a 'consensus' in social policy between successive Labour and Conservative governments from 1945 to 1975, with both political parties committed to active state intervention. Rodney Lowe has argued that 'bitter animosity between the two major parties' and 'fundamental differences in their underlying philosophies' shaped the political context of post-war welfare.[26] While Labour governments sought to engineer a more egalitarian society, Conservative governments wanted welfare reforms compatible with market efficiency and personal initiative. For example, the Conservative governments of Harold Macmillan sought to foster individualist sprit through the welfare system by means such as tax incentives for house ownership and earnings related benefits.[27] In comparison, the Labour governments of the late 1960s actively sought to reduce social and economic divides by passing liberal legislation on family planning, divorce and equal pay, in addition to directing extra resources to the underprivileged through increased spending on the personal social services and better-publicised cash benefits.[28] As a result, the management of the social policy was fraught with tensions and difficulties.

The writing of this microhistory takes place at a time of increasing historical interest in charitable endeavour, particularly since the founding of the Voluntary

[26] Lowe, *The Welfare State in Britain*, p. 86.
[27] Lowe, *The Welfare State in Britain*, p. 84.
[28] Lowe, *The Welfare State in Britain*, p. 81.

Action History Society (VAHS) in 1991.[29] Over the past decade, the VAHS has organised international conferences and national postgraduate workshops to further the study of voluntary action and charitable institutions.[30] The establishment of the VAHS was a product of the growing importance of the voluntary sector in the formation of social policy. As Marilyn Taylor argues, the voluntary sector moved from an uncertain position arising from the expansion of state welfare during the late 1940s and 1950s, to a situation in which it was expected to be a principal provider of welfare in the 1980s and 1990s either 'as an agent of the state or out of its resources'.[31] Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that the state has always relied on voluntary endeavour throughout the post-war period. Julie Anderson, for example, has argued that voluntary agencies continued to play a significant role in the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen after the Second World War, receiving praise from the Standing Committee on the Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Disabled Persons established in 1953.[32] Furthermore, it is misguided to attribute growing expectations of the voluntary sector to a failure of the state. This point was illustrated in the 1969 Aves Report on local authority social services, which discussed ways to improve co-operation between the statutory and voluntary sector.[33] Within the mixed economy of welfare, the interplay between the state and voluntary sector was, in

[29] On the establishment of the Voluntary Action History Society, see: http://www.vahs.org.uk/about/background/ (accessed: 22 October 2012).
[30] I have presented research based on this study of the WSM at the VAHS international conference at Kent in July 2010, and postgraduate workshop 'Gendering the History of Voluntary Effort and Charity' held at Huddersfield in March 2012.
[31] M. Taylor, 'Voluntary Action and the State', in D. Gladstone (ed.), *British Social Welfare: Past, Present and Future* (London: 1995), p. 237.
[32] J. Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain: Soul of a Nation* (Manchester: 2011), pp. 198-199.
[33] Established in 1966, the Aves Committee aimed to 'enquire into the role of voluntary workers in the social services and in particular to consider their need for preparation or training and their relationship with professional social workers'. G. M. Aves, *The Voluntary Worker in the Social Services* (London: 1969), p. 15.

great part, defined by co-operation and partnership, rather than competition and hostility.

As noted earlier, this microhistory of the WSM provides an insight into how a philanthropic institution established during the nineteenth century, with strong evangelical roots, dealt with the subject of secularisation over the post-war period. An extremely important aspect of the post-war relationship between the state and the WSM, and more broadly, the voluntary sector, relates to religion. Despite being widely considered as the architect of the post-war welfare state, William Beveridge strongly believed during the late 1940s that the continuation of religious philanthropy was pivotal to the well-being of society.[34] Fearful of the power of the state associated with totalitarianism in Nazi Germany and Communist Russia, he insisted that voluntary action driven by Christian conviction helped to protect the citizen against state control and maintain a democratic society.[35] However, it has been observed that the post-war welfare state has led to a secularisation of philanthropic culture. The 1978 Wolfenden Report on voluntary organizations commented that charities were becoming 'increasingly secular and materialist in outlook, rather than inspired by the desire to rescue or evangelise'.[36] Yet it would be unwise to overplay the extent of secularisation in the voluntary sector. Geoffrey Finlayson, for example, pointed out that representatives of the Church of England's

[34] For a definitive account of William Beveridge's ideas, see J. Harris, *William Beveridge: A Biography* (Oxford: 1977). For a recent evaluation, see: M. Oppenheimer and N. Deakin (eds.), *Beveridge and Voluntary Action in Britain and the Wider British World* (Manchester: 2011).

[35] Beveridge argued: 'The making of a good society depends not on the State but on the citizens, acting individually or in free association with one another, acting on motives of various kinds—some selfish, others unselfish, some narrow and material, others inspired by love of man and love of God'. See: Lord Beveridge, *Voluntary Action: A Report on Methods of Social Advance* (London: 1948), p. 320.

[36] Committee on Voluntary Organizations, *The Future of Voluntary Organizations: Report of the Wolfenden Committee* (London: 1978) p. 185.

Children's Society told the Wolfenden committee that a principal motive for volunteering was a sense of religious duty. [37]

By examining the WSM's post-war work and operation, this thesis primarily sits within the historiography of institutional charity. While Alan Kidd and Peter Shapely have referred to the WSM in their studies of philanthropy in Victorian Manchester, its post-war history has received no scholarly attention.[38] Prior to this study, its management has only written the WSM's post-war history. Its management wrote three histories of the WSM: the first is a 50-year anniversary brochure written by its then superintendent George Herbert in 1919; the second is a centenary brochure published by its management committee in 1969; and the third is an unpublished promotional pamphlet (covering the period 1962-1987) written in early 1988 by its then Director, Delayne Carpenter. [39] It should come as no surprise that these histories have a narrow focus on the WSM, and present its efforts in an extremely favourable light. For example, Carpenter concluded in her pamphlet that the WSM 'has proved over the last 25 years to have much of a pioneer spirit about it, rising to the challenge and always being on the move'.[40] Although these institutional histories provide valuable information concerning its philanthropic work, they present the WSM's post-war history as a straightforward narrative of progress for a public audience, which omits serious tensions and problems.

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[37] Finlayson, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990*, p. 331.

[38] See: A. Kidd, 'Outcast Manchester': Voluntary Charity, Poor Relief and the Casual Poor, 1860-1905', in Alan Kidd (ed.), *City, Class and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester* (Manchester: 1985), pp. 48-73; A. Kidd, *Manchester* (Keele: 1993); and P. Shapely, *Charity and Power in Victorian Manchester* (Manchester: 2000).

[39] Wood Street Mission Archive (hereafter WSM), WSM/13/1, *50 Years of Mission Work in Deansgate, 1869-1919* (Manchester: 1919); WSM/18/2/1, *100 Years of Wood Street Mission, 1869-1969* (Manchester: 1969); and WSM/18/2/3, 'Wood Street Mission – 25 Year History', 1962-1987. Delayne Carpenter's 25 year history of the WSM covering her career is a draft promotional pamphlet, and was intended to be the basis of a fuller published illustrated book.

[40] WSM/18/2/3, 'Wood Street Mission – 25 Year History', p. 19.

This thesis is a more critical exploration of the WSM's role within the British welfare system. Scholarly work on Victorian and Edwardian charitable institutions have uncovered their controversies and damaging practices. Seth Koven highlighted that Dr Barnardo's was embroiled in a scandal during the 1870s over whether it intentionally produced and distributed falsified photographs of ragged children, with some considered indecent and sexually provocative.[41] With similar rigour, post-war studies of charitable institutions have exposed their internal tensions and pressures. Jane Lewis and Pat Starkey, who have examined the Charity Organization Society (later Family Welfare Association) and Family Service Units (FSU) have made two particularly important contributions.[42] Lewis mapped out rifts between the FWA's social workers and management during the 1960s over the influence of the casework department.[43] Furthermore, Starkey argued that financial cutbacks imposed by local government during the 1970s negatively influenced its ability to experiment and innovate in welfare.[44] More recent research has focused on the post-war activities of non-governmental organizations. For example, James McKay and Matthew Hilton's edited study of NGOs in post-war Britain, published in 2009, has shed great light on the influence of voluntary action in diverse fields, encompassing: human rights and environmentalism; identity issues of gender and sexuality; and social policy concerns of homelessness and mental health. [45]

While there is scholarship on the subject of national charities and NGOs, much less attention has been paid to post-war voluntary work in a local and community context. This is rather surprising as small charitable institutions have been a vital part

[41] S. Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton, NJ: 2004), p. 91.
[42] J Lewis, *The Voluntary sector, the State and Social Work in Britain*; and P. Starkey, *Families and Social Workers: The Work of the Family Service Units, 1940-1985* (Liverpool: 2000).
[43] Lewis, *The Voluntary sector, the State and Social Work in Britain*, pp. 119-122.
[44] Starkey, *Families and Social Workers*, p. 3.
[45] J. Mckay and M. Hilton, 'Introduction', in N. Crowson, J. Mckay and M. Hilton (eds.), *NGOs in Contemporary Britain: Non-State Actors in Society and Politics since 1945* (Basingstoke:2009), p. 4.

of the welfare system in post-war Britain. Figures released by the Charity Commission in 2010 show that 91 per cent of charities in England and Wales can be defined as 'small' using a measure of annual income of £250,000 and below.[46] Kate Bradley has sought to address this historical gap by investigating the interactions between the state, voluntary bodies and local communities through analysing the history of the London settlement movement from 1918 to 1979.[47] Her study found that London settlements responded to changing community needs by launching a wide range of projects in the areas of health, citizenship, immigration and law.[48] This in turn catered for a series of minority and neglected groups including the old, people with learning disabilities, juvenile offenders and ethnic minorities.

This microhistory of the WSM seeks to make an important contribution to the historiography of post-war welfare by providing an insight into the everyday life at a charitable institution. Using the WSM as a representative example, this thesis tracks, between 1945 and 1990, how local middle-class philanthropy responded not only to the post-war welfare state, but also to economic and social problems affecting local communities. In the process, the thesis shows that local middle-class philanthropy was a resilient and dynamic force within the mixed economy of welfare. Although middle-class philanthropy in Victorian and Edwardian Britain has been a popular subject of historical investigation, its survival in the post-war years has received less historical attention.[49] Traditional approaches to the history of philanthropy in the

[46] Charity Commission, *Strength in Numbers: Small Charities Experience of Working Together* (London: 2010), p. 4. See: http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk/Library/guidance/rs24text.pdf (accessed: 9 December 2012).
[47] K. Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State: Charities and the Working Classes in London, 1918-79* (Manchester: 2009).
[48] Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State*, p. 193.
[49] Important studies on middle-class philanthropy in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, include: G. Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford: 1971), pp. 241-261; B. Harrison, *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain* (Oxford: 1982), pp. 216-259; J. Garrard, *Leadership and Power in Victorian Industrial Towns, 1830-1980* (Manchester: 1983) and R. J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party: The Making of the*

nineteenth and early twentieth century have framed its development within the notions of 'social control' and 'kindness'. Gareth Stedman Jones and R.J. Morris have put forward a class-based hypothesis of social control in investigating the nature of philanthropy, arguing that it served as an important tool for the middle classes to maintain their authority, legitimise their power and emasculate the working classes.[50] In contrast, Brian Harrison and Frank Prochaska have emphasised altruism as a charitable motive. Indeed, Prochaska argued that the history of philanthropy should be interpreted as a history of 'kindness', with benevolence both within and between classes.[51] This thesis looks beyond these long-standing assumptions of philanthropy, and contends that the WSM's post-war work and operation was structured by diverse factors, including government policies, voluntary sector associations and commercial forces.

Another objective of this microhistory of the WSM is to break new ground in the historiography of post-war welfare by providing an insight into how former charity staff and clients have internalised and reconstructed their experiences of poverty and philanthropy. This microhistory explores the oral testimonies of former WSM employees and clients within a framework of a theory of memory composure. Conventional approaches to oral history have used interviews to construct a 'history from below', which explored the lived experience of neglected or marginalised groups, including the working classes, women and ethnic minorities.[52] Paul

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British Middle Class, Leeds 1820-1850 (Manchester: 1990). For a Manchester context, see: M. Rose, 'Culture, Philanthropy and the Manchester Middle Classes' in A. Kidd (ed.), *City, Class and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester* (Manchester: 1985), pp. 103-117; and P. Shapely, 'Charity, Status and Leadership: Charitable Image and the Manchester Man', *Journal of Social History* 32:1 (1998), pp. 157-177.

[50] See: Stedman Jones, *Outcast London*, pp. 251-254; and R.J. Morris 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1750-1850: An analysis, *Historical Journal*, 26:1 (1983), p. 96.

[51] Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', p. 360.

[52] See, for example: G. Ewart Evans, *Where Beards Wag All: The Relevance of the Oral Tradition* (London: 1970); P. Thompson, *The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society* (London: 1975); S. Humphries, *A Secret World of Sex: Forbidden Fruit: The British Experience, 1900-1950* (London:

Thompson has advocated the importance of oral history in terms of empowerment, remarking that it 'can be a means for transforming both the content and purpose of history' by giving a central place to 'the people who made an experienced history'.[53] Crucially, charities and pressure groups have also used oral interviews as a means of empowerment for anti-poverty campaigning. For example, the CPAG undertook an extensive oral interview based study in the late 1990s involving 137 participants, which sought to connect poor people to the poverty debate.[54] Efforts to interview people living on low-incomes have aimed to address their exclusion from mainstream debate on poverty, a product of their marginalisation in political, media and academic structures that shape the conceptualisation and analysis of the problem.[55]

While the recovery and empowerment role of oral history has been greatly advocated, it has been more recently argued by cultural historians that oral testimony can add a unique dimension to academic research by revealing the efforts of interviewees to interpret their pasts through memory formation.[56] This approach to oral history proposes that studying the workings of memory can provide a deeper understanding of how individuals have dealt with their experiences. Central to this approach is the contention that individual memory is fluid and malleable, which is framed by popular discourses and a human need to achieve psychological ease. Michael Roper argued that there was firm interaction between 'public' narratives and 'private' memory, with remembering involving a working of experience into

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1988); and C. Chinn, *They Worked All Their Lives: Women of the Urban Poor in England, 1880-1939* (Manchester: 1989). For an ethnic minority perspective, see a special edition of *Oral History* titled 'Oral History and Black History', *Oral History*, 8:1 (1980).

[53] P. Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: 1978), p. 2.

[54] See: P. Beresford, D. Green, R. Lister and K. Woodard, *Poverty First Hand: Poor People Speak for Themselves* (London: 1999).

[55] P. Beresford and S. Croft, 'Challenging the Exclusion of Poor People from Poverty Discourse', *Critical Social Policy, 15* (1995), pp. 75-79.

[56] See, in particular: A. Portelli, 'What makes oral history different' in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader* (London: 1998), pp. 62-73.

available cultural scripts.[57] Indeed, Roper noted that narratives of the past are not formed in separation from public discourses, but are always constructed within their parameters. [58] Furthermore, Alistair Thomson argued that individuals repress painful memories when they either conflict with their present or desired identity, or when their 'inherent traumas or tensions have never been resolved'.[59] Thus, the act of remembering is a complex process, in which the memory of experience is perpetually moulded by public discourses, and the aspiration to achieve a sense of belonging.

The entanglement of discourse and experience in the configuration of memory has presented interesting opportunities for oral historians to explore the subjective – what the past means to an individual. According to Alessandro Portelli, the importance of oral history is its ability to reveal the narrator's attempts to interpret their past by exposing changes wrought by memory.[60] This was acutely demonstrated in his study of the murder, by police, of Luigi Trastulli in Terni in 1949.[61] When interviewing local workers during the 1970s, Portelli discovered that while some correctly dated the year of the murder as 1949, many others recalled it as 1953, which was the year of a mass strike. To Portelli, this shifting of the year was a manifestation of interviewees 'settling accounts' with themselves, which allowed them to place dignity into their lives. War as a framework of historical enquiry has provided especially important insights into the emotive nature of memory formation within oral testimonies.[62] This was shown in Alistair Thomson's study of Australian

[57] M. Roper, 'Re-remembering the Solider Hero: The Psychic and Social Construction of Memory in Personal Narratives of the Great War', *History Workshop Journal*, *50* (2000), p. 183.
[58] Roper, 'Re-remembering the Solider Hero', p.183.
[59] A. Thomson, 'Anzac Memories: Putting Popular Memory Theory into Practice in Australia' in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader* (London: 1998), p. 301.
[60] A. Portelli, 'What makes oral history different', p. 69.
[61] See: A. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories* (Ablany, NY: 1991), pp. 1-29.
[62] On the interactions of war and memory in oral testimony, see: L. Passerini, *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class* (Cambridge: 1987); A Thomson,

First World War veterans, in which some constructed stories of the conflict within the mythology of the 'Anzac Legend' as a way to repress painful and distressing experiences.[63] Whilst influential oral histories have analysed the interaction of war and memory, the relationship of poverty, charity and memory is significantly unexplored territory. This thesis therefore, further develops the understanding of post-war welfare by opening a window into how experiences of hardship and philanthropy have been remembered.

To summarise, this thesis makes two original contributions to the study of post-war welfare in Britain. Firstly, it examines everyday life at a philanthropic institution by adopting a micro historical approach to studying the post-war work and operation of the WSM. Exploring the WSM's beliefs, practices and actions on a micro level between 1945 and 1990 will address a very unexplored, yet important, issue of how local middle-class philanthropy adapted to the enlargement of state welfare, and responded to economic, social and cultural tensions in surrounding communities. Secondly, it breaks new ground in the history of philanthropy and voluntary action by using memory composure theory to explore the oral testimonies of former WSM employees and clients. Using the WSM as a site of memory, this thesis investigates how charity staff and clients have constituted their memories of hardship and philanthropy in post-war Britain.

Why the Wood Street Mission?

The WSM provides an effective case study for the exploration of the post-war development of local, middle-class philanthropy, as the institution was representative

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Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend (Oxford: 1994); and P. Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives: Discourse and Subjectivity in Oral Histories of the Second World War* (Manchester: 1998).

[63] Thomson, *Anzac Memories*, pp. 215-222.

of the voluntary sector as a whole. Certainly, the WSM was one of numerous regional philanthropic institutions established during the nineteenth century, faced with the challenge of adapting to the post-war welfare state.[64] This section of the introduction demonstrates that characteristics of the WSM, in relation to origins, early poverty relief activities, management and finance, were common to many charitable organizations countrywide. Founded in 1869 by the Methodist preacher Alfred Alsop, the WSM was part of a wider phase of evangelical effort during the 1860s, which emphasised the need to rescue children from immorality and neglect. This religious concern for the welfare of children was extensive nationally, mirrored by the founding of Christian-orientated residential homes established by Dr Barnardo's and National Children's Home (both 1869), and later the Waif's and Stray's Society (1881). As Hugh Cunningham notes, there was much momentum within religious circles during the late nineteenth century to penetrate the homes of poor families as a means to rescue pauper children from cruelty and sin and provide them with salvation.[65] The desire for child rescue was exhibited in the WSM's founding mission statement, which included an aim 'to seek and rescue the destitute and neglected children of our city from a life of poverty and vice' and 'to preach and teach the truths of the Bible to both the old and young of the very poor, criminal and depraved classes of the city'.[66]

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[64] For studies of regional philanthropy in Victorian Britain, see: M. Simey, *Charitable Effort in Liverpool in the Nineteenth Century* (Liverpool: 1951); S. Yeo, *Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis* (London: 1976); N. Evans, 'Urbanisation, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy: Cardiff, 1850-1914', *International Review of Social History*, xxvii, (1982), pp.290-323; and M. Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy: Charity and Society in Nineteenth Century Bristol* (London: 1999).

[65] H. Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: 1991), p.153.

[66] WSM/15/2/22, Photocopy of a 7-page booklet entitled 'The Manchester and Salford Children's Mission' which outlines the rules, aims and organization of the charity, p. 1. Although undated, the booklet states that Alfred Alsop is the superintendent of the WSM, which in turn, demonstrates that the document was produced in the nineteenth century.

The imperative to rescue children was not only expressed in the founding aims of the WSM, but also in the writings of Alfred Alsop. In a similar vein to Thomas Barnardo in London, Alsop wrote and published semi-fictional accounts of slum life in Manchester for fundraising purposes, until his death in 1892.[67] Under the pseudonym 'A. Delver', Alsop wrote bleak stories and thought pieces about cruelty to pauper children, such as *Driven from Home* (1882), *Down in the Slums* (1885) and *Below the Surface* (1885).[68] Directed at the socially conscious middle classes, he wrote not from the perspective of the pauper children whose lives he documented, but rather from the standpoint of a concerned and morally righteous observer. This position enabled him to pass judgement on the lives of poor families, and affirm his central message regarding the need for child rescue and salvation. In *Below the Surface,* Alsop discussed working-class life and conditions for children. He claimed that Manchester was essentially two distinct worlds separated by prosperity and poverty. Referring to a 'residuum' – a term adopted by contemporaries such as Charles Booth and Samuel Barnett during the 1880s – Alsop asserted that filth, chaos and violence were habitual problems that severely affected children on the streets of Manchester.[69] He wrote:

> We go lower still, until we come to darkened homes, where live violent fathers, indifferent mothers, and unkempt children. Still lower, till we arrive at the residuum of society, where unrestrained passions have full sway, and all the sweeping torrent of blackened iniquity rolls along in its due course, drowning virtue and swamping goodness.[70]

[67] Hugh Cunningham has examined the fictional stories written by both Thomas Barnardo and Alfred Alsop in his study of representations of poor children in Britain. See: Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor*, pp. 135–140.
[68] Alan Kidd has outlined the life of Alfred Alsop and the WSM's early activities in his history of Manchester. See: A. Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 152.
[69] J. Welshman, *Underclass: A History of the Excluded, 1880-2000* (London: 2006), p. 2.
[70] A. Alsop, *Below the Surface, or Down in the Slums* (London: 1885), p. 9.

In many respects, Alsop's writings were not distinctive, but reflective of wider trends of philanthropic writing during the nineteenth century. Lydia Murdoch argued that narratives in charitable promotional literature centred on two aspects of the concept of citizenship: domesticity and productivity, and depicted the poor as unqualified failures in both areas.[71] As illustrated by the above quotation, Alsop's *Below the Surface* fitted into this style of philanthropic writing, which both undermined parents' affection for their children, and their ability to teach children the value of respectable work.[72] The depiction in the piece of working-class life as a site of immorality and cruelty was entwined with an evangelical call for child rescue. Later, he appealed: 'Then with unflinching courage, strong nerve, powerful hand, and heart filled with burning love to God and for our fellow-creatures, rescue the perishing'.[73] Alsop's ventures into writing were successful in the main. Indeed, his monthly magazine, *Delving and Diving*, attained a circulation of approximately 60,000 in 1883.[74] The popular evangelical discourse of child rescue thus underpinned Alsop's motivations to establish the WSM and subsequent writing endeavours to support the organization.

The early religious and poverty relief work of the WSM were also common to the voluntary sector. Similar to many churches, the WSM ran a mission hall, a Sunday school, a temperance club and a Band of Hope in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Moreover, the organization's poverty relief activities were prominent features of middle-class philanthropy nationally. A principal feature was the provision of food, shelter, clothing and toys at Christmas. Another important feature was the running of a children's free-holiday scheme to Southport during the

[71] L. Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans: Poor families, Child welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London* (New Brunswick, N.J.: 2007), p. 15.
[72] Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans*, p.15.
[73] Alsop, *Below the Surface*, p. 10.
[74] Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 152.

1880s and Blackpool from the late 1890s. Figure 2 is a staged photograph of a queue of young boys waiting outside the WSM for its soup kitchen taken in 1900. The long queue, which extends beyond the sight of the lens, intends to signify to the audience that the WSM made an extensive contribution in relieving hardship and poverty throughout Manchester and Salford.

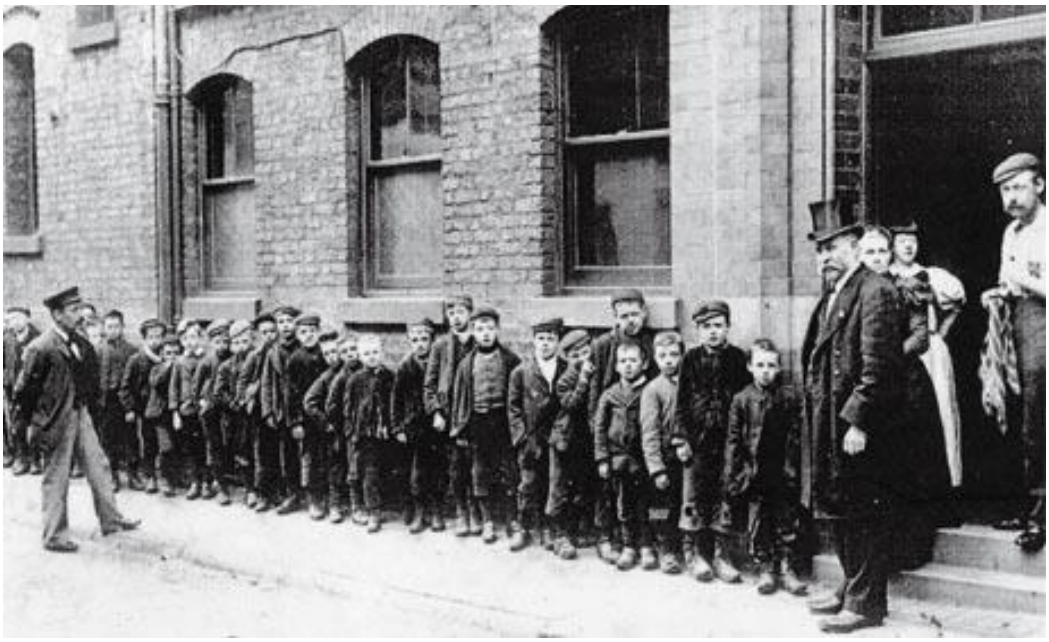

Figure 2: Photograph of the queue for the WSM Soup Kitchen (c. 1900).
Source: Given by the WSM.

Problems of homelessness and unemployment in Victorian Manchester supported great demand for the WSM's poverty relief work. For example, between November 1907 and October 1908, the WSM provided a night's shelter for over 25,800 men, and distributed approximately 95,000 free meals, 2,600 food parcels, 19,000 articles of clothing, and 730 pairs of boots and clogs.[75] Alan Kidd has argued that the WSM was part of a wider local network of middle-class philanthropy, which responded to

[75] WSM/2/1/1, A*nnual Report*, 1908, p. 13. Until 1990, WSM annual reports covered the period of November to October.

poverty by defying the provisions of the 1834 Poor Law.[76] Together with around seventy voluntary organizations, the WSM challenged the Poor Law authorities in the late nineteenth century by providing unconditional assistance. This in turn undermined long-standing ideas that discriminate charity would reform the moral conduct of the working classes. It is apparent that the WSM's evangelical philosophy underpinned its decision to contest the Poor Law authorities. This was illustrated in its annual report for 1893/94, which justified this decision by declaring that 'it does no man harm to have a good meal…we believe it to be a poor religion that preaches at a hungry person's soul without attending to the needs of his body'.[77] While the WSM made a significant contribution to mitigating poverty, its actions were not unique within the field of voluntary social welfare in Manchester as many organizations responded to homelessness and unemployment by offering indiscriminate charity.

The second main aspect of the WSM's philanthropic work was the running of a free-holiday scheme for children initially to Southport, and then later Blackpool, which sought to improve their health through a combination of fresh-air, exercise and hearty meals. In many respects, the WSM free-holiday scheme was a product of the rational recreation movement of the nineteenth century that aimed to strengthen the physical and psychological health of the working classes.[78] Philanthropic interest in taking children from poor families to the countryside and seaside was considerable in Victorian Britain, with similar schemes operating in many major urban

[76] A. Kidd, 'Outcast Manchester', pp. 59- 60. There is also scholarship on Poor Law provision of clothing in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, see: S. King, 'Reclothing the English Poor, 1750-1840', *Textile History 33,* (2002), pp. 37-47; and P. Jones, 'The Clothing of the Poor in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Textile History 37,* (2006), pp. 17-37.
[77] *Annual Report*, 1894, p. 12. Quoted in A. Kidd, 'Outcast Manchester', p. 59.
[78] On rational recreation in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, see: H. E. Meller, *Leisure and the Changing Society, 1870-1914* (London: 1976); H. Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c. 1780-c.1880* (London: 1980) and P. Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (London: 1987).

conurbations, including London and Newcastle.[79] The WSM free-holiday scheme emerged against a background of serious public health concerns in Manchester resulting from industrialisation.[80] In 1878, Dr Arthur Ransome, a member of the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association, estimated that between 1865 and 1874, 22,100 people had died from respiratory illness and 12,300 people from pulmonary tuberculosis across both cities.[81] Yet, as Kate Bradley notes, the provision of holidays was not solely motivated by an altruistic concern over the health of children. Discourses concerning the degeneration of the nation stemming from a falling birth rate and the weak physique of many army recruits in the Boer War influenced intentions to provide philanthropic holidays for children.[82] During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the WSM ran one of the most important free-holiday schemes for children in Manchester. Between May and September, the organization took over 2,500 children annually for a week-long holiday.[83]

These two aspects of the WSM's charitable work continued until the outbreak of the Second World War. Despite the Liberal welfare reforms of 1906-1914 leading to an expansion of state intervention in health and social security, there remained considerable demand for the WSM's poverty relief activities as a consequence of the inter-war depression.[84] Although the unemployment rate in Manchester was below the national average, social surveys have found that the problem was particularly acute in certain areas of the city. This was demonstrated in a study conducted by

[79] Examples of children's free-holiday schemes include the Children's Country Holiday Fund (CCHF) established in London in 1884 and the Poor Children's Holiday Association (PCHA) established in Newcastle in1891.
[80] On public health concerns in Manchester, see S. Mosely, *The Chimney of the World: A History of Smoke Pollution in Victorian and Edwardian Manchester* (Cambridge: 2001).
[81] Mosely, *The Chimney of the World*, p. 61.
[82] Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State*, p. 50.
[83] WSM/2/1/1, *Annual Report*, 1908, p. 13.
[84] On the welfare reforms implemented by the Liberal government of 1906-1914, see: J. Hay, *The Origins of the Liberal Welfare Reforms* (London: 1975).

University of Manchester in 1934, which pinpointed that 25 per cent of households in Miles Platting in North Manchester had no income from any family member.[85] Certainly, there was significant need for the WSM's distribution of basic necessities and Blackpool free-holiday scheme during the inter-war years. For example, in 1933/34, it distributed over 8,000 articles of clothing, 2,000 pairs of boots and shoes, 4,100 toys at Christmas, and 1,450 free meals.[86] Furthermore, it provided a free week-long holiday for over 3,200 children that encompassed around 2,500 girls and 600 boys.[87] High demand for free-holidays in this period also reflected significant concerns, as noted by Charles Webster and Margaret Mitchell, over the extent of malnutrition amongst working-class families.[88] Thus, the WSM had a long-standing approach to poverty relief by the Second World War that had not fundamentally altered since the nineteenth century.

The early management of the WSM was also akin to numerous philanthropic organizations countrywide. Historians including Peter Mandler, Martin Gorsky and Peter Shapely have highlighted the prominent role of middle-class philanthropy in Victorian culture, in which charitable involvement offered urban elites an effective means of enhancing social position.[89] As Shapely notes in the case of Manchester, philanthropic association allowed ambitious members of the middle classes to become so-called 'Manchester Men'; that are, local leaders who exhibited moral

[85] J. Inman, *Poverty and Housing Conditions in a Manchester Ward* (Manchester: 1934), p.12.
[86] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1934, p.17.
[87] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1934, p.17.
[88] For an excellent analysis on the politics of hunger and malnutrition in interwar Britain, see, see: J. Vernon, *Hunger: A Modern History* (London: 2007), pp. 118-158. See also C. Webster, 'Healthy or Hungry Thirties', *History Workshop Journal*, 13:1 (1982), pp. 110-129; C. Webster 'Health, Welfare and Unemployment during the Depression, *Past and Present* 109:1 (1985), pp. 204-230; and M. Mitchell, 'The Effects of Unemployment on the Social Condition of Women and Children in the 1930s', *History Workshop Journal* 19:1 (1985), pp. 105-127.
[89] See P. Mandler, 'Poverty and Charity in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis' in P. Mandler (ed.), *The Uses of Charity: The Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth Century Metropolis* (Pennsylvania: 1999), pp. 1-37. M. Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*, especially pp. 63-87; and P. Shapely, *Charity and Power in Victorian Manchester*.

worth and value to the community.[90] Prior to the Second World War, the WSM fitted into a wider sphere of middle-class philanthropy, with several trustees and committee members drawn from the upper echelons of business, law and politics. Although each committee member and trustee had his own reasons for joining the WSM, including religious conviction and prestige, it is evident that the organization was part of an extensive network of voluntary agencies that enabled middle-class men to demonstrate social leadership by displays of benevolence and Christian duty. Important individuals connected to the organization from the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century included: the textile entrepreneur, John Rylands; the engineering manufacturer, Charles Galloway; Dr Alfred E. Barclay, President of the British Institute of Radiology; and Edmund. A. Radford, the Conservative MP for Manchester Rusholme.[91]

Whereas the management committee was entrusted with making all important welfare and financial decisions, a superintendent was responsible for the day-to-day running of the WSM. Between 1869 and 1958, the WSM's poverty relief and religious activities were led by superintendents Alfred Alsop (1869-1892), Alfred Fred Alsop (1892-1895), John Richardson from (1895-1911), George Herbert (1913-1938), and Ada Herbert (1938-1958).[92] Under these superintendents – Methodists in terms of religious persuasion – the WSM was wholly committed to implementing its evangelical aims. For example, in a brochure to celebrate its Jubilee anniversary in

[90] P. Shapely, 'Charity, Status and Leadership' p. 157.

[91] For a list of WSM trustees and management committee, see WSM/2/2, *Annual Report,* 1901, p. 5; and1933/34, p. 3. For information on Rylands and Galloway, see Kidd, *Manchester,* p. 152. I located details for Radford and Barclay through their obituaries. See: 'Obituary: E. A. Radford', *Manchester Guardian*, 29 May 1944, p. 2; and 'Obituary: Dr Alfred Barclay', *Manchester Guardian*, 29 April 1949, p. 5.

[92] WSM/13/1, *50 Years of Mission Work in Deansgate, 1869-1919* (Manchester: 1919), pp. 10 – 23. This is a souvenir brochure written by WSM Superintendent George Herbert as part of its jubilee anniversary. Herbert noted that between the death of John Richardson in 1911 and his appointment in 1913, the WSM was run by Richardson's widow and a group of voluntary workers. For a list of WSM superintendents before the Second World War, see WSM/18/2/1, *100 Years Wood Street Mission, 1869 – 1969*, p. 2.

1919, George Herbert expressed his intention to remain faithful to the WSM's founding aims. He remarked that 'there is no desire to depart from the foundation principle', which 'ever seeks to win men and women from the path of evil to a saving knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ'.[93] Unsurprisingly, the WSM's evangelical work expanded in the early twentieth century. Between 1900/1901 and 1933/34, the annual number of gospel services held rose from 120 to 230, and weekly attendance of its Sunday school increased from 380 to 450.[94]

Finance was another important aspect of the pre-Second World War history of the WSM. It is evident that the WSM was dependent on subscriptions and donations, reflecting the enormous contribution of charitable giving nationally. Indeed, David Owen highlighted that during the mid-1880s, philanthropic giving in London exceeded the annual budgets of several European governments, including Denmark, Sweden and Portugal.[95] Financial statements published in WSM annual reports show that subscriptions and donations were the organization's predominant source of income. These contributions exclude legacies, which were deposited in its reserve funds. Between November 1909 and October 1910, for example, subscriptions and donations accounted for 67 per cent of income, 20 per cent from investments and 13 per cent from offertories.[96] It is also clear that by the early twentieth century, the WSM had obtained significant economic resources to expend. This was best illustrated by management committee's commemoration of the organization's Jubilee anniversary in 1919. With an aim to expand the Blackpool free-holiday

[93] WSM/18/2/1, *100 Years Wood Street Mission, 1869 – 1969*, p. 29.
[94] WSM 2/2, *Annual Report* 1901, p. 5; and 1934, p.17.
[95] Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p. 469.
[96] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1910, p. 60.

scheme, the committee sanctioned the construction of a new holiday home in the district of Squires Gate at a cost of £20,000.[97]

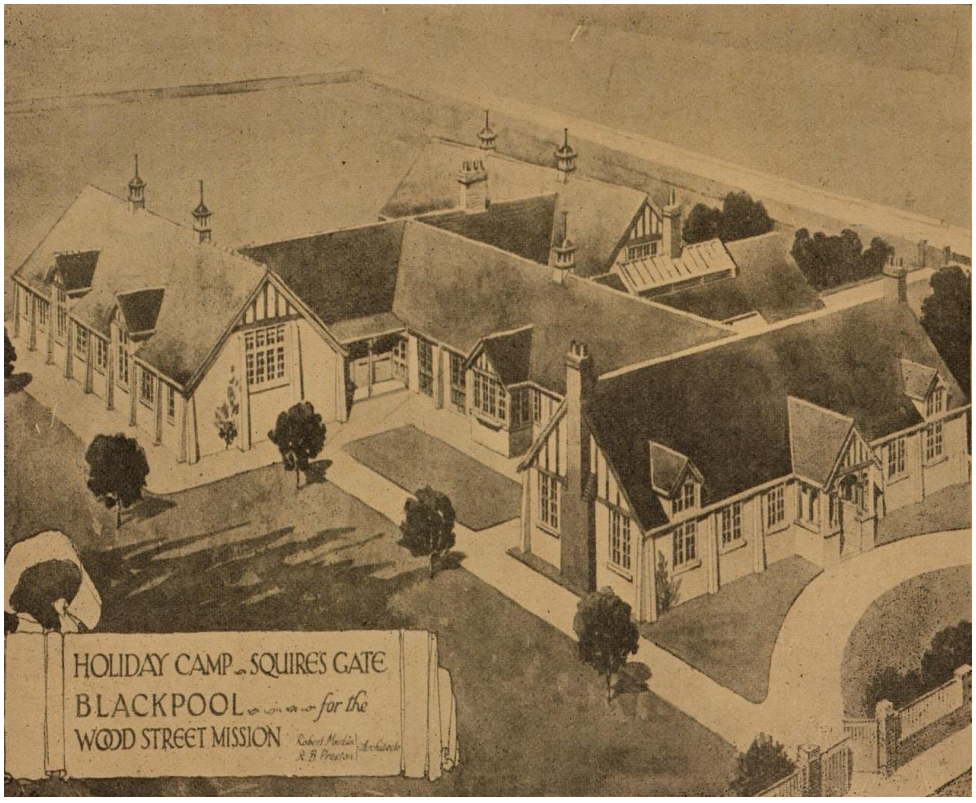

Figure 3 – Poster of the Squires Gate Holiday Home (1923).
Source: WSM2/2, *Annual Report*, 1923 p. 1.

Figure 3 is a poster of the Squires Gate holiday home contained in the 1923 annual report. The poster presents the holiday home as a beautiful building surrounded by neat lawns and several trees. This depiction of the home intends to evoke a sharp contrast to the urban poverty and harmful industrial conditions of industrial Manchester in the minds of the readers, and supplement a message that their financial support was continually required. Completed in 1922, the holiday home provided accommodation for 130 children, which allowed the WSM to provide

[97] WSM/17/7, Wood Street Mission, *A City Child's Vision* (Manchester: 1923), p. 1. This is a promotional pamphlet outlining its history of providing free-holidays to Blackpool for children.

a holiday to over 3,000 children annually from 1923 until the outbreak of the Second World War.

It is also evident that conflicts did not bring about dramatic changes to the WSM's poverty relief endeavours, management structure and finance, albeit they did disrupt the running of the organization. During the First World War, Ada Herbert assumed responsibility for running the WSM's activities, while her husband George and four members of the management committee were serving in the armed forces. Moreover, the conflict witnessed the WSM's premises turned over to the ambulance sections of the Volunteer Defence Corps and Manchester Special Police, the Munitions Area Recruiting Staff and War Office Board.[98] During the Second World War, the WSM had to cease operating its free-holiday scheme as the Squires Gate home was initially requisitioned by the British Army to station 140 soldiers of the 11 Manchester Regiment, and later the Ministry of Health to shelter children from bombed areas in Manchester and Liverpool.[99] With emphasis on evangelical work and mitigating destitution, the WSM by the end of the Second World War still tried to fulfil its founding objectives established in 1869.

As we have seen, the WSM's poverty relief and religious work, management and finance were characteristic of many regional charitable organisations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, it is clear that the landslide victory of the Labour Party at the 1945 general election presented new challenges for the WSM. The 1945 Labour Party general election manifesto proposed an egalitarian vision for post-war Britain influenced by William Beveridge's White Papers of 1942 and 1944, advocating a comprehensive and universal system of social insurance and

[98] WSM/2/1/2, *Annual Report*, 1917, p. 7.
[99] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1940, p. 7 and 1941, p. 4.

a full employment programme.[100] The future of post-war Britain, as conceived by the Labour Party, would be based on extensive state intervention in welfare, which in turn, would undermine the necessity for long-standing poverty relief charities such as the WSM. Thus, this micro study of the WSM's post-war operation offers an insight into the everyday life at a representative philanthropic institution, and seeks to uncover how local middle-class philanthropy adapted to significant economic and social challenges after the Second World War.

Sources and Methods

This microhistory of the WSM draws upon a combination of archival sources and oral testimonies. Using a wide range of the WSM's papers held at the John Rylands Library Deansgate, this microhistory examines the organization's post-war welfare activities, its financial management, and the strategies used to promote its cause to communities. This study utilises a diversity of archival sources, including annual reports, management committee minute books, newspaper cuttings volumes, clothing distribution registers and fundraising pamphlets, to shed light on the everyday life at the WSM. Crucially, these sources permit a reconstituting of the WSM's management committee meetings, proceedings of AGM's, poverty relief practices and routines, and staff and client experiences on its premises. As always, there are limitations of such archival sources. For example, WSM annual reports made direct appeals for funds, which necessitated a positive depiction of its ethos and the impact of its work. It is also important to recognise that even records not intended for public consumption have the potential to be problematic. One such example is the typing of

[100] For a transcript of the 1945 British Labour Party Election manifesto, see: I. Dale (ed.), *Labour Party General Election Manifestos, 1900-1997* (London: 2000), pp. 49-60. See also W. Beveridge, *Social Insurance and Allied Services* (London: 1942); and W. Beveridge, *Full Employment in a Free Society* (London:1944).

minutes of management committee meetings, which being done by a member of staff at a later date, opens the possibility for misrepresentation and omission of events and details.

Despite the array of sources, the WSM archive does not possess a complete set of records for the post-war period. For example, the archive only holds minute books of management committee minute meetings until 1966, clothing registers for the periods 1946–1967 and 1985–1987, and superintendent's reports for the management committee from 1958 to 1970 and general correspondence after 1988. Referencing records could also be problematic – several newspaper cuttings were not listed with the precise date and page number.[101] The significant gaps within the WSM archive are indicative of a broader problem relating to voluntary sector records. According to the Voluntary Action History Society (VAHS), there are four obstacles to the preservation of voluntary sector records. Firstly, there are difficulties for voluntary organizations in knowing what to retain. Secondly, there is a lack of resources in smaller organizations for maintaining their older records properly. Thirdly, there are new challenges of preserving 'born digital' records such as emails and webpages. Fourthly, there is inadequate legal protection for charity or voluntary sector archives.[102] I subsequently sought to resolve the problem of archival gaps by contacting the WSM on the subject of accessing records kept at its premises. Records accessed at the WSM premises were a book of newspaper cuttings that ran between

[101] For newspaper cutting books, I have stated the title of the newspaper article and the adjoining information. I have tried to find the correct details for all newspaper cuttings used in the thesis, but in some cases, this proved impossible for two reasons: (1) a lack of adjoining information; (2) inaccurate information was recorded in the book.
[102] See: http://www.vahs.org.uk/archives/ (accessed: 18 December 2012).

1963 and 1984, and a file of management committee minutes between 1976 and 1990.[103]

Central to this micro investigation of the WSM is locating the organization's experience within the wider field of voluntary action. Pierre Bourdieu's concept of a cultural field highlights that the position of an agent, irrespective of time and space, is determined by external structures and conventions in addition to its own capital. [104] For this reason, the thesis draws on the archives of both national and local charitable organizations to contextualise the WSM's experience within the voluntary sector. These archives include Dr Barnardo's, the Manchester and Salford Family Service Units (FSU) and the Manchester University Settlement (MUS). All of these archives serve to explore resemblances and distinctions between voluntary welfare organizations in post-war Manchester. In addition to voluntary sector archives, this microhistory examines a variety of non-charitable sources to help position the WSM in political, economic and social contexts. For example, this study assesses changes in the WSM's response to community problems by analysing local government reports on poverty, local newspaper articles, and social investigations carried out by pressure groups such as the CPAG.

As stated earlier, this microhistory of the WSM's post-war work and operation also draws on oral testimonies. The study analyses six oral interviews conducted between June 2009 and May 2011: two interviews with leading members from the organization (Harold Palmer and Hayley Lawrence) two from staff (Sally Eremere

[103] Permission to access records held on the WSM premises was kindly granted by Jan O'Connor in February 2010 via email.

[104] For an overview of the concept of 'cultural capital', see J. Webb, T. Schirato and G. Danaher, *Understanding Bourdieu* (London: 2002), pp.21-44. For a more detailed work, see: P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge: 1977).

and Lucy Cave) and two from clients (Andrew Smith and Liz Shaw).[105] Their oral testimonies provided important information on the WSM's post-war history not expressed in archival sources. Harold and Hayley provided important insights about how the WSM was run, and the development of its charitable policy. Sally and Lucy disclosed their motives for joining the WSM, their duties at work and poignant meetings with families and children. Furthermore, Liz and Andrew revealed experiences of receiving assistance, and early and striking memories of its charitable work. Their recollections were explored through a series of open-ended questions and by a semi-structured approach to interviewing, thereby enabling them to thoroughly discuss memories of the WSM without rigid boundaries.[106] This approach to interviewing also permitted interviewees to talk about issues outside the boundaries of the WSM, including childhood, family life, previous employment, politics and religion. Using a set of between ten and twelve questions, my principal aims for the interview were to encourage interviewees' storytelling, and to elicit reflections on their experience at the WSM within the context of their lives as a whole.

Nevertheless, it is important to state that there are limitations with this oral evidence in terms of objectivity. In part, these limitations are a consequence of how my interviewees were located: five were contacted via the WSM; and one responded to a short advert in the *North and East Manchester Advertiser*.[107] Given the small-scale operation of the WSM, I considered it necessary to use its contacts, in addition

[105] The four interviewees chose to remain anonymous, and as a consequence, pseudonyms will be used in the thesis.

[106] For a very useful article on interviewing, see: C. Morrissey, 'On Oral History Interviewing' in Perks and Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader*, pp. 107–113.For more detailed overviews, see: Thompson, *Voice of the Past*; V.R Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Practical Guide for Social Scientists* (London: 1994); and K. Howarth, *Oral History* (Stroud: 1998).

[107] Locating interviewees via the WSM was deemed necessary. I arranged a meeting in early 2009 with the then Director of the WSM, Jan O'Connor, to discuss if the organization maintained contact with former employees, and whether she would be prepared to contact them about my research. After agreeing to give an interview, she passed me their contact details to schedule an interview date.

to resorting to independent methods of selection by way of a short advertisement.[108] However, although locating interviewees via the WSM was fruitful, it did raise an issue about independence. With a reputation to maintain and enhance, it was in the WSM's interest to inform me about staff and clients with whom they had, or continue to have, a positive relationship. At a more fundamental level, oral testimony has been criticised as a form of historical evidence due to the malleable nature of memory. Critics of oral history have stressed that interviewees are likely to misremember and exaggerate events. Eric Hobsbawm, for example, commented: 'most oral history today is personal memory which is a remarkably slippery medium for preserving facts'.[109]

This microhistory uses Sally's, Lucy's, Liz's and Andrew's oral testimonies to address the question of how the experience of post-war philanthropic work has been interpreted and re-configured, while using Harold's and Hayley's testimonies to shed light on the WSM's administration. Harold's and Hayley's recollections of the WSM are not explored within a framework of memory composure for ethical reasons. Both were prominent members of the WSM, and given their stated desire to remain anonymous, I concluded that an in-depth investigation of their memories would undermine the protection of their identities. Subsequently, the examination of Sally's, Lucy's, Liz's and Andrew's testimonies will build on recent approaches to memory, which emphasise the composition and narration of life stories is socially and psychologically situated. A detailed assessment of the theory of memory

[108] It was hoped that the advert in the *North and East Manchester Advertiser* would lead to several responses from people who had received assistance from the WSM as the newspaper covered its principal clothing distribution areas such as Ardwick, Beswick, and Miles Platting. However, the advert was not successful, with only three responses. From the three responses, only Liz had received assistance from the WSM during the post-war period. The other two respondents included: a lady who visited the WSM during the 1930s, and a man who attended its Sunday school during the 1950s.
[109] E. Hobsbawm, *On History* (London: 1997) p. 206.

composure, and the context of the production of their testimonies, is put forward in the final chapter.

Structure and Contents

This micro investigation of the WSM's post-war work and operation is structured chronologically. The first three chapters are divided into the following periods: May 1945 to March 1962 (Chapter 1); April 1962 to November 1975; (Chapter 2); and December 1975 to December 1990 (Chapter 3). This chronological structure locates the WSM's experience within the field of voluntary action and post-war political, economic and social environment. As a result, the study addresses important themes, which include religion, health, juvenile delinquency, housing and unemployment. A final chapter explores how the post-war work and operation of the WSM has been remembered using the oral testimonies of its former staff and clients.

Chapter 1 assesses the ways in which the WSM managed phases of post-war austerity from the late 1940s to the early 1950s, and post-war affluence in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Drawing on management committee minute books and transcripts of annual general meetings, the chapter argues that the WSM struggled to adapt to a changed post-war economic and social landscape, reflected in a substantial decline in demand for its poverty relief schemes. It argues that the scaling-down of the WSM's welfare endeavours was not simply a product of shifting structural conditions, but also a firm binding to its founding objectives and traditions that eventually led to it being considered redundant within the field of charitable work in Manchester by the early 1960s.

Chapter 2 will investigate the WSM's responses to the emergence of a secular, 'permissive' society during the 1960s. Furthermore, the chapter examines how the

WSM reacted to the inflation crisis of the 1970s. Using an extensive collection of superintendent's reports, it establishes that the WSM transformed itself from an evangelical to a secular charitable organization committed to youth work. It argues that the WSM actively sought to redefine its relationship to both the state and local communities through modernising its public image and launching a combination of traditional and innovative youth projects.

Chapter 3 will explore the impact of the Thatcher government's neo-liberal economic and welfare policies on the WSM using a diversity of archival sources, amongst which are a series of clothing distribution files and registers. Moreover, the chapter draws on the oral testimonies of Harold Palmer and Hayley Lawrence to explore policy decisions made during the 1980s. It argues that the WSM expanded significantly its traditional poverty relief role in responding to mass unemployment and social security cuts. It also establishes that the WSM curtailed its youth projects, so that by December 1990, the organization solely focused on fulfilling a long-standing poverty relief role.

Chapter 4 utilises oral testimonies to explore memories of the WSM's work and operation from 1945 to 1990.While the first three chapters have explored the WSM's post-war history using predominantly archival material, this chapter uses oral testimony to examine how former employees and clients have remembered their experiences of hardship and philanthropy in the organization. It analyses the four testimonies of Sally, Lucy, Liz and Andrew using memory composure theory, and demonstrates that their recollections of the WSM were not only shaped by diverse interpretations of the term poverty, but also multiple expressions of the concept of empathy.

The conclusion outlines the contribution of this microhistory of the WSM to the historiography of post-war welfare. In particular, it argues that this research has made important additions to historical understandings of poverty, charity and secularisation in Britain during the twentieth century. Furthermore, the conclusion argues that this microhistory has provided valuable insights into how large sectors of the voluntary sector function in terms of relations with the state, finance and media interactions. Finally, it outlines the WSM's story after December 1990 by assessing the organization's work under both New Labour and the Conservative-led Coalition government, and reviews potential areas for investigation that would build upon this research.

Chapter 1

Struggling to Adapt to Post-War Change, May 1945 – March 1962

> Philanthropy was to us the odious expression of social oligarchy and churchly bourgeois attitudes...In the construction of the new social service state we turned our backs on philanthropy and replaced the do-gooder by highly paid professional administrators and experts.[1]
>
> - Richard Crossman, *Speech for the Sidney Ball Memorial Lecture* (1973)

Richard Crossman, the socialist intellectual and Labour MP, recalled in 1973 that the raft of welfare legislation enacted by the Labour governments of 1945-51 fostered a great deal of optimism amongst centre-left politicians that philanthropy would wither away. The survival and growth of the voluntary sector after the Second World War was therefore surprising to many Labour politicians. In fact, Crossman mentioned his surprise at the survival of voluntary action later in the 1973 speech while reminiscing about an experience as the Secretary of State for Social Services between 1968 and 1970. He remarked: 'One of the things I learned as a Minister was the staggering extent of voluntary activity in our welfare state'.[2] It has been pointed out that post-war welfare legislation did not diminish the voluntary sector. Maria Brenton has argued that during the 1940s and 1950s, the sector focused on providing services not deemed as priorities for the state agenda, especially work for disabled, young and elderly people.[3] Nevertheless, it has been noted that the voluntary sector

[1] R. Crossman, 'The Role of the Volunteer in the Modern Social Service' in A. H. Halsey (ed.), *Traditions in Social Policy: Essays in Honour of Violet Butler* (Oxford: 1976), pp. 265-266.
[2] Crossman 'The Role of the Volunteer in the Modern Social Service', p. 274.
[3] M. Brenton, *The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services* (London: 1985), pp. 24-31.

was overshadowed in its relationship to the state, with Brenton arguing that voluntary agencies 'occupied a secondary, supplementary role, filling the gaps left by the inadequacies of the statutory services'.[4] Thus, the immediate post-war period witnessed an important shift within the 'mixed economy' of welfare, with an enlarged role for the state and significantly reduced expectations for the voluntary sector.

This chapter investigates the response of the WSM to the establishment of the post-war welfare state by studying its work and operation between May 1945 and March 1962. In particular, it argues that the significance of the WSM's poverty relief schemes declined during this period. Despite great demand for both its clothing distribution and Blackpool free-holiday scheme throughout the interwar years, there was a considerable scaling-down of this charitable work in the post-war period. The decline in need for these poverty relief schemes was underpinned not only by the enlargement of state welfare, but also an environment characterised by economic growth, near full employment, low inflation and rising wages.[5] Historians including, Frank Mort and Peter Thompson, Frank Trentmann and Matthew Hilton have explored the cultural and gender impacts of working-class consumerism brought about by post-war prosperity.[6] The WSM's struggle to adapt to a changed post-war

[4] Brenton, *The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services*, p. 31.

[5] For an overview of the British economy during the 1950s and 1960s, see. P. Howlett, 'The Golden Age, 1955-73' in Paul Johnson (ed.), *20th Century Britain: Economic, Social and Cultural Change* (London: 1994), pp. 320-329. There are several books and edited collections that have assessed post-war 'affluence' during the 1950s and 1960s, see in particular: V. Bogdanor and R. Sidelsky (eds.), *The Age of Affluence* (London: 1970); J. Benson, *The Rise of the Consumer Society in Britain, 1880-1980*. (London: 1994); L. Black and H. Pemberton (ed.), *An Affluent Society: Britain's Post-War Golden Age Revisited* (Aldershot: 2004); D. Sandbrook, *Never Had it So Good: A History of Britain from Suez to the Beatles* (London: 2005); P. Hennessy, *Having it So Good: Britain in the 1950s* (London: 2006).

[6] See: F. Mort and P. Thompson, 'Retailing, Commercial Culture and Masculinity in 1950s Britain: the Case of Montague Burton, the 'Tailor of Taste', *History Workshop Journal* 38:1 (1994), pp. 106–28; and F. Trentmann, 'Bread, Milk, and Democracy in Modern Britain: Consumption and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century Britain', in M. Daunton and M. Hilton (eds.), *The Politics of Consumption: Material Culture and Citizenship in Europe and America* (Oxford: 2001), pp.129–63;

economic and social landscape was reflected in a significant decline in need for its charitable work.

This chapter also argues that the decline of its poverty relief schemes was a product of a binding to a nineteenth-century view of philanthropy. Mirroring its operational philosophy in Victorian Manchester, the WSM did not deviate from its long-standing approach to poverty relief, and continued to place great emphasis on the need for religious work. Crucially, the WSM failed to launch new welfare projects, a role of voluntary action strongly advocated by Elizabeth Macadam and William Beveridge.[7] Indeed, Beveridge argued, in 1948, that charitable organizations should undertake a pioneering function in relationship to the state, remarking that 'voluntary action is needed to do things which the State should not do' and that 'it is needed to pioneer ahead of the State and make experiments'.[8] This chapter subsequently argues that the WSM did not alter its philanthropic objectives and practices in response to the formation of the post-war welfare state. Most importantly, it will demonstrate that by the early 1960s, statutory and voluntary agencies viewed the WSM as redundant within the broader field of charitable work in Manchester.

The chapter draws on an almost complete set of important archival records to examine the WSM's struggle to adapt to post-war economic and social change. This includes a full set of minute books of management committee meetings, numerous transcripts of AGMs published in annual reports, and an extensive newspaper cuttings book. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section examines

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and M. Hilton, 'The Female Consumer and the Politics of Consumption in Twentieth-Century Britain', *Historical Journal* 45:1 (2002), pp. 103-28.

[7] See E. Macadam, *The New Philanthropy: A Study of Relations between the Statutory and Voluntary Social Services* (London: 1934), p. 27; and W. Beveridge; *Voluntary Action: A Report on Methods of Social Advance* (London: 1948), pp. 301-302.

[8] Beveridge, *Voluntary Action*, pp. 301–302.

the beliefs and motivations of superintendents and the management committee. Specifically, it explores their determination to uphold the long-standing poverty relief work and evangelical traditions of the WSM. The second and third sections details the reduced demand for its charitable work; with the second considering reduced demand for the clothing and toy distribution, and the third concentrates on the Blackpool free-holiday scheme for children. The fourth section considers the financing of this charitable work by analysing trends in its income, expenditure and reserve funds.

Continuing Evangelical Philanthropy: The Superintendence of Ada Herbert

The period May 1945 to March 1962 witnessed a collective effort by both superintendents and the management committee to continue pursuing the founding evangelical aims of the WSM. Until the early 1960s, many of the features of evangelical religion – conversionism; a belief that lives need to be changed; activism, an expression of the gospel in effort; and Biblicism, a particular regard for the Bible – were present at the WSM.[9] Many speeches given at WSM annual general meetings contained an explicit message celebrating the pursuit of religious work in Manchester. At its 1948/49 AGM, for example, the Chairman of the management committee, Harold Simpson, advocated the goal of religious conversion and declared that the WSM strove 'to give the poor children of the district the religious and practical help of which so many of them are so much in need'.[10] Another example of the religious disposition of the WSM management committee was displayed at its 1952/53 AGM, when Simpson proudly discussed the distribution of Bibles to

[9] D. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A history from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: 1989), p. 3.
[10] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1949, p. 3.

children to mark the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. He mentioned that local people had seen several children from the WSM Sunday school embracing the Bible, and that one person claimed it was his 'greatest sight':

> Your committee gave considerable thought to the gift of a memento to the Sunday school children to mark the Coronation. It was ultimately decided to present each child a Coronation Bible. Indeed, an old member of the Mission told Mrs Herbert that a friend of his who was travelling by bus into Salford on Coronation Sunday was surprised to see that it was full of children hugging Bibles. On enquiring where they had been he was informed they were from the Wood Street Mission. He said it was the greatest sight he had seen for many years.[11]

While the management committee were supportive of this evangelical goal, the driving force behind this work was Ada Herbert, who served as superintendent of the WSM between 1938 and 1958. Born in Salford in 1893, she joined the WSM after her marriage to George Herbert, who was appointed superintendent in 1913.[12] Following his death in 1938, she took over the position with unanimous support from the management committee based on her long-standing experience organising its poverty relief and religious work. It is evident that George and Ada Herbert were devout Christians, with shared a similar vision for the WSM. Indeed, they had similar views regarding the merits of Sunday schools, with both promoting attendance as a way of developing 'good' citizenship and tackling the problem of juvenile delinquency. In March 1936, the *News Chronicle* documented George Herbert's thoughts on Sunday schools as part of a story over whether the police should fingerprint children under the age of seventeen. This suggestion to reduce crime, made by the Chief Constable of Manchester Police, John Maxwell, was criticised by Herbert on the grounds of unnecessary persecution. Instead, Herbert

[11] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1953, p. 4.
[12] WSM/18/2/1, *100 Years of Wood Street Mission* (Manchester: 1969), p. 11.

advocated the enforcement of compulsory attendance at Sunday school as the most effective measure to reduce juvenile crime:

> Do you know what I would think would stop juvenile crime far more effectively than anything else? Compulsory attendance at Sunday school! It's moral and religious guidance that they lack. They live exciting lives; they go to the pictures and learn a lot about one side of living...and so they know little or nothing about the other side of living: the side that shows them there is something more than getting as much as possible for nothing.[13]

His comments mirrored socially conservative narratives expressed in the 1920s and 1930s that cinema going was a corrupting influence on young people. David Fowler has noted that there was intense debate during the interwar years about the influence of the cinema, and whether films had a 'deleterious' impact on young people's behaviour.[14] Agreeing with her husband, Ada Herbert maintained that consistent attendance at Sunday school was the most successful means of developing citizenship, arguing that cinema had played a significant role in fostering juvenile delinquency. In April 1946, she wrote an article titled 'A Child's Armour for Life' for the series 'Boys and Girls in Peril' run by *The News*. In this article, she insisted that popular American films promoted delinquent and immoral behaviour amongst young people by conveying messages of disobedience. She put forward this argument in a melodramatic way, claiming that the cinema impregnated children with the 'false' values of Hollywood:

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[13] WSM/14/4, 'Juvenile Fringe: Police Theory Criticised', *News Chronicle*, 31 March 1936, p. 15.

[14] D. Fowler, *The First Teenagers: The Lifestyle of Young Wage-Earners in Interwar Britain* (London: 1995), p. 126. On the role of cinema in the inter-war period, see: J. Richards, *The Age of the Dream Place: Cinema and Society in 1930s Britain* (London: 1984); A. Algate: *Best of British: Cinema and Society from 1930 to the Present* (London: 1998); L. Napper, *British Cinema and Middlebrow Culture in the Inter-war years* (Exeter: 2011); and R. James 'Popular Film Going in Britain in the Early 1930s', *Journal of Contemporary History* 46:2 (2011), pp. 271-287.

> If parents could only realise the help and assistance that Sunday school and the church are willing to provide in helping mould their children's characters, I am sure they would only too willingly co-operate and see that their children did attend Sunday school regularly instead of allowing them to go the cinema where at a ridiculously early age they become impregnated with the false values of Hollywood. [15]

Using armour as a metaphor for religion, Ada Herbert justified the importance of a Christian education in terms of protecting children from the 'bad' influences of secularism. In addition, this article illustrates that the Second World War influenced her religious drive. Above all, she argued that there was an increasing need for Sunday schools as the conflict had led to an extensive decline of parental authority. She claimed that fathers 'had been away long in the Forces' and mothers 'had to leave the home for the munitions factory', which in turn, left them 'physically exhausted and incapable of coping with naughty young children beyond a good hiding'.[16] Her comments on the decline of parental authority fit with wider moral concerns that emerged during the conflict. Sonya Rose, for example, has argued that there was considerable wartime anxiety concerning the extent of female promiscuity, which undermined the Christian message of the righteousness of abstinence before marriage.[17] It is apparent that Herbert passionately believed that the war had laid the foundations for a moral decline, which reinforced her determination to continue the founding evangelical traditions of the WSM.

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[15] WSM/14/5, 'A Child's Armour for Life', *The News*, 5 April 1946, p. not stated.
[16] WSM/14/5, 'A Child's Armour for Life', *The News*, 5 April 1946, p. not stated.
[17] S. Rose, 'Sex, Citizenship and the Nation in World War II Britain', *The American Historical Review*, 103:4 (1998), p. 1147. Studies that have explored social and moral tensions in Britain during the Second World War, include: A. Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz* (London: 1992); H. Smith, *Britain in the Second World War: A Social History* (Manchester: 1996); L. Noakes, *War and the British: Gender, Memory and National Identity* (London: 1998); S. Rose, *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Britain, 1939-1945* (Oxford: 2004); and G. Field, *Blood, Sweat and Toil: Remaking the British Working Class* (Oxford: 2011).

Figure 4: George and Ada Herbert (1919).
Source: WSM/13/1, *50 Years of Mission Work in Deansgate, 1869-1919* (1919), p. 32.

Underpinned by a religious revival during the late 1940s and 1950s, the WSM church continued to thrive under her superintendence.[18] She continued to organise a large number of well-attended activities on behalf of the WSM church, including gospel services, a Sunday school, bible classes, a choir, and prayer meetings. Between 1938/39 and 1949/50, while weekly attendance at its Sunday school dropped slightly from 350 to 320, the number of gospel services rose from 260 to 412.[19] Moreover, the WSM was an active member of Manchester's religious community, maintaining a close association with the Manchester and Salford Shaftesbury Society (MSSS). Membership of the MSSS provided the WSM with

[18] Callum Brown argued that the period between 1945 and 1958 witnessed 'the greatest church growth that Britain had experienced since the mid-nineteenth century'. See: C. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation* (London: 2009), p. 170. For figures concerning church membership during the 1950s, see R. Currie, A. Gilbert and L. Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700* (Oxford: 1977), p. 32.
[19] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1939, p. 8; and 1950, p. 7.

access to a network of local Sunday schools and missions including Sharp Street Ragged School, Charter Street Mission and Weaste Baptist Sunday School.[20] In 1955, Simpson celebrated the WSM's sense of pride as host of the MSSS annual meeting. In addition, children from its Sunday school won a host of 20 prizes at the society's scripture and singing competitions.[21] The WSM's connection to the city's religious community was also displayed at its own AGM's, where leading clergymen gave keynote speeches, including the Dean of Manchester in 1945 and Bishop of Manchester in 1956.[22] As a whole, these speeches reinforced the WSM's evangelical convictions by emphasising the value of its church in a variety of roles, ranging from combating juvenile delinquency to tackling consumerism and to fighting the threat of the Soviet Union. For example, at its 1948/49 AGM, the Rev A. Morton from Salford, asserted that the religious instruction offered by the WSM was a central component of its opposition to Communism:

> Where men and women lose their conception of God, sooner or later they become idolaters, for want of faith they set up an idol. The name of that idol today is materialism, and its popular expression is Communism, which confronts the world with frightful menace...These things can only be fought on a spiritual level, and it seems to me that amongst those who have grasped that great truth and are not afraid to act upon it, not the least is the Wood Street Mission.[23]

While its religious activities flourished during the immediate post-war period, the poverty relief role of the WSM gradually became less prominent. This stagnation of its charitable work was not only a result of Ada Herbert's decision to carry on her

[20] Greater Manchester County Record Office (hereafter GMCRO), GB124.G25/3/7/3, Manchester and Salford Shaftesbury Society, *Annual Report*, 1950/51, pp. 4-8. Established in 1858, as the Manchester Ragged Sunday Ragged School Union, the Manchester and Salford Shaftesbury Society acted as an umbrella organization for religious charities in the post-war period.
[21] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1955, p. 4.
[22] WSM/2/2, Annual Report, 1945, p. 5; and 1955, p. 6.
[23] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1949, p. 10.

late husband's work without modification, but also a real absence of discussion on welfare developments and issues amongst the management committee. Minutes of committee meetings between the mid-1940s and late 1950s reveal no lengthy debates about problems facing working-class communities. The absence of debate was, in great part, a consequence of a lack of welfare professionals sitting on the committee, with experience of working in either the statutory or voluntary sector. Similar to the pre-war years, membership of the WSM committee was based on familial ties and eminence within Manchester's commercial and professional community. At the AGM for 1952/53, for example, Simpson mentioned that the newest addition to the committee was Robert Barclay (the son of the merchant banker and Liberal politician Robert Norton Barclay – a WSM trustee), who was Vice-president of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce.[24] Members of the management committee between May 1945 and March 1962 included: Harold Simpson, an iron and steel merchant; Thomas Henry Hewlett, a Director of the District Bank Ltd; James Simpson, a Managing Director of the textile business Simpson and Godlee; and Niel Pierson, a senior partner in the legal firm, March, Pearson and Skelton.[25]

From the perspective of the committee, the combination of old religious and poverty relief work was the solution to contemporary social problems. At the AGM for 1946/47, the WSM Honorary Secretary, Fredrick Towns emphasised the importance of continuing the organization's traditional poverty relief and evangelical

[24] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1953, p. 7.
[25] For a list of trustees and management committee of the WSM, see WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1954, p. 3. On specific WSM committee members: 'Obituary: T H Hewlett', *Manchester Guardian*, 26 May 1956; 'Obituary: Niel Pierson', *The Guardian*, 10 January 1975. Information concerning James Simpson was found in Philip Godlee's obituary. 'Obituary: Philip Godlee', *Manchester Guardian*, 29 September 1952, p. 2. Details about Harold Simpson were located through the obituary of his son, John Simpson (who was a prominent physician).
See: http://munksroll.rcplondon.ac.uk/Biography/Details/5536 (accessed: 14 July 2013).

work in the post-war years, reflecting an unswerving commitment to its founding philanthropic aims and practices. He commented:

> Continuity is of major importance in a Charity of this character. Our many friends and subscribers know what Wood Street Mission stands for and they know that, within certain broad limits, the donations and gifts which they so generously give will be applied, as in the past, at helping, both spiritually and physically, the poor and needy, and particularly the poor and needy children of Manchester and adjoining towns.[26]

Moreover, at the AGM for 1947/48, Harold Simpson suggested that the activities of the WSM were the answer to the emergence of the 'problem family'.[27] As John Macnicol notes, the 'problem' family was an important concept in wartime and post-war discourses on poverty. This was supported by the evacuation of schoolchildren during the conflict that gave rise to middle-class fears of a 'submerged tenth' within the population, and the work of the Pacifist Service Units who worked with 'difficult' bombed out families.[28] In practice, the concept served to describe families living in squalor that became the focus of mainstream social work. In the view of Simpson, the old evangelical and poverty relief activities of the WSM remedied the problem by raising the aspirations of children. Above all, it was argued that the ambitions of children were elevated by the education offered at the Sunday school, and an experience of luxury provided at the Blackpool free-holiday scheme. To quote him at length:

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[26] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1947, p. 2.
[27] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1948, p. 5.
[28] J. Macnicol, 'From 'Problem' Family to 'Underclass', 1945 – 95', in H. Fawcett and R. Lowe (eds.), *Welfare Policy in Britain: The Road from 1945* (Basingstoke: 1995), pp. 70-71. On the concept of the 'problem' family, see also J. Welshman 'The Social History of Social Work: The Issue of the 'Problem Family', *The British Journal of Social Work*, 29:3 (1999), pp. 457-476; and B. Taylor and B. Rogaly, 'Mrs Fairly is a Dirty, Lazy Type': Unsatisfactory Households and the Problem of Problem Families in Norwich, 1942 – 1963, *Twentieth Century British History*, 18:4, (2007), pp. 428-452.

> We hear, read and think about the problem child nowadays, but every child that is born into this world creates a problem. Wood Street Mission does make a contribution, maybe a small one, to the problem of the future, moral, spiritual and physical, of ordinary normal children…This we are doing by evening classes, by our Sunday school...and by our beautifully equipped home at Blackpool. All these have an effect on young minds, which may be an early steeping-stone to the wish for higher and better things and improvement in standards of living and thought.[29]

Such comments further demonstrate that, in the post-war period, the WSM remained bound to its founding philosophy that stressed evangelical work as an answer to poverty. Important developments in child welfare, including John Bowlby's contentions on maternal love during the 1950s, could not shake the WSM's commitment to its pre-war thinking.[30] What is also clear is that Herbert and the management committee did not change the public face of the organization, even to a small extent, during the 1940s and 1950s. Pre-war imaginings of the WSM as a shining light for poor children, which draw on biblical assertions of 'God' being light, confidently continued into the post-war period. For example, George Herbert described the WSM in 1923 as 'as a lighthouse, being bright, warm and helpful, offering an appealing contrast to the cold, dark streets and comfortless homes from which the kiddies come'.[31] Conveying an almost identical message, the WSM continued to place, as late as February 1958, short advertisements for monetary donations in *The Manchester Guardian* describing itself as 'The Light that Never Fails', and claiming that 'its ministry of suffering and needy children is continuous'.[32]

Crucially, the WSM failed to launch new projects even though there was significant scope for voluntary action within the post-war welfare state. This was

[29] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1948, p. 5.
[30] See: J. Bowlby, *Child Care and the Growth of Love* (Harmondworth: 1953).
[31] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1923, p. 12.
[32] WSM/14/5, *Manchester Guardian*, 24 February 1958, p. unstated.

shown in the Younghusband Committee on social workers, which pointed out that 87 per cent of local authorities utilised the services of voluntary agencies for the blind in 1956, 83 per cent for the elderly, and 70 per cent for the unmarried mother.[33] Openings for voluntary action in Manchester were identified by the Manchester University Settlement (MUS). Its 1956/57 annual report, for example, argued that pressing urban problems in the city included an increase in juvenile crime rates, a lack of facilities for the elderly, and a need for practical support and advice to homeless families living in temporary accommodation.[34] At the same time, there was an insistence that traditional forms of poverty relief work were superfluous due to economically prosperous conditions. It commented that 'the average family is now reasonably well supplied with material goods and more comfortable from a financial point of view than it has ever been'.[35] By following the argument offered in the annual report of the Manchester settlement, it can be seen that the WSM, in seeking to fulfil its pre-war aims, missed opportunities to diversify its range of welfare projects and reach social groups whose needs had not fully been met by the state, including women, disabled, young and elderly people.

The WSM also struggled to demonstrate its importance within the wider field of charitable work in post-war Manchester. Despite the enlargement of state welfare, other charities in Manchester were able to capitalise on gaps and limitations in the statutory services. One such example was the Manchester branch of the Family Service Units, who tackled the 'problem' family issue by running a casework project offering a range of help, encompassing house repairs, child-care and budgeting advice. Pat Starkey has shown that the Manchester FSU, in common with branches

[33] Ministry of Health, *Report of the Working Party on Social Workers in Local Authority Health and Welfare Services* (London: 1959), p. 298.
[34] Manchester University Settlement Archive (hereafter MUS) /2/1/46, *Annual Report*, 1957, p. 12.
[35] MUS/2/1/46, *Annual Report*, 1957, p. 1.

nationally, forged an image as an innovative voluntary organization through the casework project. This enabled the FSU to carve out a unique role as a local social work educator based on a professionalization of the subject arising from the development of college and university-based courses.[36] Indeed, Manchester was the first branch of the FSU nationally to accept university placements for social work training in 1944.[37] Annual reports of the Manchester (and later Salford) FSU also emphasise its position as an educator of social work, with its 1957 report declaring that statutory authorities rigorously follow its procedures for dealing with the 'problem family'.[38] While the Manchester FSU depicted itself as a modern and cutting-edge organization that developed innovative social work methods, the WSM under Ada Herbert's superintendence, did not attempt to experiment in welfare as a way to forge a dynamic relationship with statutory and other voluntary welfare organizations.

The WSM's early post-war experience, to a large extent, fits a broader pattern of resistance by religious charitable institutions to addressing the issue of modernisation during the 1940s and 1950s. For example, Dr Barnardo's remained steadfast to its original philosophy in responding to the post-war welfare state. Its 1953/54 annual report emphasised that the teaching of the Bible was a primary objective by declaring that 'above physical well-being, education and the other necessities of a full and happy life, we place the spiritual upbringing of our children in the Christian Church'.[39] Furthermore, the report expressed hostility to the idea that charities should undertake a pioneering role in the provision of welfare, commenting

[36] P. Starkey, *Families and Social Workers: The Work of the Family Service Units, 1940-1985* (Liverpool: 2000), p. 9.
[37] Starkey, *Families and Social Workers*, p. 153.
[38] Social Work Archive (hereafter SRA), D495 (MA) M8/17, Manchester and Salford FSU, *Annual Report*, 1957, p. 5.
[39] SRA, D239 A3/1/88a, Dr Barnardo's, *Annual Report*, 1954, p. 2.

that we 'do not allow our children to be used as the raw material for indiscriminate experiments in 'welfare' in these 'years of constant social change'.[40] In a similar vein to Dr Barnardo's, the WSM refused to diverge from its founding principles and integrate new ideas in its response to the post-war welfare state. Yet it would be inaccurate to view religion as the root cause of the WSM's failure to alter its approach to welfare. At its 1955 AGM, the Bishop of Manchester, the Right Reverend W.D. Lindsay Greer, subtly warned the WSM that it needed to adapt to a post-war climate of affluence:

> The Welfare State which had changed the whole situation brought a danger and an opportunity. The danger was that it would be said in the Mission that what was good enough for our grandfathers is good enough for us and so we must carry on as before. To do that, would not be true to the spirit of those who founded the Mission. It should rather be said that times have changed and new needs are arising.[41]

The WSM's failure to heed this warning, and address the issue of modernisation, had a significant impact on the management committee. This was demonstrated in the late 1950s and early-1960s when the WSM experienced serious operational problems. The retirement of Ada Herbert in December 1958 triggered a series of management difficulties, which contributed to a deep sense of crisis within the organization. For over six months, the management committee struggled to find her replacement, leading to a lack of effective administration for the organization's poverty relief and evangelical activities. Remaining steadfast to the founding philosophy of the WSM, the committee sought a deeply pious superintendent who would continue in the tradition of Herbert. In January 1959, they concluded that two unnamed applicants were unsuitable for the position, and that the Chairman planned

[40] SRA, D239 A3/1/88a, Dr Barnardo's, *Annual Report*, 1954, p. 2.
[41] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1955, p. 6.

to write to the Bishop of Manchester's Chaplain concerning suggestions.[42] Following Herbert's retirement, the committee appointed two superintendents who both had relatively short and unsuccessful experiences: Robert Bailey between July 1959 and September 1960; and A.L Owen between November 1960 and March 1962. Despite WSM archival material throwing no light on the backgrounds of Bailey and Owen, it is evident that their superintendence marked a failure to change the philosophy and activities of the WSM.

The WSM archives show that Bailey sought to promote religious activity during his short-lived superintendence. In March 1960, he reported to the management committee that he was attempting to develop a teaching ministry at the WSM while 'not forsaking the element of evangelicalism in the preaching'.[43] Yet his frustration with its charitable endeavours led him to propose the starting of two projects: a canteen for young people and an old people's day club.[44] His proposals were, however, not fully supported as the committee only agreed to the principle of a day club for the elderly on condition that it would be operated by church members. Six months later, Bailey tendered his resignation, with committee minutes ambiguously citing that 'for a number of reasons felt, he could no longer carry on the work of the Mission'.[45] Although the reasons for his departure are unclear, it is apparent that he was unable to secure a necessary directional change in the outlook of the WSM committee.

Despite Bailey's resignation, the management committee remained committed to pursuing the founding objectives of the WSM. At the AGM for 1960/61, Chairman Niel Pierson declared that 'the objects which Wood Street Mission was

[42] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 20 January 1959.
[43] WSM/12/1, Superintendent's Report, March 1960.
[44] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 18 March 1960.
[45] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 13 September 1960.

founded to achieve are still before us in spite of all that has happened in a hundred years' and that 'faith and works are both needed and must be used in double harnesses'.[46] The committee's determination to uphold the original principles of the WSM also influenced their appointment of A.L. Owen in November 1960, who promoted evangelical work during his superintendence. In June 1961, for example, he contacted a delegation from the Billy Graham Crusade, visiting Manchester from the United States at the time, about engaging with local communities. He attempted to capitalise on Billy Graham's well-publicised three-week trip to Manchester, and his attempt, as covered in the *The Guardian*, to convert 20,000 people through a series of events held at Manchester City's Maine Road Stadium.[47] Minutes of the June 1961 meeting note that Owen gave considerable help to 'the Billy Graham Crusade during the last fortnight and that several helpers had stayed with Mr and Mrs Owen whilst in Manchester'. [48] Furthermore, the minutes comment that Owen had 'no doubt that this would prove of benefit to the Mission' by giving publicity and enlisting support.[49]

Yet, it is clear that Owen had a turbulent relationship with the WSM church congregation and viewed them as obstinate and lethargic. In February 1961, just four months after his appointment, he told the management committee unequivocally that church members 'were not pulling their weight' with regard to their financial contribution to the WSM.[50] This relationship further strained in July 1961, when the committee felt forced to close the church temporarily. *The Guardian*, who under the headline 'Dispute closes City Mission Church', reported that the congregation, led by the organist G. Herbert, Ada Herbert's son, planned to resist the measure by

[46] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1961, p. 4.
[47] *The Guardian*, 19 June 1961, p. 17.
[48] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 20 June 1961.
[49] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 20 June 1961.
[50] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 17 January 1960.

holding open-air services.[51] The church closure saga exacerbated the bad feeling between the organization's management and church members, as well as generated significant negative publicity. In fact, the reason given for the management committee's decision to postpone its AGM that year was 'a need for much thinking and consultation', and Honorary Secretary Frederick Towns later described the period as 'testing and heart-searching, perhaps as any which the Wood Street Mission has had to face since its early days'.[52]

The sense of anxiety at the WSM culminated in March 1962 during a meeting held at the Manchester settlement (MUS) between members of the WSM management committee and representatives from statutory welfare authorities and voluntary organizations. In comparison to the WSM committee minutes, minutes of the meeting at the Manchester settlement do not state the names of individuals present. Furthermore, the minutes do not record the statutory and voluntary organizations that sent representatives to the meeting. Crucially, they do reveal that the WSM was considered as redundant within the field of charitable work in Manchester. This was clearly illustrated in the first paragraph of the minutes, which claimed the 'Mission was serving no useful purpose' due to the depopulation of Manchester:

> It was agreed that, in its present location, the Mission was serving no useful purpose, due solely to the fact that no residential accommodation was within easy reach. The area had now been completely re-developed and housed commercial and industrial concerns, and the officers were agreed that the existing Mission building should be sold.[53]

[51] *The Guardian*, 20 July 1961, p. 13.
[52] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1961 p. 9.
[53] WSM/1/1/8, meeting at Manchester University Settlement, 4 March 1962.

Attributing the problems of the WSM to the post-war re-development of Manchester was not entirely misleading. As John Parkinson-Bailey has argued, there was a real take-off in the construction of commercial buildings within the centre of Manchester from the late 1950s onwards as a consequence of the Conservative government's land reforms.[54] Additionally, there was a significant de-population of the city and an expansion of its outer suburbs during the inter-war and post-war years.[55] Yet it is apparent that the statutory and voluntary representatives at the March 1962 meeting at the Manchester settlement realised that the WSM had struggled to adapt to the post-war economic and social environment. They also asserted that 'some of the work of the Mission was no longer needed and other parts had been taken over by statutory bodies'.[56] This was especially the case of its distribution of clothing to school pupils, as statutory authorities could perform the task following the 1944 Education Act.

It is also clear that the statutory and voluntary representatives at the March 1962 meeting insisted that the WSM should abandon its old approaches to welfare. They felt that the future work of the WSM 'must be brought into line with current standards and vision, using modern methods, equipment and research'.[57] Moreover, it was firmly encouraged that the WSM should concentrate on launching new projects as a way to demonstrate its importance within the charitable work field. Towards the end of the meeting, it was proposed that the assets of the WSM 'should

[54] John Parkinson-Bailey noted that the expansion of commercial buildings in Manchester was initiated by the Conservative government's decision in 1959 to denationalise development values and restore market values as the basis of compensation. This increased the value of land, which meant that local authorities were unable to compete with private developers. See J. Parkinson-Bailey, *Manchester: An Architectural History* (Manchester: 2000) p. 170.

[55] Between 1931 and 1961, the population of Manchester decreased by 14 per cent, with approximately 100,000 people leaving the city. Indicative of the growth of the suburbs was Prestwich, whose population increased by 82 per cent, Urmston by 156 per cent, and Cheadle by 186 per cent. Parkinson-Bailey, *Manchester: An Architectural History*, p. 191.

[56] WSM/1/1/8, meeting at Manchester University Settlement, 4 March 1962.

[57] WSM/1/1/8, meeting at Manchester University Settlement, 4 March 1962.

be used to launch new and experimental projects that would be self-perpetuating'.[58] If successful, these projects would be taken over by statutory agencies, 'leaving the Mission's funds to work elsewhere'. Various projects were suggested to the WSM management committee:

> The workers suggested various projects which they felt to be most urgent: youth clubs, additional case work facilities, comprehensive social service agency for Wythenshawe, research into delinquency, a suggestion that a City board of Youth should be established similar to the New York experiment with unattached club leaders, and other research work. [59]

Such project recommendations reflected the limitations of the state in providing an effective youth service and conducting casework. Anxieties over the behaviour of young men and women filtered through from the Second World War, with the Manchester and Salford Council of Social Service (MSCSS) holding detailed discussions between 1949 and 1954 about how to enlarge recreational provision and increase recruitment of youth club leaders.[60] The proposal for the WSM to start a youth club was informed, at least in part, by the government commissioned Albemarle Report of 1960, which found that existing provision was characterised by poor funding, a shortage of facilities and a lack of staff. A significant finding of the report was that the youth service had severely struggled to reach young people, with an estimation that 66 per cent of adolescents were unattached to any kind of youth organization during the late 1950s.[61] Furthermore, the suggestion that the WSM should undertake casework in Wythenshawe was a consequence of the shortcomings

[58] WSM/1/1/8, meeting at Manchester University Settlement, 4 March 1962.
[59] WSM/1/1/8, meeting at Manchester University Settlement, 4 March 1962.
[60] GB127.MISC/847, Typescript summary of discussions held by the Youth Advisory Group of the Manchester and Salford Council of Social Service, 1949-1954.
[61] Ministry of Education, *The Youth Service in England and Wales* (Albemarle Report) (London: 1960), p. 12.

of statutory social services. Barbara Rogers and Julia Dixon's study of casework practices in a Northern town revealed that during the mid-1950s, only 5 of 72 social workers had received professional training.[62] Adapting to the limitations of the post-war welfare state was the new task for the WSM.

The conclusions of this meeting – that the WSM should embark on a new direction involving either casework or youth work as a way to demonstrate its importance to statutory authorities – had a profound impact on the management committee, and by the end of the month, they asked Owen to tender his resignation. While his relationship with church members generated much negative publicity, his departure was predominantly a result of the criticism from statutory and voluntary welfare agencies delivered at the March 1962 meeting. This meeting illustrated the failure of the management committee to deal with the issue of modernisation. A continuing commitment to founding principles entailed that the WSM struggled to adapt to a changed economic and social landscape after the Second World War, mirrored in the significant decline in demand for its charitable work. The next two sections will investigate the decline of the organization's long-standing poverty relief activities.

Becoming a Junior Partner in Welfare: The Clothing and Toy Distribution

A major decrease in demand for its distribution of clothing and footwear best reflects the declining importance of the post-war poverty relief activities of the WSM. Whilst there was significant need for this charitable work throughout the interwar years, this work was extensively scaled-down during the post-war period. Between 1945/46 and

[62] B. Rodgers and J. Dixon, *Portrait of Social Work: A Study of Social Services in a Northern Town* (London: 1960), p. 178.

1955/56, the number of clothing articles distributed by the organization fell in a year from 7047 to 834 while the number of boots and clogs issued to poor children and adults fell from 1600 to 159.[63] This significant fall of clothing articles issued corresponded with an extensive decrease in the number of households receiving assistance. A clothing distribution register for the period highlights that the number of households referred to the WSM by statutory authorities and voluntary agencies, including the Manchester FSU and National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC), fell by over 80 per cent. Between 1945/46 and 1955/56, the total number of households who received clothing fell from 399 to 43 and from 282 to 47 for footwear.[64]

This scaling down of the distribution of clothing and footwear took place against a background of claims that the post-war welfare state had abolished poverty. The publication of Seebohm Rowntree's third survey of York in 1951 led to a popular perception that state welfare had succeeded in eradicating poverty.[65] Yet it would be a mistake to assume that the founding of the post-war welfare state had eradicated deprivation. Failure of the state to eradicate material deprivation was illustrated by conditions of austerity during the late 1940s and early 1950s.[66]

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[63] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1946, p. 9; and 1956, p. 14.

[64] WSM/9/2/2, Parcels Received Book, 1946 – 1975. Although listed as a Parcels Received Book, this source is a continuation of WSM/9/2/1, a relief book dated 1937 – 1946. WSM/9/2/2 continues the relief book until 1961, and then shifts to record a less detailed list of parcels distributed between January and June 1967. From 1968 to 1975, the volume changes to list clothing donations to the WSM. Until 1961, the volume documents the following information: the names and addresses of households; the organizations that referred them; and the items they received.

[65] In his third poverty survey of York, Rowntree found the proportion of the working-class population living in poverty has been reduced since 1936 from 31.1 per cent to 2.77 per cent using a subsistence definition of poverty. See B.S Rowntree and G.R. Lavers, *Poverty and the Welfare State, A Third Social Survey of York dealing only with Economic Questions* (London: 1951), p. 40. For a rigorous examination of Rowntree's survey, see: I. Gazeley, *Poverty in Britain, 1900-1965* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 168-173.

[66] For an overview of post-war austerity, see: C. Schenk, 'Austerity and Boom, 1945-1955' in Paul Johnson (ed.), *20th Century Britain: Economic, Social and Cultural Change* (London: 1994), pp. 300-319. For more detail work, see: P. Hennessy, *Never Again*: *Britain 1945-51* (London: 1992); I. Zweiniger-Bargelowska, *Austerity in Britain: Rationing, Controls, and Consumption, 1939-1955* (Oxford: 2000): and D. Kynaston, *Austerity Britain*, 1945-51 (London: 2007).

Charlotte Wildman has highlighted that local authority attempts to foster civic pride in Manchester were influenced by a severe potato famine in 1947, which caused much local dissatisfaction.[67] Claire Langhamer, in exploring the post-war British home, argued that discourses of affluence were not borne out in social conditions within Manchester, with the census data of 1951 showing that 45 per cent of households across the city did not have piped water, a kitchen sink and a fixed bath.[68] Cases of families and children requiring clothing at the WSM grate against the notion of post-war affluence. Families' experiences of severe poverty were documented in a report written by Bailey in March 1960, which outlined two cases of clothing assistance given during that month. He wrote that 'words and smiles of obviously profound gratitude' came from a 'Manchester girl left with a coloured baby and no home support', and a brother and sister neglected by their parents 'in a pitiably bad state of morale and dress' referred by the probation services.[69]

Nevertheless, it does appear that the importance of the WSM's clothing distribution began to decline during the late 1940s. Although post-war austerity policies, which included the rationing of clothing, supported great demand for clothing (with nearly 400 families receiving this assistance in 1945/56), it is evident that the WSM tried to focus on giving clothing to very young children in response to local education authority provision for school pupils.[70] Such moves can be seen in an advert for material and financial donations placed in *The Manchester Guardian* in

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[67] C. Wildman, 'A City Speaks: The Projection of Civic Identity in Manchester', *Twentieth Century British History*, 23:1 (2012), p. 98.
[68] C. Langhamer, 'The Meanings of Home in Post-War Britain': *Journal of Contemporary History* 40:2 (2005), p. 350. For the census data, General Register Office, *The 1951 Census of England and Wales: County of Lancashire* (London: 1956), p. 153.
[69] WSM/12/1, Superintendent's Report, March 1960.
[70] The 1944 Education Act enabled local education authorities to provide clothing to children of school age when necessary. Section 51 of the Act states that if a pupil registered at a school 'is unable by reason of the inadequacy of his clothing to take full advantage of the education provided at the school, the authority may provide him such clothing'. For an outline of provisions of the Act, see H. Dent, *The Education Act, 1944: Provisions, Regulations, Circulars, Later Acts* (Bickley: 1944), p. 42.

June 1948. Claiming that the WSM was playing its part in the post-war reconstruction process through the clothing distribution, the advert stated: 'One Way to Help Your Country is to Help Your Child – Wood Street Mission does this by Providing Clothing and Footwear for Needy Toddlers'.[71] At the AGM for 1948/49, Simpson pointed out this focus on clothing very young children. Simpson, rather predictably, tried to justify the importance of this work by declaring that it would cover a considerable gap in state welfare provision. He said:

> It would, however, be a very great mistake to think that there is no longer any call for the charitable side of our work. That is far from being the case. There is, for instance, still a demand for boots, shoes, clogs and clothing of all kinds. It is true that the Education Authorities supply needy cases but this only applies to children of school age. Consequently, there are still many children who are in need of our help in this direction.[72]

Despite this claim, the fact that the WSM focused its distribution of clothing on very young children suggests that Manchester Corporation was becoming increasingly effective in providing clothing to children of school age. Management committee minutes reveal deference towards statutory welfare authorities, indicating that the WSM acknowledged its position of junior partner in the distribution of clothing and footwear. In December 1951, for example, the WSM sought the approval of the Manchester Education Committee for its role in giving footwear. Showing a desire to avoid conflict, the committee agreed that 'nothing should be done to cut across the arrangements which were being made by the Manchester Education Committee', and that 'subject to their approval', the superintendent can spend up to £100 on boots and shoes.[73] The junior position of the WSM was confirmed the following month,

[71] WSM/14/5, *Manchester Guardian*, 26 January 1948, p. not stated.
[72] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1949, p. 4.
[73] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 18 December 1951.

wherein it was agreed with the education committee that 'there were borderline cases which could be met by the Mission'.[74]

High employment, rising wages and the interventions of the state in social security, encapsulated in the 1946 National Insurance Act and 1948 Assistance Act, contributed to reducing public need for the WSM's clothing operation. Supported by a strong wholesale sector and an expanding retail market, Manchester had relatively low levels of unemployment, with the 1961 census showing that the adult rate of unemployment in the city stood at just 2 per cent.[75] Post-war 'affluence' was also proclaimed by *The Manchester Guardian* in November 1957, which revealed a significant downturn in trade for pawnshops across the city's poorest areas under the headline: 'Prosperity Brings Hard-Times to the Pawnshop: 2000 Businesses Closed since 1939'.[76] From the mid-1950s onwards, there was little discussion concerning the clothing distribution in either AGM's or committee meetings, reflecting the reduced significance of this work. This reduction in importance also reflects in the management committee's decision to omit publishing a traditional 'Summary of Work Done' list in annual reports during the early 1960s. Clothing distribution records reveal that this philanthropic work became extremely limited in scope, with only 36 families in receipt of clothing and only 26 receiving footwear in 1959/60.[77]

The other main part of this philanthropic work was the distribution of Christmas toys to children. Between 1945 and 1961, the WSM continued to distribute toys on Boxing Day, a practice that dated back to the nineteenth century. The giving of dolls to girls especially represented the old-fashioned nature of this

[74] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 15 January 1952.
[75] A. Kidd, *Manchester*, (Keele: 1993), pp.190-191; and General Register Office, *The 1961 Census of England and Wales: Occupation, Industry, Socio-Economic Groups – Lancashire* (London: 1966), p.3.
[76] *The Manchester Guardian*, 14 November, 1957, p. 7.
[77] WSM/9/2/2, Parcels Received Book, 1946 – 1975.

practice. Jane Hamlett has described how Victorian prescriptive literature asserted that dolls established and reinforced a desire for motherhood in young girls.[78] Prior to the Second World War, the Boxing Day toy distribution was the highlight of a series of events held at the WSM across the festive period, including a Christmas Day breakfast, a Watch Night Service and a New Year's Eve party. Crucially, the toy distribution was a showpiece event for the WSM, which provided it with an opportunity to engage with the media and attract positive publicity. Coverage of the toy distribution by *The Manchester Guardian* before the Second World War emphasises the scale of the work, with headlines including: 'Wood Street Mission: A Mountain of Toys'; 'Christmas at Wood Street: A Place of Noise and Toys'; and 'Crowded Halls at Wood Street Mission'.[79] Given the importance of the event, the WSM made a concerted attempt to expand the toy distribution during the immediate post-war period, with the number of gifts distributed increasing from 1800 in 1945 to 4029 in 1955.[80]

Despite this increase in the number of gifts distributed, the nature of the event did change during the post-war years. Expectations that the post-war welfare state would eradicate poverty framed the WSM's struggle to obtain media coverage of the toy distribution. In February 1946, the management committee arranged a meeting with the news editor of *The Manchester Guardian* concerning meagre publicity.[81] The WSM's difficulty in attracting publicity was evident at the meeting, in which the news editor refused the committee's request for extra publicity.[82] By the mid-1950s, the newspaper had effectively abandoned covering the toy distribution. Yet the

[78] J. Hamlett, *Material Relations: Domestic Interiors and Middle-Class Families in England, 1850–1910* (Manchester: 2010), p. 126.
[79] *The Manchester Guardian*, 27 December 1907, p. 5; *The Manchester Guardian*, 28 December 1926, p.11; *The Manchester Guardian*, 27 December, 1934, p. 6.
[80] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1946, p.9.and 1956, p.14.
[81] WSM/1/1/7, Management Committee, 18 February 1946.
[82] WSM/1/1/7, Management Committee, 18 March 1946.

committee continued to think along traditional lines, and considered that the toy distribution offered a great means of raising awareness of the WSM. As late as July 1958, the committee debated at length the merits of the toy distribution with reference to publicity. Pointing out that the total cost of giving 4000 toys in 1957 was approximately £1000, the committee viewed the distribution as 'a good advertisement and was something which should not be given up or reduced without very serious consideration' despite the fact that it 'was a constant drain on the funds of the Mission'.[83]

The WSM's traditional approach to philanthropy from 1945 to 1961 was evidenced by the continuation of the Boxing Day toy distribution, and its attempts to promote the work. A theme that ran across both pre-war and post-war fundraising literature was the giving of 'happiness' to poverty-stricken children. Indicative of its pre-war promotional efforts is an advert for monetary donations placed in the *News Chronicle* in December 1933 entitled 'A Slum Child's Dream'.[84] Although unstated, children were depicted as 'waifs', a dominant representation of poverty from the mid-1860s to the early 1890s. As Anna Davin notes, nineteenth-century waif stories configured children as 'objects of pathos' – desperately poor and without parental support.[85] In common with waif stories published in Victorian Britain, the 'A Slum Child's Dream' advert stressed that children were destitute, innocent and alone. For example, the second line of the advert stated that the WSM brought 'hope to those in the clutch of cruel circumstance'.[86] Later, it was strongly suggested that children, as a result of their poverty and loneliness, were totally dependent on the WSM for happiness at Christmas. It stated:

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[83] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 17 June 1958.
[84] WSM/14/4, *News Chronicle*, 15 December 1933, p. not stated.
[85] A. Davin, 'Waif Stories in late nineteenth-century England', *History Workshop Journal, 52* (2001), p. 69.
[86] WSM/14/4, *News Chronicle*, 15 December 1933, p. not stated.

> At Christmastide Wood Street Mission is transformed into a glorious Santa Claus. To thousands of children 'Wood Street' spells romance and rapture – they look to us in utter trust. Dare we fail them? Supposing these slum children woke up on Christmas morning and found that 'Wood Street had vanished'. Can you imagine the darkness that would fall upon them? We cannot fail them. We must keep our Christmas candles twinkling. Will you light one for us?[87]

Clearly, the 'A Slum Child's Dream' advert portrayed the WSM as driven by a sense of moral duty by constructing it as a Santa Claus devoted to poor children. Another important feature of the advert was the focus on sentiment as a means to attract donations, a feature of philanthropic writing in the nineteenth century. According to Julie-Marie Strange, sentiment was an important aspect of a late-Victorian humanitarianism, which invited the public to imagine suffering as a precondition to making a monetary donation.[88] Sentiment in the advert was expressed in a confident assertion that the WSM rescued children from misery at Christmas. The advert specifically asked the reader to ponder the suffering of children by posing the question: Can you imagine the darkness that would fall upon them? Significant parallels exist between the WSM's pre-war and post-war fundraising endeavours, as shown by an advert placed in the *Blackpool Gazette* in December 1956, headlined: 'Will you be a Father Christmas this Christmastide?' [89] While this advert invited readers to become a 'Santa Claus', in contrast to 'A Slum Child's Dream', both fundraising endeavours shared similarities in relation to the depiction of children and the use of sentiment. The advert made an important claim that children visiting the WSM for Christmas toys were poverty-stricken and alone. It asked readers to

[87] WSM/14/4, *News Chronicle*, 15 December 1933, p. not stated.
[88] J.M. Strange, 'Tramp: Sentiment and the Homeless Man in the Late-Victorian and Edwardian City', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 16:2 (2011), p. 243.
[89] WSM/14/5, *Blackpool Gazette and Herald*, 14 December 1956, p. not stated.

imagine the suffering of children whom it claimed, 'had no hope at Christmas at all'.[90] It read:

> Will you be a Father Christmas this Christmastide by sending us a gift, and so help us to bring happiness into the lives of children who would otherwise have no hope of Christmas at all? …Can we fail our little ones? To do this would be like extinguishing the light in the room of a terrified child. No, we must not and in this we need your help.

Using the analogy of not 'extinguishing the light in the room of a terrified child', the advert insists that the giving of toys at Christmas was a moral duty for the WSM. The continuation in the pre-war and post-war fundraising endeavours of its toy distribution reflects the WSM's failure to change its thinking. Yet it is evident that tensions surfaced over the operation of the Boxing Day toy distribution during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Management committee minutes indicate a frustration within the WSM that the toy distribution had become a gesture. Opinions that the distribution had begun to lose value as a form of poverty relief were aired in September 1958, when Ada Herbert told the committee that 'the church workers agreed that toys were going to children who did not need them'.[91] It is likely that their perceptions were based on children's dress, rather than hard evidence about their background. Figure 5 is a photograph of the 1960 Boxing Day toy distribution, entitled 'Distribution Begins', which shows young girls queuing to collect a doll from Father Christmas, who was played by a management committee member. As we can see, the girls at the front of the queue were smartly dressed. In the eyes of these church workers, perhaps the image of poverty was still associated with the

[90] WSM/14/5, *Blackpool Gazette and Herald*, 14 December 1956, p. not stated.
[91] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 16 September 1958.

wearing of ragged clothing similar to the image depicted in the 1900 soup kitchen photograph.

Figure 5: Photograph of the Boxing Day Toy Distribution titled 'Distribution Begins' (1960).
Source: WSM/15/2/2, Unbound Photographs (1959-61).

In some respects, the event became less relevant to local communities, with the number of children receiving a toy falling from 4,029 in 1954 to 2,100 in 1960.[92] In January 1961, Robert Bailey expressed a view that there was perhaps 'a lack of need by the children' in explaining why 900 of the 3,000 tickets required for the collection of a toy remained unused at the distribution the previous month.[93] Underpinned not only by the post-war welfare state, but also by an environment of working-class prosperity, there was a substantial fall in the quantity of items distributed, as well as

[92] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1955, p. 13; and 1961, p. 4.
[93] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 17 January 1961.

the number of families receiving assistance. As we shall see in the next section, there was also a considerable fall in demand for its Blackpool free-holiday scheme.

The Blackpool Free-Holiday Scheme

The Blackpool free-holiday scheme, in light of the substantial decline in demand for clothing and footwear, was the focus of attention for the WSM during the 1950s and early 1960s. Illustrating the importance of familial ties at the WSM, its Squires Gate holiday home was managed by Ada Herbert's daughter, Elaine. The WSM scheme was one of the biggest children's holiday initiatives operated by voluntary organizations in the Manchester region, handling a larger intake of children than the Salford Poor Children's Holiday Camp (SPCHC). In 1951, for example, the WSM took around 1700 children to Blackpool whilst the SPCHC provided a holiday to Prestatyn for around 1300 children.[94] Additionally, the scheme constituted the WSM's principal way of working with statutory authorities, with children referred by local education authorities and children's departments established under the 1948 Children's Act across the north-west. In the summer of 1955, the WSM provided holidays to 1850 children from eleven towns and cities as far afield as Bolton, Wigan and Burnley.[95] Dealing with a significant number of children, as well as covering a considerable geographical area, the Blackpool free-holiday scheme was by far the most important aspect of its poverty relief work.

Demand for trips to Blackpool during the post-war period had moved beyond an initial nineteenth-century intention of improving the health of children. As John Urry notes, seaside trips were the predominant form of holiday in Britain by the

[94] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1951, p. 8. On the Salford Poor Children's Holiday Camp, see: 'Free Holidays for 1,300', *The Manchester Guardian*, February 6, 1951, p.6.
[95] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1955, p. 7.

Second World War, and had become 'almost a marker for citizenship, a right to pleasure'.[96] When allocating free-holidays, the WSM favoured girls rather than boys. In 1951, the ratio was approximately three to one (1,498 girls and 525 boys).[97] It is likely that this gender divide was based on an assumption that boys had more opportunities than girls for seaside and camping trips through the Scout movement.[98] An important aspect of these children's holidays were excursions to popular entertainment attractions in Blackpool, including the Pleasure Beach and Tower Circus.

Figure 6: Photograph of a WSM visit to the Pleasure Beach in Blackpool titled 'In the Pleasure Beach' (no date).
Source: WSM/15/2/20, Unbound Photographs (n.d.)

[96] J. Urry, 'Holiday-making in Britain since 1945', *Contemporary British History*, 5:1 (1991) p. 33. There has been extensive historical interest in working-class holidays in interwar and post-war Britain. This includes: M. Ward and D. Hardy, *Goodnight Campers: The History of the British Holiday Camp* (London: 1986); J. Walton, *The British Seaside: Holidays and Resorts in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester: 2000); S. Barton, *Working-class Organizations and Popular Tourism, 1840-1970* (Manchester: 2011); and S. Dawson, *Holiday Camps in Twentieth-Century Britain: Packaging Pleasure* (Manchester: 2011).
[97] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1951, p. 10.
[98] The development of the Scout movement has been well mapped out by historians. For a selection of work, see: A. Warren, 'Popular Manliness: Baden-Powell, Scouting and the Development of Manly Character' in J.A. Mangan and J. Walvin (eds.), *Manliness and Morality, Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1880-1940* (Manchester: 1987), pp. 199-219; M. Dedman, Baden Powell, Militarism and the 'Invisible Contributors to the Boy Scout Scheme, 1904 -1920', *Twentieth Century British History* 4:3 (1993), pp. 201-223 and S. Pryke, The Popularity of Nationalism in the early British Boy Scout Movement', *Social History* 23:3 (1998), pp. 309-324.

Figure 6 is a photograph of a group of boys gathering around a clown attraction while enjoying their visit to the Blackpool Pleasure Beach arranged by the WSM. It is interesting was that many of the boys are wearing blazers and shorts that resemble a school uniform, indicating that these trips were formal occasions. The smartness of their dress fits into the management committee's wider endeavour to raise children's aspirations by giving them a fleeting experience of middle-class affluence in the course of the holiday.

Annual reports strongly emphasised that the WSM developed a wide range of contacts within the amusement industry in Blackpool. Reflecting the importance of the scheme to the WSM, the management committee wrote a special 'Squire's Gate Holiday Home' account between 1950 and 1956, published in the annual report, which recorded that the WSM received a special discount on the entrance fares of popular attractions. Indicative was the Squire's Gate account of 1955, which commented: 'Our kind friends in the world of entertainment never let us down', a result of the Tower Circus allowing children to watch their shows free-of-charge, and the Pleasure Beach offering the children visits at a quarter of the standard price.[99] However, it is difficult to provide direct insights into children's experience of their Blackpool holiday. Children's experiences of the scheme were communicated by their parents, who wrote short 'thank you' letters to the WSM. These 'thank you' letters illustrate the gratitude of parents, but provide little detail, only commenting that they had a lovely holiday. In October 1955, for example, Mrs M Melling from Rochdale thanked the WSM in her local newspaper for giving her two daughters, Angela and Heather, a 'wonderful week's holiday', of which 'they

[99] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1955, p.7.

enjoyed every minute'.[100] Although the fact that she publicly thanked the WSM reveals that she appreciated the free-holiday scheme, it would be mistaken to judge her daughter's trip as representative. Almost certainly, there was a diversity of experience, with some children enjoying their holiday to Blackpool and others missing their parents, siblings and friends.

Yet it appears that the WSM adopted a child-centred approach to running the free-holiday scheme. In July 1950, the management committee agreed to purchase a chip pan in response to requests for the serving of more chips at dinnertime.[101] Moreover, in the autumn of 1953, the committee paid for an extensive refurbishment of the bedrooms to make them more comfortable for children. In the 'Squires Gate' report, it was proudly claimed that 'the finished job is enough to grace the most expensive hotel' as the ceiling and walls were painted, bedspreads were dyed pink, and all beds were fitted with Dunlopillo Mattresses.[102] Committee minutes also show that local education authorities, who recommended children for the holiday, valued the free-holiday scheme. In June 1957, the authority in Chorley wrote to the WSM expressing 'appreciation and thanks for all that the Mission had done in making such a happy holiday possible for these Chorley children'.[103] Moreover, in June 1959, the authority in Bury asked the WSM for a second chance to grant holidays to children from its area after a clerical mistake, indicating that it valued the scheme. It was noted that 'a letter was read from the Director of Education for Bury apologising for the administrative error at the end of May which prevented his children going to Blackpool and hoping another opportunity may be given'.[104]

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[100] WSM/14/5, a newspaper cutting that states 'The above is from a Rochdale Paper – 5th October 1955'.
[101] WSM/1/1/7, Management Committee, 17 July 1950.
[102] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1953, p. 14.
[103] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 19 June 1957.
[104] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 16 June 1959.

Although local education authorities appreciated the Blackpool free-holiday scheme, there was a considerable fall in demand for this charitable work from the early 1950s to the early 1960s. Between 1950 and 1961, the annual number of children provided a free holiday by the WSM declined from 2131 to 1161.[105] Similar to the clothing and footwear distribution, unemployment influenced demand for free-holidays. John Walton argued that during the inter-war depression, most working-class families with young children were unable to finance a seaside holiday, even in the cheapest accommodation.[106] Under this economic downturn, seaside holidays were largely experienced by those without dependents, such as single people, childless couples and elderly people whose children were contributing to the family budget or left home. In contrast, the post-war period witnessed an opening out, on a vast scale, of seaside holidays to working-class families with children driven by a climate of low unemployment and average wages that outpaced inflation.[107] High employment and rising wages also undermined the importance of the free-holiday scheme in relation to health, with improved living standards manifested in improvements in diet. In 1955, the average diet definitively met the 1950 British Medical Association's recommendations for minerals and vitamins.[108] Underpinned by rising living standards for many families, there was a significant decrease in need for the Blackpool free-holiday scheme.

While a landscape of working-class prosperity supported the decline in demand for the Blackpool free holiday scheme, it is clear that difficulties in managing the Squires Gate home limited the intake of children. Sometimes, in responding to troublesome groups of children, the management committee felt the

[105] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1950, p. 10; and 1961, p. 8.
[106] Walton, *Blackpool*, p. 121.
[107] J. Walton, *Riding on Rainbows: Blackpool Pleasure Beach and its Place in British Popular Culture* (St Albans: 2007), p. 45.
[108] Gazeley, *Poverty in Britain*, p. 163.

need to give staff a little respite by restricting the amount of places at the home for subsequent weeks. For example, in June 1947, the committee responded to a group of badly behaved boys by instructing the Honorary Secretary to 'write to the Headmasters of the ringleaders calling attention to their bad behaviour and asking for them to be punished', in addition to reducing the number of places on the scheme to just 50 for the next three weeks.[109] Yet it is evident that the most frequent problem hindering the efficient running of the Squires Gate holiday home was staff shortages. Speeches made at the WSM AGMs, and management committee minutes, show struggles recurred year upon year to locate and retain staff. In April 1949, for example, Ada Herbert told the committee that only 2 out of 7 positions had been filled at the home, which meant that the scheme could only run at half strength.[110] It is apparent that the committee made a serious attempt to tackle the problem through substantial financial investment, illustrating a determination to continue the pre-war approach of the WSM to poverty relief. Speaking at the 1953/54 AGM, Honorary Secretary, Frederick Towns, announced the building of the new staff dormitory block as part of an effort to modernise staff facilities:

> In the report for 1953, reference was made to the fact that your committee had in mind a separate dormitory block for staff. We are pleased to report the construction of this new block...Your committee are hoping that these improvements in the facilities and accommodation for staff will go a long way to solve what is perhaps the greatest handicap to the satisfactory running of the holiday home. During the last few years, it has proved extremely difficult and at times almost impossible to get adequate and suitable staff for the Holiday home to be run as we would like it to be run and a very heavy burden has fallen on the shoulders of Mrs Herbert.[111]

[109] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 16 June 1947.
[110] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 20 April 1949.
[111] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1954, p.4.

Opened in June 1955, the new staff dormitory block for the Squires Gate holiday home cost approximately £7000, which included an estimated £4600 for building, £1500 for a heating system, and £900 for furniture.[112] Further efforts were also undertaken to persuade staff not to leave the holiday home. In March 1957, the committee discussed (and agreed in May) a bonus payment system that was between ten and twenty pounds per employee. This was to 'encourage staff at the Holiday Home to remain on the strength of that through the whole season'.[113] Nevertheless, it is evident that the management committee could not overcome the problem. Despite its financial investment, the WSM struggled to compete with a flourishing Blackpool tourist industry and the booming trade in the 1940s and 1950s, and was unable to match the wages and financial incentives offered by private hotels and bed-and-breakfast houses. Even as late as the summer of 1958, Elaine Howard (nee Herbert) was telling the committee that three staff members had left the home and that she needed to use some 'discretion with regard to the payment of additional wages' to keep existing staff.[114]

The fact that, even in the light of a falling intake of children, the WSM dedicated considerable financial resources to the scheme, illustrates a commitment to its pre-war approach to welfare. Perceptions of post-war affluence also challenged long-standing philanthropic assumptions. This was shown in a report written by Bailey in May 1960, which offered a subtle criticism of local authorities for sending children from affluent backgrounds to the Squires Gate holiday home. He expressed a particular annoyance that the free-holiday scheme did not fulfil its original intention of serving very poor children, reflecting a traditional notion of poverty based on destitution. Discussing a group of children sent by a combination of

[112] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1954, p.4.
[113] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 19 March 1957.
[114] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 17 June 1958.

authorities from Bury, Accrington, Bolton and Blackburn, he argued that some of the children 'seem quite well-off'.[115] This led him to believe that, from the point of referrals, 'co-operation with the education authorities cannot prove ideal, as it might do with specifically social work bodies'.[116]

Unsurprisingly, the WSM marketed the Blackpool free-holiday scheme to financial subscribers along very traditional lines after the Second World War. Similar to its Christmas toy distribution, the WSM promoted the free-holiday scheme around the theme of the giving of 'happiness' to poor children. An excellent example of pre-war promotional efforts was a pamphlet titled 'A City Child's Vision' published in 1923. Directed at the socially concerned middle classes, the pamphlet claimed that the severity of poverty after the First World War sustained an enormous need to give children 'happiness' through 'visions' of the beauty of the seaside. The pamphlet portrayed children as destitute and despondent in a similar manner to the depiction of the 'waif' by declaring that 'the call from the little neglected ones was always a strong one, chiefly out of pity for the sadness, squalor and poverty in which we saw them'.[117] Moreover, it put forward this description of the visions that a child would witness at the seaside:

> To take them [children] from their slums and to give them an outlook on life which is not bounded by the bricks and mortar among which they live; to give them just a little peep at God's great sky and sea; just a memory of the sun sinking to rest across the shimmering waves; and may-be some unfathomed thought from the star-speckled howl of night when all is silent.[118]

The pamphlet presented these visions as having a long-term benefit in positively shaping the transition from childhood to adulthood by arguing that individuals drew

[115] WSM/12/1, Superintendent's Report, March 1960.
[116] WSM/12/1, Superintendent's Report, March 1960.
[117] WSM/17/7, *A City Child's Vision*, (Manchester: 1923) p. 3.
[118] WSM/17/7, *A City Child's Vision*, p. 4.

on happy childhood memories in responding to problems in later life. Using the example of a child fighting against a storm, it remarked: 'Yes, among them these little ones are many for whom the call of nature may make all the difference. The wind may blow to a storm and they may fight it; may be, in years to come they will fight all life's battles in the memory of that clean fight'.[119]

This emphasis on providing 'happiness' to children was clearly shaped by notions of the virtues of childhood stemming from the nineteenth century. As Hugh Cunningham has pointed out, there was a sense amongst Victorian middle-class circles that childhood 'became the repository of good feelings and happy memories which could help the adult live through the stickier patches of life'.[120] For example, Henrietta Barnett, who started the Children's County Holiday Fund (CCHF) in London during the 1880s, considered holidays as an experience that would help children 'to enlarge their store-rooms of good memories' and keep them out of the streets.[121] Promotion of the WSM Blackpool free-holiday scheme in the inter-war period was therefore, greatly influenced by a nineteenth-century concept of childhood.

Efforts to promote the Blackpool free-holiday scheme following the Second World War were also based on the theme of 'happiness'. Whilst not as overt as 'A City Child's Vision', fundraising attempts conveyed the importance of a bank of happy childhood memories. For example, an advert placed several times in *The Manchester Guardian* during the 1940s stressed that children always remember their first sight of the seaside. Using a rhetorical question, it asked: 'Do you recall: - Your first holiday by the sea and the glorious sands? The first visit of a child to the seaside

[119] WSM/17/7, *A City Child's Vision*, p. 5.
[120] H. Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: 1991), p 151.
[121] Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor*, p.151.

is a great event ever to be remembered'.[122] Post-war attempts to promote the scheme claimed that children experienced happiness not only by excursions to the beach and popular entertainment attractions, but also through an experience at the Squires Gate holiday home. This was demonstrated in July 1952, when the *Blackpool Gazette* published a feature on the WSM Blackpool free-holiday scheme, with the headline 'Pennies from the Passing Crowd Spell Smiles'.[123] Not only did the report assert that monetary gifts added 'up to happiness' for children, but also it described the Squires Gate holiday home as a 'rambling fairyland cottage'.[124] Great stress was placed on how the interior of the home created a lovely atmosphere for children. In painting a beautiful, sophisticated picture of the home, it stated:

> Miss Herbert knows children love nice things just as much as their elders do, the home is a lovely place. There are flowers everywhere, in the square hall on all the small tables in the long, light dining room. A Manchester well-wisher has spent weekends painting nursery rhymes on the ceiling and walls...Miss Herbert and her staff have made cretonne curtains for all the dormitories. There are coverlets and pillows to match the curtains in the charming little hospital room for all sick visitors.

This depiction of the Squires Gate holiday home was part of promotional endeavour that emphasised that the WSM had a special expertise of providing happiness to poor children. The report clearly asserts that WSM staff went to great lengths to make the holiday home a wonderful space for children. Strong claims were made by the committee that the holiday home had modern and excellent facilities. At the 1948/49AGM, for example, Towns even claimed that the holiday home was the best throughout the North of England. He remarked that teachers have 'been amazed at

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[122] WSM/14/5, *The Manchester Guardian*, 16 May 1949, p. not stated.
[123] WSM/14/5, 'Pennies from the Passing Crowd Spell Smiles', *Blackpool Gazette,* 12 July 1952, p.12.
[124] WSM/14/5, 'Pennies from the Passing Crowd Spell Smiles', *Blackpool Gazette,* 12 July 1952, p. 12.

the amenities of the holiday home', and that the committee 'are very proud of the facilities which are offered there and we have it on good authority that the home is second to none in the North of England'.[125] The following year, he added that the provisions of the 1948 Children's Act meant that the home had received an inspection by Children's Department Officer, and this officer 'highly commended both our administration and facilities'. [126]

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, however, the WSM management committee were less vocal in advocating the merits of the holiday home. Transcripts of the 1960/61 and 1961/62 AGM show an omission of any discussion concerning the home, in addition to a removal of the Squires Gate report. It is evident that the committee, in spite of the building of a new staff dormitory block in 1955, struggled to deal with the upkeep of the home. A draft report, written by the committee in 1958, noted that the holiday home is 'in constant need of attention and supervision' and required 'regular and continuous expenditure'.[127] Committee minutes also illustrate that the maintenance of the property was a cause of concern. In April 1960, for example, Howard informed the committee about 'various delays in repairs and decorating to the home' and that 'the ceiling of the children's bathroom was in a dangerous condition'.[128]

In summary, there was a decline in the significance of the Blackpool free-holiday scheme between 1945 and 1961. In common with the clothing and toy distribution, there was a considerable decrease in demand for the Blackpool free-holiday scheme. Post-war conditions of near full employment created a challenging context for this charitable work as seaside holidays became more accessible to

[125] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1949, p.4.
[126] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1950, p.4.
[127] WSM/12/1, Management Committee report (author unstated), October 1958.
[128] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 26 April 1960.

working-class families. In addition, the operation of the free-holiday scheme also illustrated a failure of the WSM to modernise its approach to welfare. Indeed, the WSM continued to present itself as a provider of happiness to poor children and justify the value of the scheme to financial supporters and statutory welfare authorities using ideas grounded in the nineteenth century. As we shall see in the next section, the Blackpool free-holiday scheme also created financial problems for the WSM management committee.

The Post-war Finances of the WSM

The introduction of the post-war welfare legislation brought about serious financial concerns for the voluntary sector. During the 1ate 1940s and early 1950s, it was feared that the growth of state welfare would provide a major disincentive for charitable giving. The Nathan Committee was established in 1950 to explore the law and practice relating to charitable trusts. It was formed in response to concerns that the financing of state welfare would dry-up the resources of those who supported charitable work in the past.[129] It should come as no surprise that charities in post-war Manchester were concerned about their subscriptions. For example, the Manchester and Salford Boys and Girl Refuges lamented, in their report for 1949/50, that the costs of providing residential care for children had trebled since the war, while income has remained static.[130] It is clear that the WSM management committee were extremely anxious about the financial implications of the enlargement of state welfare. At its AGM for 1946/47, Simpson reported to the committee that the WSM

[129] Committee on the Law and Practice Relating to Charitable Trusts (Nathan Committee), *Report of the Committee on the Law and Practice relating to Charitable Trusts* (London: 1952), p.1.
[130] Together Trust Archive (hereafter TT), M189/1/8, *Annual Report of Manchester and Salford Boys and Girls Refuges*, 1950, p. 5.

had lost subscribers during the year due to an assumption that the state would abolish poverty. He commented: 'It is disappointing to receive letters from friends of long standing to the effect that they do not propose to continue their subscriptions', as 'the Government are now doing all that is necessary to clothe and feed poor children'.[131]

This issue was further discussed at AGM for 1947/48, in which the Honorary Treasurer, A. Haworth, stated that income from subscriptions and donations decreased by approximately 33 per cent – from £3,075 to £2,176 – over the course of the year. Towards the end of the speech, he made an emotional plea to the audience: 'If you can do anything for us with your friends, tell them of the situation which faces the Mission'; that is, 'if we do not have increased subscriptions, we shall have to curtail our work'.[132] The management committee also privately discussed whether the WSM should cut its charitable work. In January 1948, the committee contemplated scaling-down the WSM's poverty relief activities as a response to an annual loss of £4,116 during the previous financial year. Nevertheless, Simpson rejected the idea of scaling-down in the light of post-war austerity measures. He argued that it 'should be the policy of the Mission to utilise money to meet immediate needs', and that it would be inappropriate to 'hoard income against future contingencies which may not arise'.[133] The fall in subscriptions and donations, a significant part of its current account income, was a major concern for the committee. In 1946/47, subscriptions and donations (£4,074) accounted for approximately 75 per cent of total account income, with the other 25 per cent (£1,274) deriving from investment returns.[134]

[131] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1947, p. 3.
[132] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1948, p. 4.
[133] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 19 January, 1948.
[134] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1947, p.10.

Financial concerns were not just confined to the late 1940s, but extended through to the early 1960s. Over this period, the WSM experienced a problematic combination of increasing current account losses and a declining poverty relief role. Apart from 1944/45, yearly expenditure consistently exceeded income, with particularly high losses of £4,985 in 1955/56, £7,586 in 1960 and £6,385 in 1961.[135] The reason for these losses was a significant increase in expenditure, rather than a decline in income. Expenditure rose from £4,258 in 1945/46 to £15,291 in 1960/61, while annual income more than doubled from £4,591 to £8,906, indicating that its traditional promotional efforts still resonated with the public.[136] Indeed, Maria Brenton argued that organizations for children have greater appeal than 'deviant groups such as the single homeless, drug addicts or persons with sexual problems', reflecting a pattern of charitable giving in British society that operates 'to a hierarchy of deservingness and non- deservingness'.[137] Furthermore, it is clear that a significant proportion of its current account income derived from the Blackpool free-holiday scheme. In 1950/51, 53 per cent of total charitable giving was directed to the free-holiday scheme, 22 per cent for the toy distribution at Christmas, 15 per cent for the Street Children's Mission's Fund , 6 per cent for the clothing and footwear distribution, and 4 per cent for the Gospel Mission of the church.[138]

In many respects, the Blackpool free-holiday scheme was a doubled-edged sword for the WSM. On the one hand, the scheme was the most important project run by the organization, which attracted a substantial proportion of its income. On the other hand, the scheme was a financial drain, which involved large expenditure on staffing and maintaining facilities at the Squires Gate holiday home. The financial

[135] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1956, p. 11; and 1961, pp. 6-7.
[136] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1946, p. 11; and 1961, pp. 6-7.
[137] Brenton, *The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services*, p. 67.
[138] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1951, p. 13.

viability of the scheme was a major cause of concern for the management committee across the immediate post-war period. For example, at the AGM for 1947/48, Haworth provided two examples of extensive increases in expenditure incurred in running the scheme. He stated that from 1939 to 1947, a child's railway fare to Blackpool had risen by approximately 50 per cent (from £3.2s to £4.6s), while the cost of staff wages per child at the holiday home rose by 500 per cent (from £2.3s to £11.7s).[139] Anxieties over this increase in expenditure also dominated the proceedings of committee meetings. In January 1949, the committee were particularly worried about the cost of the scheme, with Haworth arguing that 'the present cost of maintaining numbers of children at the present strength at the holiday home involves a resort to capital which would exhaust the reserve of the Mission in 10 to 15 years'.[140]

Although the management committee were prepared to heavily invest in the free-holiday scheme (illustrated by the building of a new staff dormitory block in 1955), they needed to pursue a tighter fiscal policy in the early 1960s. At the AGM for 1960/61, Towns indicated that the committee needed to curtail maintenance spending on the Squires Gate Holiday home, remarking that they 'have been careful to give sanction to capital expenditure only where it has been absolutely necessary'.[141] Furthermore, he commented that the committee succeeded in reducing maintenance spending on the holiday home from £3,306 in 1960 to just £446.[142] Anxieties about high annual losses, and expenditure on the Blackpool free-holiday scheme, were an important feature of the operation of the WSM throughout this period.

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[139] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1948, p. 4.
[140] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 24 January, 1949.
[141] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1961, p. 9.
[142] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1961, p. 9.

Fundamental to the survival of the WSM and the continuation of its poverty relief activities were legacies, a consequence of its significant role in mitigating poverty prior to the Second World War. Legacy income was pivotal to the WSM in the 1950s and 1960s as a means to both offset annual losses and strengthen its financial position. From 1945/46 to 1961/62, the WSM deposited over £40,000 in legacies within its reserve funds, and the balance in its reserve funds even increased by nearly 33 per cent from £40,150 to £57,953 in spite of the annual losses.[143] Legacies also covered the failure to obtain state grants throughout this period. David Owen argued that state investment was fundamental to providing financial stability for many charitable organizations, pointing out that the receipts of between 250 and 300 voluntary organizations in Manchester and Salford for the years 1938 and 1951 reveal that they were reliant on grants from statutory authorities.[144] Owen highlighted that charitable giving constituted below 50 per cent of total income; 40 per cent in 1938 and 38 per cent in 1951. The failure of the WSM to alter its philanthropic objectives and practices therefore, coalesced with a failure to obtain financial support from local authorities.

Financing the charitable work of the WSM was very much dependent upon legacies between May 1945 and March 1962. Although fears that the post-war welfare state would lead to a collapse in charitable giving never materialised, the WSM was fortuitous to have received such significant legacy income. Nevertheless, it is clear that there was a financial fragility to its work and operation. Unable to attract state grants, which were a necessity for many other voluntary organizations, the WSM was reliant upon its reputation as a lifeline. As we have seen however, the WSM greatly struggled to maintain its significant poverty relief reputation. Despite

[143] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1946, p. 10; and 1961, p. 5.
[144] D. Owen, *English Philanthropy* (Cambridge, Mass: 1965), p. 538.

the increase in legacies, it would be mistaken to assume that the future of the WSM was secure, not least because annual losses were mounting against a declining poverty relief role.

Conclusions

This micro investigation of the WSM from May 1945 to March 1962 has further developed historical understandings of the mixed economy of welfare. While social policy scholars and historians such as Maria Brenton and Geoffrey Finlayson have discussed the 1940s and 1950s as a period of inertia for voluntary action, in which the growth of state welfare overshadowed the charitable sector, this chapter indicates that regional philanthropic institutions struggled to adapt to post-war social and economic change.[145] For example, it is evident that the WSM management committee were reluctant to launch new projects, and undertake a pioneering role in welfare provision as encouraged by Lord Beveridge. As a result, the WSM missed important opportunities to develop its relationship with both the state and surrounding working-class communities. At the same time, there was a great decline in demand for the WSM's poverty relief activities underpinned by an economic climate of post-war 'affluence' typified by low unemployment and rising wages. This was reflected by a considerable fall in the number of households requiring clothing and footwear, and a decrease in the number of children given a free-holiday to Blackpool. Significant implications sprang from the decision not to diversify its range of welfare provision in the light of this falling demand. By March 1962, the WSM was in a state of crisis, a consequence of the meeting held at the MUS, which revealed that statutory and voluntary agencies viewed the organization as redundant.

[145] Brenton, *The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services*, pp. 24-31; and G. Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain, 1830-1990* (Oxford: 1994), pp. 287-304.

This study of the WSM in the aftermath of the Second World War has also expanded knowledge of the voluntary sector in relation to religion. Many historians including Brian Harrison, Frank Prochaska and Martin Gorsky, have stressed the significance of religious motivation in charitable endeavour during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[146] The example of the WSM demonstrates that evangelical aspirations of the nineteenth century heavily influenced efforts to relieve poverty during the post-war period. Superintendents and the management committee were determined to uphold the founding principles of the organization. Influential members of the committee, namely Harold Simpson and Niel Pierson, viewed long-standing evangelical and poverty relief work as the answer to poverty and social problems. Employees additionally shared the evangelical drive of Simpson and Pierson; Ada Herbert made religion pivotal to the identity of the WSM. As illustrated by her writings, she passionately believed that the social upheaval of the war drastically increased the need for evangelical work. With a dual focus of promoting evangelical religion through its church and continuing its pre-war welfare activities, the WSM did not alter its philanthropic aims and practices between May 1945 and March 1962.

Investigating trends in the WSM's income, expenditure and reserve funds has provided a valuable insight into the financial impact of the establishment of the post-war welfare state on a philanthropic institution. As Marilyn Taylor has highlighted, there was considerable fear within the voluntary sector, during the 1940s and 1950s, that the post-war welfare state would reduce the incentive for charitable giving and

[146] See: B. Harrison, *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain* (Oxford: 1982), pp 216-259; F. Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', in F.M. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain*, 1750–1950, (Cambridge: 1990), pp. 357-393; and M Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy: Charity and Society in Nineteenth Century Bristol* (London: 1999).

squeeze the purse strings of organizations.[147] It is evident that the WSM management committee were very concerned about finance in the post-war period. Indeed, the transcripts of WSM AGMs during the late 1940s show that public expectation that the post-war welfare reforms would abolish poverty and deprivation led to a considerable fall in subscriptions and donations. Crucially, the WSM's financial position was only secured by a fortuitous increase in legacies that strengthened its reserve funds, which in turn, offset mounting losses in its current account. This helped the management committee mask a failure to address the issue of change and attract large state grants for new projects.

Continuity characterised the immediate post-war work and operation of the WSM in almost every aspect, ranging from the recruitment of committee members and superintendents, to practices such as the Boxing Day toy distribution, and to promotion with an emphasis on giving happiness to poor children. While the WSM continued its pre-war approach to welfare and resisted diversifying its poverty-related activities between May 1945 and March 1962, there was soon after a significant movement in its welfare aims. The next chapter will investigate this change in direction, which involved an abandonment of traditional practices and a move into youth work.

[147] Taylor, 'Voluntary Action and the State', p. 221.

Chapter 2

From Evangelical Philanthropy to Secular Youth Work, April 1962 – October 1975

> The day when voluntary organizations could act as vehicles for upper and middle class philanthropy appropriate to the social structure of Victorian Britain is now past. Remnants of old practices and attitudes remain in the condescension and social exclusiveness of a few voluntary organizations and in the suspicion and mistrust of a few local authorities. On the whole, however, established voluntary organizations are reviewing and assessing critically their policies and new types of voluntary organization are emerging…[1]
>
> - *Report of the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services* (1968)

Twenty years after the establishment of the welfare state, the government-commissioned Seebohm Report reviewed the development of the voluntary sector. The report argued that many established voluntary organizations had developed positive relationships with local authorities by discarding old practices of philanthropy formed in response to social and economic conditions in Victorian Britain. This observation was informed by a flourishing of voluntary activity during the 1960s. Jane Lewis argued that the voluntary sector 'underwent rapid transformation' during the 1960s and early 1970s as illustrated by the formation of new self-help and advocacy bodies, including Child Poverty Action Group (1965), Shelter (1966) and Gingerbread (1970).[2] Moreover, it has been pointed out that this flourishing of voluntary sector activity was based on a growing awareness of the

[1] Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services, Seebohm, Frederic, *Report of the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services* (London: 1968), p. 153.
[2] J. Lewis, 'Voluntary and Informal Welfare' in Robert Page and Richard Silburn (eds.), *British Social Welfare in the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke: 1999), p. 266.

boundaries of the welfare state. Geoffrey Finlayson argued that while the voluntary sector was eclipsed by the social provision offered by the state across the 1940s and 1950s, the sector gained significant confidence in responding to limitations in statutory provision during the 1960s. This was illustrated by the founding of charities for a range of neglected and marginalised minority groups, such as the Circle Trust (1964) for ex-prisoners; Release (1967) for people with drug addictions; and the Campaign for Homosexual Equality (1969).[3]

This chapter investigates the work and operation of the WSM during this period of change for the voluntary sector, and argues that it significantly re-defined its relationship to the state and local communities between March 1962 and October 1975. While the WSM failed to diversify its charitable work throughout the 1940s and 1950s, it greatly expanded its range of projects during the 1960s and undertook a pioneering role in the provision of welfare. Between 1962 and 1964, four projects were launched for young and old people: a youth club; a 'Young Person's Advice Centre' that was one of the first in the North of England; an outdoor pursuit centre located in the Peak District (which replaced the Blackpool free-holiday scheme); and an 'Over 60s' luncheon club.[4] The introduction of these projects for young people was driven by significant concern regarding a growth of juvenile delinquency. Although fears concerning the behaviour of young people, especially amongst the working classes, can be traced back to the nineteenth century, the late 1950s and early 1960s witnessed heightened tensions about a perceived rise in anti-social and criminal activity.[5] Stanley Cohen's sociological study of the Mods and Rockers in

[3] G. Finlayson, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990* (Oxford: 1994), pp. 328-329.
[4] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1963/64, pp. 3-6.
[5] There has been significant historical and sociological interest in juvenile delinquency during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, see: S. Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth*, 1889-1939 (Oxford: 1981); G Pearson, *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears* (London: 1983); H. Hendrick, *Images of Youth: Age, Class and the Male Youth*

the 1960s demonstrated the ways in which the media provoked a 'moral panic' when reporting on their clashes.[6] As we shall see, the WSM responded to considerable tension in Manchester regarding juvenile delinquency by immersing itself in youth-work.

The chapter also demonstrates that the WSM's post-war efforts to reconnect with local communities not only involved the launch of new projects, but also the abandonment of long-standing philanthropic aims and practices. This was shown by the organization's decision to finish its Boxing Day toy distribution in 1964.[7] Most importantly, the WSM abandoned its evangelical ambitions in trying to adapt to social and cultural change. Historians including Hugh McLeod and Callum Brown have asserted that there was a 'religious crisis of the 1960s'.[8] For example, Brown contended that there was a 'sixties discourse revolution' underpinned by political and cultural developments including the flourishing of youth culture exhibited by the growth of the pop record and radical fashion (such as the mini-skirt) and the legalisation of abortion and homosexuality by the Wilson governments of 1964-70.[9] In this respect, the WSM's decision to follow a more secular path coincided with the

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Problem, 1880-1920 (Oxford: 1990); H. Shore, *Artful Dodgers: Youth and Crime in Early Nineteenth Century London* (London: 1999); and P. Cox, *Gender, Justice and Welfare: Bad Girls in Britain, 1900-1950* (Basingstoke, 2003); For a Manchester context of juvenile delinquency, see: A. Davies, *The Gangs of Manchester: The Story of the Scuttlers, Britain's First Youth Cult* (Wrea Green: 2008).

[6] See: S. Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (London, 1972). For post-war studies on juvenile delinquency, see: S. Hall and T Jefferson, *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain* (London: 1976): J. Davis, *Youth and the Condition of Britain: Images of Adolescent Conflict* (London, 1990); J. Springhall, *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panics: Penny Gaffs to Gangsta Rap, 1830-1996* (Basingstoke: 1998); and D. Fowler, *Youth Culture in Modern Britain, 1920- 1970: From Ivory Tower to Global Movement - A New History* (Basingstoke: 2008).

[7] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1963/64, pp. 3-6.

[8] See: H. McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (Oxford: 2007); and C. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation* (London: 2009). It is important to note that historians and sociologists have widely debated the extent of secularisation in Britain during the 1960s, and that the issue still remains a cause of controversy. See: A. Gilbert, *The Making of Post-Christian Britain: A History of the Secularization of Modern Society* (London: 1980); S. Bruce (ed.), *Religion and Modernisation: Sociologists and Historians Debate the Secularisation Thesis* (Oxford: 1992); G. Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing without Belonging* (Oxford: 1994).

[9] Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, pp. 175-180.

development of a so-called 'permissive' society.[10] This chapter argues that the period of 1962-1975 was one of re-invention for the WSM, in which it transformed itself from an evangelical organization bound to its founding aims, to a secular charity committed to youth work.

This chapter draws on a collection of superintendent's reports and policy papers for the 1960s, in addition to annual reports and newspaper coverage, to explore this reinvention of the WSM. However, there are significant archival gaps for the period, most noticeably the absence of management committee minute books after 1966. As noted in the introduction, the current management of the WSM has been unable to locate these records for the period December 1965 to January 1975. This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section will investigate the role of a newly appointed superintendent, Arnold Yates, who advocated a focus on youth work and a movement towards a secular path. The second section focuses on its new projects, including the motivation and operation of these projects, as well as the extent to which they were successful in terms of the aims conceived by management. The third section explores its traditional poverty relief work, examining the running of the clothing and Christmas toy distribution. The fourth section explores its financial operation, with particular attention given to its response to the problem of rising inflation across the late 1960s and 1970s.

[10] On the 'permissive' society of the 1960s, see: A. Marwick, *The Explosion of British Society, 1914-70* (London: 1971); J. Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800* (London: 1981); L Hall, *Sex Gender and Social Change in Britain since 1880* (Basingstoke: 2000); and M. Donnelly, *Sixties Britain: Culture, Society and Politics* (Harlow: 2005). For an excellent analysis of female sexuality, see: H. Cook, *The Long Sexual Revolution: British Women, Sex and Contraception in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: 2003).

From Police to Charity: The Directorship of Arnold Yates

After March 1962, the WSM significantly changed its operational philosophy under the directorship of Arnold Yates. Yates replaced A. L. Owen, and under his supervision, the WSM moved in a new direction by launching youth projects in the areas of recreation, advice and education. With a desire to show financial supporters and local authorities that the WSM had overcome its problems, annual reports strongly emphasise the necessity of this new course. Authored by Yates, the 1963/64 annual report explicitly pointed out that the WSM had made a definitive break with the past. It argued that it was vital for the WSM to move beyond Alfred Alsop's philanthropic vision, and that its work with young people addressed the issue of modernisation:

> The world in the 1960s is a very different one from that which Alsop knew in the 1870s and the Mission has to respond to the challenges of today, not those of the past. No group in society faces greater challenges and opportunities than youth, and it is fitting that the Mission, with its tradition of work with 'Street Children', should now extend its work to the new type of older street child, the teenager whose presence in the city streets is so obvious today.[11]

Yates's view came at a time of a rapidly increasing need for youth-work as a consequence of the post-war baby boom and the ending of National Service.[12] Furthermore, his comment about the presence of 'the teenager' in 'the city streets' reflected significant concern regarding the extent of delinquency in Manchester, stemming from an increase in juvenile crime recorded by Manchester City Police. According to the official police figures, the total number of incidents of juvenile

[11] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1963/64, p. 5.
[12] Ministry of Education, *The Youth Service in England and Wales* (Albemarle Report) (London: 1960), p. 14.

crime had more than trebled from 916 to 3405 between 1955 and 1961.[13] Figures also suggest that juvenile delinquency was a particularly distinctive problem to Manchester; it was estimated in 1960 that the proportion of young people appearing in court was 22.2 for every 1,000 in Manchester, compared to 13.4 in Birmingham and 16.7 in Leeds.[14] What is evident is that the media and the police framed this increase in recorded crime in terms of a 'moral panic'. *The Guardian*, for example, inflamed public concern in the early 1960s, reporting on the issue with headlines such as: 'Increase in Juvenile Crime: Manchester's alarming rate' and 'Sudden Increase in Crime in City: Juvenile Figures Alarming'.[15] These reports outlined the views of the Chief Constable of Manchester, J.A. McKay, who asserted that juvenile delinquency was the result of a disintegration of an ethical code. In March 1960, he told delegates at the annual meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Prisoner Aid Societies, that pressure on the resources of probation services would grow due to an escalation in juvenile delinquency. He claimed: 'Unless there is some very strong moral reform in this country, we are going to have a bigger problem continually on our hands'.[16]

While this new direction for the WSM was framed within a broader context of anxiety over juvenile delinquent behaviour, the driving force behind this policy change was Arnold Yates (Figure 7). With no previous involvement in the WSM, his

[13] Greater Manchester Police Archive (hereafter GMPM), *Annual Report of the Chief Constable of Manchester*, 1961, p. 30. It is important to note that the limitations of police statistics have been discussed, and that their construction has been the subject of historical debate. For an overview of these cravats, see: R. Hood and A. Roddam, 'Crime, Sentencing and Punishment' in A.H Halsey and J. Webb (eds.), *Twentieth Century British Social Trends* (Basingstoke, 2000), pp. 676-680. For historical discussion of the statistics, see: H. Taylor, 'The Politics of the Rising Crime Statistics of England and Wales, 1914-1960', *Crime, History and Society*, 2:1 (1997), pp. 5-28; H Taylor 'Rationing Crime : The Political Economy of the Criminal Statistics since the 1850s', *Economic History Review*, 51:3 (1998), pp. 569-590; and R.M. Morris, 'Lies, Damned Lies and Criminal Statistics : Reinterpreting the Criminal Statistics in England and Wales', *Crime, History and Society*, 5:1 (2001), pp. 111-127.

[14] L. Jackson, 'The Coffee Club Menace': Policing Youth, Leisure and Sexuality in Post-war Manchester, *Cultural and Social History* 5:3 (2008), p. 292.

[15] *The Guardian*, 21 July 1961, p. 20.

[16] *The Manchester Guardian*, 18 March 1960, p. 24.

desire to launch youth projects stemmed from a long and distinguished career with Manchester City Police. Born in 1912, Yates was educated at the prestigious Manchester Grammar School.[17] Joining Manchester City Police in 1931, he worked for over thirty years in law enforcement, retiring as Chief Superintendent at the age of 50 in February 1962.[18]

Figure 7: Photograph of Arnold Yates, (c. 1980s).
Source: WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1990, p. 4.

As Chief Superintendent, he was a well-respected figure in Manchester, often speaking to local newspapers on high profile cases and crime prevention. His crime prevention campaign of July 1958, covered by *The Manchester Guardian*, set a target to reduce thefts throughout the city by 50 per cent.[19] Yates's police experience also reveals a concern for young people in the grip of unemployment, and in dire circumstances. For example, in May 1950, he spoke in court on behalf of Erno

[17] *The Guardian*, 3 May 1962, p. 18.
[18] GMPM, A135, File on Arnold Yates.
[19] *The Manchester Guardian*, 29 July 1958, p. 12.

Pflancer – a 19-year-old Hungarian refugee – who had pleaded guilty to two cases of housebreaking. Yates explained that Pflancer, drafted into the German Army at just 15 years of age, was a refugee who fled to Britain in fear of retribution in post-war Hungary. He added that Pflancer, at the time of the offences, was hungry, impoverished, and was unemployed due to ill-health. At the end of the case, he persuaded the Judge, Sir Noel Goldie (KC) to give Pflancer a probation order of 12 months, rather than a custodial sentence. [20]

Yates's liberal standpoint on the issue of juvenile delinquency drove his motivation to work with young people. His acceptance of the role of superintendent of the WSM was not financially motivated, but driven by a desire for a fresh challenge. A wages book covering the period 1960-1966 shows that he received no income during the first two years of his tenure.[21] Yates's liberal values were demonstrated during an interview with *The Guardian* in May 1962, which covered his appointment at the WSM. He explained his view that young people were inherently good, and that corporal punishment was not an effective deterrent against juvenile crime. Moreover, he called for a greater understanding of their problems, and argued that charities should provide recreational facilities to help them express themselves. Rather prophetically, he declared:

> Teenagers today are noisy, often objectionable, but underneath very good. They are as good, or as bad, as the generation before them. What we have to do is to give them the outlets for their enthusiasm, their many talents, and their deep understanding of so many things.[22]

Yates's use of the term 'teenagers' in the interview reflected the expansion during the 1950s and 1960s of new age-centred consumer markets for young people, as

[20] *The Manchester Guardian*, 24 May 1950, p. 3.
[21] WSM/6/2, Wages book for salaried staff, 1960-1966.
[22] *The Guardian*, 3 May 1962, p. 18.

demonstrated by Mark Abrams pioneering study of their spending patterns in 1959.[23] Recent research on the post-war 'teenager' by Selina Todd and Hilary Young contends that working-class parents, who wanted their children to lead more fulfilling lives than themselves, celebrated the leisure opportunities offered by economic security.[24] Most importantly, Yates's remarks refute an explanation that juvenile delinquency was a product of a 'corrupting' influence of post-war affluence. The British Medical Association (BMA), for example, claimed in 1960 that 'not poverty, but unaccustomed riches seem an equally dangerous inducement to wild behaviour, or even crime'.[25] Instead of subscribing to this view, Yates attributed the cause of juvenile delinquency to a failing of the state to provide an effective youth service, reflected in the publication of the 1960 Albemarle Report.

Yates's ambition that the WSM should tackle juvenile delinquency was realised by his unique position within its administration. Unusually, he was made both a superintendent and a member of its management committee following the problems under Owen. This enabled him to play a leading role in shaping its policy, as well as overseeing the running of its projects. Nevertheless, it is evident that his youth work plans did lead to tension within the committee, with older committee members resisting his efforts to change the philanthropic culture of the WSM. This rift was demonstrated in July 1963, when there was heated debate during a meeting about the purchase of Birchfield Lodge. During that meeting, long-standing member J.F. Simpson opposed change, arguing that 'we should not lose sight of the fact that

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[23] M. Abrams, *Teenage Consumer Spending in 1959* (London: 1961), pp. 1-3. On the construction of the 'teenager', see: D. Fowler, *The First Teenagers: The Lifestyle of Young Wage-Earners in Interwar Britain* (London: Woburn, 1995); and J. Savage, *Teenage: The Creation of Youth Culture* (London: 2008).

[24] S. Todd and H. Young, 'Baby-Boomers to Beanstalkers: Making the Modern Teenager in Post-War Britain, *Cultural and Social History* 9:3 (2012), p. 452.

[25] British Medical Association, *The Adolescent: Observations Arising from Discussion Among Members of the British Medical Association: Subject of the Year 1959-60* (London: 1961), p. 6.

the purpose of the Holiday Home was to benefit children in need generally' and that an outdoor activities project would just serve the Probation service.[26] Tensions were also indicated by much movement on the management committee during Yates's superintendence. Of the seven man committee who appointed Owen in 1960/61, three had left by 1964/65.[27] Two established members – Arthur Haworth and Robert Barclay – who departed in June 1963, both tendered resignations for undisclosed 'personal reasons'.[28]

It is also evident that new members joining the committee under Yates pushed for change. Two important appointments were Dr Cyril Smith, Director of the Department Youth Work at the University of Manchester, and Keith Hill, Warden of the Manchester University Settlement (MUS). Joining the WSM in October 1962, Smith was a leading sociologist specialising in adolescence, and had managed innovative youth projects.[29] Prior to his appointment, he worked at the London School of Economics, and was Chairman of the Teen Canteen in Bethnal Green.[30] Joining in January 1964, Hill had considerable experience in the voluntary sector through previous positions as a leader of a youth club in Stepney and Warden of the Women's University Settlement at Southwark.[31] While the WSM had previously recruited its committee members from the business or professional communities, there was an important change in the composition of the committee following the

[26] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 8 July 1963.
[27] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1960/61, p. 1; and 1963/64, p. 1.
[28] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 19 June 1963.
[29] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 16 October 1962.
[30] Dr Cyril Smith was appointed Director of the Department of Youth Work at Manchester University in August 1961. His major work was published in 1968. See: C. Smith, *Adolescence: An Introduction to the Problems of Order and the Opportunities for Continuity presented by Adolescence in Britain* (Harlow: 1968).
[31] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 29 January 1964. In January 1962, Keith Hill gave a short interview to *The Guardian* regarding his career and appointment of Manchester University Settlement. *The Guardian* 25 January 1962, p. 20.

'crisis' meeting of March 1962, with deliberate efforts to recruit those actively involved in the field of welfare.

Changes in the composition of the management committee also led to the abandonment of old philanthropic ideas and practices. This was illustrated by Yates's decision during the early 1960s to change the title of his position from superintendent to director. Associations of the term 'superintendent' with policing and authority was neither conducive to the youth work of the WSM nor its claims to have addressed the issue of modernisation. Efforts to change the public face of the WSM were also demonstrated by modifications made to the presentation of annual reports. Previously containing detailed transcripts of AGM speeches, WSM reports after 1962 adopted a short and glossier format similar to other charities like the Manchester and Salford FSU.[32] The WSM 1966 annual report, for example, summarised its charitable activities under headings of 'Family Welfare' and 'Community Work' to show readers that it was *au-fait* with contemporary welfare terminology.[33] Photographs of children canoeing and horse-riding on their holidays at Birchfield Lodge were reproduced to convey that its work was dynamic and exciting. From the mid-1960s onwards, a feature of annual reports was the publication of action-shot photographs for the clothing distribution, youth club and Birchfield Lodge.

Attempts to address the issue of modernisation also involved important changes to its distribution of clothing and toys. Crucially, these changes were prompted by a desire to mitigate the 'stigma' of poverty, and adapt to the post-war professionalization of social work, which emphasised sensitivity in dealing with the

[32] Annual reports of the Manchester and Salford FSU during the 1960s were short, sharp and concise. See, for example, SRA D495(MA) M8/23, Manchester and Salford FSU, *Annual Report*, 1965.
[33] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1966, pp. 2-3.

needs of families.[34] This was clearly shown in 1964, when the WSM started a small jumble shop that offered cheap clothing to families. In the autumn of 1964, Yates wrote that a new development was the sale of low-cost clothing on a fortnightly basis to a group of 100 mothers, with a typical charge of 6d per garment.[35] While pointing out that free-clothing was still issued to those who were destitute, he argued that there was a strong desire amongst families to pay minimal charges for reasons of self-esteem. He commented that 'people with whom we deal prefer this method of dealing with clothing' as 'the fact that they pay a small amount means it takes away the sting of charity'.[36] The most significant change was the abandonment of the Boxing Day toy distribution in 1964, which was replaced by a more discreet way of giving, with toys handed over to parents privately a week before Christmas Day.[37] This change to the toy distribution was presented as a sign of the modernisation of the WSM. Its 1963/64 annual report described the Boxing Day distribution as 'impersonal', and argued that the measure directly responded to parents' wishes to have 'the pleasure of giving a present'.[38] Given moves to reconnect with local communities during the 1960s, it was almost inevitable that the Boxing Day distribution would be ended. Following the launching of youth projects, and the need to present the WSM as a modern voluntary organization that understood young people, Yates ended a public display of charity that originated in the nineteenth century.

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[34] Writing in the 1960s, Erving Goffman argued that the concept of 'stigma' refers to 'an attribute that is deeply discrediting'. He argued stigma can derive from 'blemishes of individual character perceived as week will', amongst which include unemployment and poverty. See: E. Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity* (New Jersey: 1963), pp. 13-14. For a detailed account of the professionalization of social work in the 1950s and 1960s, see: E. Younghusband, *Social Work in Britain, 1950-75*, Volume 1 (London: 1978).

[35] WSM/12/1, Superintendents Report, January 1965, p. 1.

[36] WSM/12/1, Superintendents Report, 1960s (Month and Year not stated), p 2.

[37] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1963/64, p. 5.

[38] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1963/64, p. 5.

Most fundamentally, changes on the committee also entailed that the WSM could move onto a secular path. From the outset, Arnold Yates believed that the organization's evangelical objectives must be abandoned. During the May 1962 interview with the *Guardian*, he bluntly stated that religious conversion was not part of his plans for the WSM. He commented: 'I've not become a hot gospeller or any Bible-puncher. I made this clear from the start' and 'I'm not here to preach. I don't solemnise weddings'.[39] In contrast to all previous superintendents, Yates was not a devout Christian, and had very little involvement in the running of the WSM church. In effect, a separation between the church and philanthropic aspects of the WSM emerged under his directorship, with the church being run by the congregation. Unsurprisingly, Yates's tenure as superintendent coincided with a significant decline in church membership. Without direction from a religious superintendent, the congregation struggled to run the church, and by the mid-1970s, it was practically finished. This was demonstrated in a resume of the WSM's activities presented to the management committee by Yates in May 1975, which pointed out that the church congregation 'is now very small indeed with sometimes only twelve attending, every Sunday evening for one hour'.[40]

The absence of management committee minute books make it difficult to discern tensions within the WSM concerning secularisation. Yet it is evident that Yates made decisions that would have almost certainly caused friction. For example, in 1967, Yates renamed and redeveloped the WSM Sunday school as the 'Junior Circle Club', which was essentially, a playgroup for toddlers.[41] Abandoning evangelical aims and philosophy was integral to the WSM's efforts to develop its

[39] *The Guardian*, 3 May 1962, p. 18.
[40] WSM premise, Management Committee, 5 May 1975. Management committee minutes after 1966 were assessed at the WSM, with the permission of Jan O'Connor (Director of the WSM) in March 2010.
[41] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1967, p 2.

relationship with the state and local communities during the 1960s and 1970s. In particular, Yates presented the WSM as a secular and 'modern' charitable institution, which possessed a special understanding of young people. The 1969 annual report put forward a holistic approach to engaging with young people, without referring to religious guidance or conversion. It declared: 'We [the WSM] feel it is as important to care for the mind as the body and lively adolescents with a zest for life must be prevented from turning into surly, bored and disillusioned adults'.[42] Furthermore, the report directly linked this holistic approach to the purpose of preventing juvenile delinquency, commenting that it is important that young people 'live a full and satisfying life and avoid the boredom and frustration which often leads to hooliganism and crime'.[43] The omission of religious overtones was a feature of attempts to depict the WSM as a modern charitable agency, with secular and liberal discourses on the causes of juvenile delinquency supporting its claims that it understood the concerns and anxieties of young people.

In this respect, the WSM's move onto a secular path represented an effort to adapt to a mass youth culture. Hugh McLeod argued that the commercialisation of youth culture, symbolised by the expansion of coffee bars and pop concerts from the late 1950s onwards, fragmented a deep-rooted Catholic and Protestant confessional subculture.[44] Nevertheless, the greater secularisation of the WSM cannot solely be explained as a need to adjust to a vibrant youth culture. The WSM's move onto a secular path was an effort to adapt to the post-war welfare state. Indeed, Frank Prochaska contends that the post-war welfare led to a devitalisation of Christian philanthropy. He argued that during the post-war period, many established religious charities, including amongst others Barnardo's and the Shaftesbury Society, were

[42] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1969, p. 2.
[43] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1969, p. 2.
[44] McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, pp. 106-107.

faced with having to jettison founding evangelical principles as a way of adhering to an egalitarian and materialistic government view of welfare provision.[45] For the WSM, embarking on a secular route was a necessary step allowing them to forge more effective partnerships with local authorities. It is apparent that other Manchester charities, with previous evangelical traditions, carefully trod a secular path for this reason. The Manchester Boys and Girls Refuge, which in 1961 masked its nineteenth-century origins by renaming itself 'the Boys and Girls Welfare Society', framed its provision of residential care along secular lines. In 1959, the organization asserted that 'we must not be deluded by extravagant hopes of salvation', and a 'voluntary body has the right to continue to ask for support only if it satisfies a community need in the context of the Welfare State'.[46]

The appointment of Arnold Yates was a turning point in the history of the WSM. A review conducted by Manchester City Council in 1971 into the state of voluntary work in the city, commented that the WSM's recent history showed 'adaptability to circumstances which should encourage those whose present difficulties seem overwhelming'.[47] Yates's police career shaped a determination that the WSM could make a significant contribution to tackling the problem of juvenile delinquency. Under his directorship, the WSM reinvented itself as a 'modern', secular charitable organization concentrating on young people. Given the increasing secularisation of youth culture during the late 1950s and early 1960s, he considered that the abandonment of old evangelical aims was essential to WSM endeavours to engage with the 'unattached' adolescent as identified in the Albemarle Report. After the problems under Owen, Yates recognised that the WSM had to reform its

[45] F. Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Sprit* (Oxford: 2008), pp. 167-168.
[46] TT archive, M189/1/9, *Annual Report of Manchester and Salford Boys and Girls Refuges,* 1959, p. 4 and, p. 12.
[47] WSM/18/1/8, *A Review of Manchester Charities* (Manchester: 1971), Para. 52.

approach to welfare, and launch a series of new projects in order to reconnect with local communities.

A New Direction in Welfare: Projects for the Young and Old

Under Yates's directorship, the WSM expanded its range of welfare provision by launching four projects catering for young and old people. Within the space of two years, the WSM immersed itself in youth work by starting a combination of conventional and innovative projects to tackle juvenile crime and delinquency. These projects were introduced in two phases, with the first witnessing the launch of established schemes in 1962, and the second of experimental projects in 1964. In 1962, the WSM provided recreational facilities for 'teenagers' by starting a youth club modelled on a commercial coffee bar, and opened an 'Over 60s' club, offering members low-cost meals, light entertainment and day trips.[48] In 1964, the WSM established an experimental 'Young Person's Advice Centre' staffed by two trained social workers.[49] In that year, the organisation also started an outdoor pursuit scheme for schools and youth groups, which provided adventure activities, including rock-climbing, canoeing and fell walking. Replacing the Blackpool free-holiday scheme, this provision of adventure activities was made possible by the purchase of Birchfield Lodge, an outdoor centre located in the Hope Valley area of the Derbyshire Peak District.[50] Here, the WSM balanced its traditional poverty relief activities with new projects in recreation, advice and education.

Within the charitable work field, it appears that the WSM adopted the welfare approach of the Manchester University Settlement (MUS). Not only did the MUS have a long tradition of performing youth-work, but also the organization conceived

[48] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1962, p. 4.
[49] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1963/64, p. 6.
[50] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1963/64, p. 6.

itself during the post-war years as a 'centre for the carrying out of pioneer and experimental work in education and social welfare in Manchester and surrounding areas'.[51] Tackling juvenile delinquency was a priority of the MUS during the late 1950s and 1960s. Echoing media coverage of the issue, the MUS claimed in its 1962/63 annual report that children under 14 years of age were 'showing an alarming and increasing trend towards delinquency'.[52] Run by Keith Hill, who as noted, joined the WSM in 1964, the MUS continued to initiate and run projects for young people, including: a youth club; a Scouts and Cubs organization; reading classes for local children; camping trips to Europe; a drama and photography group; and a 'Park-Play' project, which involved providing local children with entertainment (painting, acting, and drawing) on a trip to Heaton Park.[53]

By launching projects for young and old people, the WSM redefined its relationship to the state and local communities. These projects represented an endeavour to reach new social groups whose needs were not fully catered for by the state, and capitalise on the gaps within the statutory services. Policy papers authored during the early 1960s by members of the WSM committee convey a belief that the organization should undertake a pioneering role in the provision of welfare, a role of voluntary action as encouraged by Beveridge during the late 1940s. In 1963, a paper written entitled 'Possible Developments in the Field of Youth Work' (which proposed both the advice centre and outdoor pursuit's centre) stated that new projects should be 'prototypes which can be developed on a larger scale by the statutory social services after having proved their value in experimental form'.[54] Thus, while the WSM had resisted experimenting in welfare throughout the 1940s

[51] MUS/2/1/46 *Annual Report*, 1957, p. 12.
[52] MUS/2/1/52 *Annual Report*, 1963, p.1
[53] MUS/2/1/52 *Annual Report*, 1963, pp. 4-6; MUS/2/1/53 1964, p. 3.
[54] WSM/12/2, 'Possible Developments in the Field of Youth Work', 1963. The author of the report is not stated.

and 1950s, it actively sought to conduct pioneering work in justifying its importance to statutory services during the early 1960s.

The next parts of the chapter investigate the motivation and operation of these four projects. It explores the inspiration for each project, its organization in relation to staffing and finance, and its interactions with the state. Furthermore, it examines the number of people using the projects, how the projects were promoted in both fundraising literature and the media, and how successfully they met the objectives set by management.

The WSM Youth Club

The WSM youth club was a cornerstone of Yates's ambition to tackle juvenile delinquency, and he launched the initiative almost immediately after his appointment.[55] As Bill Osgerby notes, a predominant aim of youth clubs is to separate working-class adolescents from the 'corrupting' influences of street culture, and draw them into a supervised environment.[56] Providing a range of activities, from five-a-side football and netball to dancing and music, the youth club was a realisation of his belief that young people needed outlets for their energies and enthusiasms. Open two evenings a week (Tuesdays and Fridays), the youth club appealed to young people from working-class areas across Manchester and Salford,

[55] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1962, p. 4.

[56] B. Osgerby, *Youth in Britain since 1945*, (Oxford: 1998) p. 142. Prior to the Second World War, youth clubs and movements were largely sexually segregated. For histories of boys organizations, see: W. McG, Eagar, *Making Men: The History of Boys' Clubs and Related Movements in Great Britain* (London: 1953); J. Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940* (London: 1977); For girls, see: B. Harrison, 'For Church, Queen and Family: The Girls Friendly Society, 1874-1920', *Past and Present* 61 (1973); pp. 107-138; and M. Nava, 'Youth Service Provision, Social Order and the Question of Girls' in A. McRobbie and M. Nava (eds.), *Gender and Generation* (Basingstoke: 1984), pp. 2-30. For an excellent history of post-war mixed youth clubs, see: M. Collins, *Modern Love: An Intimate History of Men and Women in Twentieth Century Britain* (London: 2003), pp. 59-89.

including Little Hulton, Ardwick and Miles Platting.[57] By providing a space for music and dancing, the WSM sought to capitalise on the beat music scene, and the popularity of Manchester bands, such as the Hollies and Herman's Hermits.[58] Figure 8 is a photograph of the Lord Mayor of Manchester visiting the WSM youth club in 1969 as part of the organization's centenary celebration. The photograph is an excellent, if stilted, visual illustration of the WSM's endeavours to engage with a mass youth culture. As we can see, a group of girls roughly between the ages of 11 and 16 are dancing to popular music in the club.

Figure 8: The Lord Mayor of Manchester visiting the WSM Youth Club, (1969).
Source: Given by WSM.

From the perspective of the management committee, the youth club was initially a very successful initiative. In its 1965 annual report, the WSM highlighted the youth club as having a significant and growing membership totalling 650 people,

[57] WSM/12/1, Superintendent's Reports, August 1964, p.1.
[58] On the history of the Manchester music scene, see A. Lawson, *It Happened in Manchester: The True Story of Manchester Music, 1958-65* (Bury: 1992); and C. P. Lee, *Shake, Rattle and Rain: Popular Music Making in Manchester, 1955-1995* (Ottery, St Mary: 2002)

with weekly attendance averaging around 100.[59] Pivotal to its success was the opening of its doors to both sexes. Membership lists for the years 1965-67 show that the project was effective at engaging young men and women, with approximately 380 boys and 200 girls. [60] As Marcus Collins notes, mixed clubs became mainstream politically, institutionally and intellectually during the post-war period, reflected by the steady decline of traditional boys' clubs and associations.[61]Successful youth clubs needed not to smother the vitality of youth, and this required they appeared in the eyes of young people as secular, modern and fun. In January 1962, Keith Hill gave an interview to the *Guardian* regarding his experience as Warden of the MUS, in which he commented that its youth clubs had to adapt to commercial forms of entertainment such as bowling alleys:

> It has to compete with the dance halls, the swish bowling alleys and the chromium-plated pub because it's easy to look 18 when you are a rugged 15 or 16. They [MUS youth club members] make a fantastic amount of noise at the moment. I think we will add to that with a juke box. Somehow, I've got to outshine the competing glitter.[62]

Specifically, the WSM modelled its youth club on a commercial coffee bar.[63] A report written by Yates in 1964 commented that youth club members were designing their own coffee bar.[64] Manchester had a flourishing coffee bar culture during the late 1950s and early 1960s, mirrored by the popularity of venues like the Cona on Tib Street and the Three Coins on Fountain Street'.[65] One venue that appears to have

[59] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1965, p. 2.
[60] WSM/17/2, Index of Members, c.1965-1967.
[61] Collins, *Modern Love*, p. 79.
[62] *The Guardian*, January 25, 1962, p. 20.
[63] WSM/12/1, Superintendent's Reports, August 1964, p.1. For a discussion of the growth of coffee bars in post-war Manchester, and its role in the city's music scene, see: D. Haslam, *Manchester: The Story of the Pop-Cult City* (London: 1999). For an analysis of coffee bars, and its connections to juvenile delinquency, see: Jackson, 'The Coffee Club Menace', pp. 289-308.
[64] WSM/12/2, Superintendent's Reports, 1964 (Month unstated), p. 2.
[65] Haslam, *Manchester*, p. 86.

inspired the WSM was the Oasis Coffee Bar on Lloyd Street. Branding itself as 'Manchester's Most Fab Club for Young People', the Oasis hosted a combination of live music and DJ's from 6pm until 2am, but operated a strict no-alcohol policy across both day and night.[66] During the early 1960s, the Oasis was extremely popular, with Gene Vincent playing the venue in December 1961, while the Beatles made their first Manchester appearance there only a couple months later.[67] By attempting to recreate a coffee club atmosphere, the WSM youth club sought a broad appeal that underpinned its significant growth in membership.

Efforts to present the WSM youth club as a coffee club represented an effort to engage with fashionable youth culture and mitigate its dangers. Louise Jackson has argued that Manchester City Police were extremely concerned with the success of the coffee beat club in the mid-1960s, which stood outside the boundaries of licensing laws, but ran 'all-nighter' music sessions.[68] The police viewed the coffee beat club as 'sites of sexual danger to girls', and instigated a series of undercover observations and raids on popular venues, including the Forty Thieves, the Cavern and Heaven and Hell Club.[69] What Yates would have almost certainly heard from his police contacts was that these coffee clubs were refuges for runaway youths and drug proliferation. As Jackson notes, Manchester had acquired a reputation of being the 'largest clearinghouse in Britain' for Purple Heart pills (Drinamyl) by August 1964.[70] In this context, it is no surprise that supervision was central to the running of the WSM youth club, with Yates organising its initial activities. Later developments included the appointment of P. Rees as a youth club leader in July 1963 on a salary

[66] Haslam, *Manchester*, p. 87.
[67] Haslam, *Manchester*, p. 87.
[68] Jackson, 'The Coffee Club Menace', p. 290.
[69] Jackson, 'The Coffee Club Menace', p. 294.
[70] Jackson, 'The Coffee Club Menace', p. 295.

of £250 per annum.[71] Rees was art teacher at Miles Platting Secondary Modern School, and had previously worked at an 850-member youth club in London. His ability to manage young people was an overriding factor behind his appointment at the WSM. In 1963, Yates wrote in his superintendent's report:

> Last year I visited Miles Platting School I sat for an hour in his art class which numbered 40 children. From the manner in which he controlled his class, and from the high standard of work he produced from these children, I have no doubt he is the man we want to help with organization.[72]

Despite realising that a strictly managed youth club would discourage young people, it is evident that Yates wanted a close monitoring of activities within its replication of a coffee-bar atmosphere. The secular nature of the WSM youth club was not only illustrated by its modelling on a coffee bar, but also its introduction of the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme (DofE) in the late 1960s as a way to develop 'good' citizenship. Founded in 1956, the DofE scheme aimed to 'provide a foundation for the development of character' and 'lasting qualities of good citizenship through physical and educational training, self-discipline, and service to the community'.[73] Despite his liberal beliefs, Yates's decision to introduce the DofE scheme was reflective of traditional thinking concerning delinquency. According to Abigail Wills, efforts to reform male delinquents during the 1950s were based on the concept of *mens sana in copore sano* (a healthy mind in a healthy body), which emphasised

[71] WSM/1/1/8, Management Committee, 8 July 1963.
[72] WSM/12/2, Superintendent's Report, 1963 (month not stated).
[73] Duke of Edinburgh Award, *55 Years of Achievement* (London: 2011), p. 2.
See: http://www.dofe.org/go/history/ (accessed: 13 May 2013). For an early overview of the DofE, see D. Wainwright, *Youth in Action: The Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme, 1956-1966* (London, 1966). The history of DofE has only very recently started to receive historical attention. In March 2013, Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska gave a paper at the Social History Society (SHS) Conference about her new project on the DofE, which is used to explore the relationship of monarchy, youth and fitness.

fitness, strength of character and a disciplined work ethic.[74] Although the WSM youth club was presented as modern, Yates's decision to start the DofE represented a conventional philosophy to juvenile delinquency.

Figure 9: Training for the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme, (c. 1972/73).
Source: WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1973, p. 8.

Figure 9 is a photograph of WSM youth club members canoeing as part of their training for the DofE. With just 1 in 200 participants countrywide managing to achieve a DofE Bronze award during the 1960s, the WSM's management of the scheme was enormously successful.[75] In total, during the 1960s and 1970s, the WSM youth club achieved over 30 DofE awards comprising 2 Gold, 5 Silver and 26 Bronze.[76] While outdoor pursuits and the DofE had middle-class origins and connotations, the WSM sought to promote this activity amongst working-class youths. Club members participating in the WSM's supervision of the DofE did come from underprivileged backgrounds. This was demonstrated in a letter sent by

[74] A. Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England, 1950-1970', *Past and Present*, 187 (2005), p. 159.
[75] Wainwright, *Youth in Action*, p. 12.
[76] WSM/18/2/3, 'Wood Street Mission – 25 Year History', 1962-1987, p. 16.

Delayne Foey (WSM Deputy Director) to S Pelham from the Manchester and District Outward Bound Association in October 1972 regarding Julie Storey, a WSM youth club member who wanted to go on an Outward Bound course as part of her Gold award. In the letter, Foey enquired about financial support for Storey, as her family was unable to make a contribution towards costs. She added that Storey, and her four siblings, had visited the WSM for four years since their mother 'deserted', and they all responded 'very well to having an interest showed in them' through the scheme.[77]

What is also evident is that the WSM developed its relationship with the state by running the DofE. In September 1970, Yates wrote that its DofE work was firmly supported by the Local Area Principal of Further Education in Manchester, who recognised that 'we are dealing with children who are 'notoriously underprovided for in the state education system'.[78] He added that the local authority offered both financial and operational support by supplying and paying for four volunteers and four youth leaders at a cost of £540 per annum.[79] Despite running the DofE, the late 1960s and 1970s witnessed a significant fall in youth club membership. By May 1975, membership had fallen to about 100.[80] The absence of committee minutes from 1965-74, and superintendent's reports after 1970, means a real lack of evidence concerning this decrease and the responses of the committee. Nevertheless, it appears that this fall in membership was reflective of a wider struggle of youth clubs nationally to fulfil expectations. Indeed, the Youth Service Development Council (YSDC) highlighted that in 1969, the youth service only reached 29 per cent of young people. Yet it would be extremely harsh to view the WSM youth club as a

[77] WSM premise, Letter from Delayne Carpenter to Mrs S Pelham, October 12, 1972. This letter was located in a file entitled 'Duke of Edinburgh Award'.
[78]WSM/12/1, Superintendent's Reports, September 1970, p.1.
[79] WSM/12/1, Superintendent's Reports, September 1970, p.1.
[80] WSM premise, Management Committee, 5 May 1975.

failure, with the project reaching a significant number of young people at its peak.[81] Most fundamentally, the youth club was pivotal to the WSM's initially successful efforts to connect with youth communities in the 1960s, and was a symbol of secularisation, reflected through its engagement with the beat boom and coffee-bar culture.

The WSM Over 60s Club

WSM efforts to respond to the limitations of the state were not confined to young people. In August 1962, the WSM provided a social and recreational space to elderly people through the establishment of an over 60s club. Underpinning this project were post-war anxieties about the welfare of elderly people.[82] As Pat Thane argues, the marginalisation of older people had become an accepted and powerful assumption, with medical and social work discourses structured around a notion that 'old people were often and increasingly isolated and helpless'.[83] This notion was also expressed by Lord Beveridge in 1957, who argued that a lack of care and companionship was equally as important as finance in contributing to the problem of happiness in old age.[84] Concerns in relation to the welfare of elderly people were addressed in post-war Manchester through several voluntary endeavours. Projects for old people, particularly those who were single and lived alone included: a social club run by the Manchester settlement; a 'Meals on Wheels' service arranged by the Women's

[81] WSM/18/2/3, 'Wood Street Mission – 25 Year History, 1962-1987', p. 16.
[82] Post-war concerns about the welfare of old people were reflected by many social investigations into their family lives. See: J. H Sheldon, *The Social Medicine of Old Age: A Report of an Inquiry in Wolverhampton* (Oxford: 1948); P. Townsend, *The Family Life of Old People: An Inquiry in East London* (London: 1957); and J. Tunstall, *Old and Alone: A Sociological Study of Old People* (London: 1966).
[83] P. Thane, *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford: 2000), p. 407.
[84] *The Guardian*, 27 October 1957, p. 12.

Royal Voluntary Service (WRVS); and a workroom scheme launched by the Manchester and Salford Council of Social Service.[85]

Concerns about the isolation of old people were also expressed by the WSM. Its 1972 annual report, for example, argued that the 'Over-60s' club provided members with an 'escape from the cramped conditions and loneliness of the city'.[86] Although not as well-attended as the youth club, the project did satisfy the management committee's objective to connect with a large number of old people. Membership of the 'Over 60s' club reached 100 within two years of its establishment and remained roughly at that level into the 1970s.[87] Significantly, the project also demonstrates an effort of the WSM to engage in new forms of voluntary action through the principle of self-help. Above all, the 'Over-60s' club was run not by the management committee, but rather by its members (particularly Marie Elliot), who organised its finances and recreational activities. In effect, the club was a self-help group arranged by its members for mutual benefit. Open on Tuesday afternoons, the club served a low-cost meal at 1/4d, arranged talks, visits to the theatre, as well as outings to places of historical interest.[88] A particularly memorable event was a visit to the club in November 1973 from the actress Violet Carson, (who played Ena Sharples in *Coronation Street*) to launch the Manchester and Salford Old People's Road Safety Week.[89] Although not the most significant part of its work, the WSM's 'Over-60s' club brought enjoyment to its members. The project finished in 1989 following Marie Elliot's death.

[85] WSM/18/1/8, *A Review of Manchester Charities,* Para. 119, 123 and 129.
[86] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1972, p. 7.
[87] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1963/64, p. 3; and WSM/12/1, Superintendent's Reports, September 1970, p.1.
[88] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1963/64, p. 3
[89] *Manchester Evening News*, 20 July 1973, p. 5.

The Young Person's Advice Centre

While the youth and 'Over 60s' club were established approaches to connecting with local communities, the WSM Young Person's Advice Centre established in April 1964 was an innovative project. Staffed by qualified social workers, its advice centre was one of the first throughout the North of England to offer adolescents a walk-in service for counselling.[90] Specifically, the advice centre aimed to help young people overcome common problems, such as conflict with parents and difficulties forming friendships.[91] Establishing the advice centre was, in great part, prompted by a changing approach to mental health during the post-war period.[92] Anne Rodgers and David Pilgrim, for example, argued that the 1950s saw a shift from incarceration to treatment in responding to mental illness embodied in the 1957 Percy Commission and 1959 Mental Health Act.[93] In effect, the WSM advice centre was an effort to modernise its approach to welfare, and undertake a pioneering role for the voluntary sector as advocated in the 'crisis' meeting of March 1962.

In contrast to other projects, the Young Person's Advice Centre was instigated by Dr Cyril Smith and not Arnold Yates. Smith's motivation to establish the advice centre was not just supported by a responsibility to help the WSM, but part of an agenda to invigorate the field of social work in Manchester. Smith felt that the social work profession in Manchester was less advanced than either London or Liverpool, and was typified by conservatism. In August 1963, Smith discussed his plan to open

[90] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1963/64, p. 6. On the origins of advice centres for young people started in the early 1960s, see: Department of Health and Social Security, *Advisory and Counselling Services for Young People* (London: 1978).
[91] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1963/64, p. 6.
[92] On mental health policy in post-war Britain, see: M. Thomson, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency: Eugenics, Democracy and Social Policy in Britain*, (Oxford: 1998); A. Rogers and D. Pilgrim, *Mental Health Policy in Britain* (Basingstoke: 2001); and P. Dale and J. Melling (eds.), *Mental Illness and Learning Disability since 1850: Finding a Place for Mental Disorder in the United Kingdom* (London: 2006).
[93] Rogers and Pilgrim, *Mental Health Policy in Britain*, p. 64.

a young person's consultation service in Manchester in the course of an interview with the *Guardian*. Here, he made a scathing comment about the state of the profession in the city and argued that such work was desperately required. He claimed:

> In Manchester, the middle classes have never gone for social work as they have in Liverpool, for example. Here, once they get to their homes in Cheshire, they forget about the city.[94]

What specifically influenced Smith to propose the project to the WSM was a young person's consultation service established in Hampstead in 1961, the first initiative of its type across Britain.[95] Financed by the Van Leer Foundation, the purpose of the Hampstead project was to help young people bridge the gap 'between childhood and maturity' through informal talks with well-trained advisors, but not tarnish them with a mental-health 'problem' by creating a deep official relationship.[96] The WSM's new advice centre fitted into Yates's ambition that the organization should support young people, and his holistic approach to preventing juvenile crime and delinquent behaviour.

Launching an experimental project also opened doors for the WSM to engage with the media. Promoting the uniqueness of its advice centre enabled the WSM to raise its profile during the mid-1960s. Its 1963/64 annual report pointed out that the advice centre had received coverage from the *BBC*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Guardian*.[97] Very favourable publicity was received in May 1965 from the *Daily Mirror*, which published a feature-length report on its advice centre titled: 'Where

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[94] *The Manchester Guardian,* 28 August 1963, p. 5.
[95] Department of Health and Social Security, *Advisory and Counselling Services for Young People*, p. 13.
[96] Department of Health and Social Security, *Advisory and Counselling Services for Young People*, pp. 13-14.
[97] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1963/64, p. 6.

Lost Ones Find Love from a Stranger'.[98] Commenting that the centre was 'the first of its kind in the North', the report depicted the WSM as a modern and forward-thinking organization.[99] This report is useful because it offers insight into the work of the advice centre by outlining that a typical case was a 16 year old girl 'who could not get a boyfriend' and 'was self-conscious about it'.[100] It suggested that the WSM understood the needs of young people by pointing out that the girl spoke to a female, rather than a male counsellor:

> Typical of those reached was a 16 year old girl who dropped in on Mrs Estelle Caudell at the centre the other night. She has a baby of her own and is one of the two trained social councillors. The girl could not get a boyfriend. She was self-conscious about it and bored with her job too. I saw her four or five times and we talked it out together. She went to the evening school to improve herself. There she has met a boy who works at her own firm and now she has stopped coming to see us.[101]

Given the very favourable portrayal of the WSM, it was not surprising that the article offered a case that had a positive outcome. Indeed, it asserted that the advice of furthering her education as a means to building self-esteem greatly contributed to improving her confidence and success in finding a boyfriend. Although the details of young people visiting for advice are not disclosed for reasons of confidentiality, it is clear that the centre dealt with some serious problems more complicated that the case put forward by the *Daily Mirror*. This was demonstrated in the resume of the WSM's activities presented to the management committee by Yates in May 1975,

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[98] WSM/14/5, 'Where Lost Ones Find Love from a Stranger', *Daily Mirror*, (Northern edition) 13 May 1965, p. 4.
[99] WSM/14/5, 'Where Lost Ones Find Love from a Stranger', *Daily Mirror* (Northern edition) 13 May 1965, p. 4.
[100] WSM/14/5, 'Where Lost Ones Find Love from a Stranger', *Daily Mirror*, (Northern edition) 13 May 1965, p. 4.
[101] WSM/14/5, 'Where Lost Ones Find Love from a Stranger', *Daily Mirror*, (Northern edition) 13 May 1965, p. 4.

which noted that the advice centre dealt with problems including drug-addiction, homelessness and pregnancy.[102]

Despite initially receiving favourable publicity, the WSM Young Person's Advice Centre failed to reach the expectations of the management committee. Its 1966 annual report noted that the advice centre was poorly attended, with just 138 visits since its establishment in June 1964; an average of less than 6 visits per month over a two-year period.[103] One probable reason for this lack of demand was its close proximity to the youth club. According to a government report on advisory services published in 1978, young people in need of help often found a 'place with a lively and successful club atmosphere off-putting'.[104] While the WSM advice centre may have been hindered by proximity to the youth club, it should be pointed out that such initiatives did not flourish on a national level. From 37 advice projects started in the 1960s, only 12 had survived by 1975, and just 1 (Liverpool Young Person's Advisory Service) managed to assist over a 100 new clients in that year.[105] Although the WSM advice centre was not as popular as anticipated, the project nonetheless represented an attempt to modernise its approach to welfare, and cover a gap within the statutory services.

The Birchfield Lodge Outdoor Pursuits Centre

While the advice centre failed to take-off, a much larger project was the WSM's provision of outdoor pursuits at Birchfield Lodge. Two of the most important decisions made by the WSM management committee in 1963 were to close the

[102] WSM premises, WSM Executive Committee, 5 May 1975.
[103] WSM2/2, *Annual Report*, 1966, p. 2.
[104] Department of Health and Social Security, *Advisory and Counselling Services for Young People*, p. 53.
[105] Department of Health and Social Security, *Advisory and Counselling Services for Young People*, p. 15.

Blackpool free-holiday scheme and run an outdoor pursuit centre for young people. Through a combined grant of £12,000 from the Department of Education and Manchester Corporation received in October 1963, the WSM converted the manor house Birchfield Lodge into an outdoor pursuit centre, offering adventure activities such as rock-climbing, canoeing and pony riding. [106] Opening in the spring of 1964, Birchfield Lodge became by far the most significant project for the WSM. Approximately 9,450 people went to Birchfield Lodge in 1974/75, with over 1,760 children staying for five days or more, and 300 for weekends.[107] Figure 10 is a photograph of Birchfield Lodge. Located at Hope in the Peak District, Birchfield Lodge provided accommodation for 50 people and was surrounded by over nine acres of land.

Figure 10: Birchfield Lodge, (c. 1970s).
Source: WSM/15/2/17, Photograph album containing 10 colour aerial prints of Birchfield Lodge, Derbyshire and the surrounding countryside.

[106] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1963/64, p. 6. and p. 15.
[107] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1975, p. 9.

The decision to purchase Birchfield Lodge, and start an outdoor pursuit centre was influenced by a significant decline in demand for the Blackpool free-holiday scheme. As noted in Chapter 1, the number of children given a holiday by the WSM fell by around 50 per cent between 1950 and 1961. Management committee minutes after March 1962 reveal mounting problems in filling spaces on the scheme. For example, in June 1962, it was discussed that 'there had been some difficulty in getting enough suitable children' and that Yates even had to promote the scheme to parents and children on the streets.[108] For Yates, the scheme proved far too costly, and struggled to fulfil its promotional claims of giving children a 'happy' holiday. In May 1963, he proposed that the WSM should send, at the same time, 1,200 children to a Blackpool Pontin's Camp for a week as poor weather and a lack of in-house entertainment facilities created a miserable atmosphere at the Squires Gate holiday home. He wrote:

> The effect would be, that instead of 1250 children having an indifferent type of holiday loitering miserably about the playground in our present holiday home, they would be entertained by experts, and we should be relieved of a good deal of responsibility. It is noticeable that children who are at our Holiday Home during a fine week thoroughly enjoy themselves, but since in this part of the country the weather is usually dull and indifferent, many of them are miserable.[109]

This proposal initiated significant debate within the management committee over whether to close the Squires Gate holiday home. In July 1963, the committee felt it was 'advantageous to sell the Holiday Home within the next twelve months', and that the WSM should concentrate on 'some kind of adventure training, more or less on the lines of the Outward Bound Adventures'.[110] It can be seen that the Birchfield

[108] WSM/2/2, Management Committee, 22 June 1962.
[109] WSM/12/1, Superintendent's Reports, May 1963, p. 1.
[110] WSM/2/2, Management Committee, 8 July 1960.

Lodge outdoor pursuit project fitted Yates's plans that the WSM should focus on juvenile delinquency. According to Mark Freeman, Outward Bound influenced the 'ideology and practices of offender management', in which outdoor education was an important part of the rehabilitation of young delinquents.[111] Freeman points out that the probation services viewed Outward Bound as a suitable treatment for young offenders, with some groups of borstal boys undertaking its programme during the 1950s.[112] Outward Bound was promoted as a means of character-building through physical achievement, and also of helping 'self-discovery and 'personal growth'.[113] While the youth club and advice centre were launched with the purpose of preventing juvenile delinquency, an intention of the Birchfield Lodge project was to contribute to the 'rehabilitation' of young offenders.[114]

One project that inspired the WSM management committee to purchase Birchfield Lodge was an acclaimed initiative organised by the London Police Court Mission (LPCM). In early 1961, the LCPM arranged two pilot adventure courses in North Wales for 50 boys from approved schools, a venture commended by Home Secretary R.A. Butler.[115] Committee minutes illustrate that the success of the LCPM

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[111] M. Freeman, 'From Character Training to Personal Growth: The Early History of Outward Bound, 1941-1965', *History of Education*, 40:1 (2011), p. 28. As noted by Freeman, outward Bound has not received much historical attention, with accounts of its work written by its leaders during the 1950s. See: D. James (ed.), *Outward Bound* (London: 1957); and J. Hogan, *Impelled into Experiences: The Story of Outward Bound Schools* (Wakefield: 1968). From the 1970s onwards, sociologists have offered their assessments of Outward Bound. See: B Fletcher, *The Challenge of Outward Bound* (London: 1971); and K Roberts, G. White and H. Parker, *The Character Training Industry: The Character Training Industry: Adventure Training Schemes in Britain* (Newton Abbot: 1973).

[112] Freeman, 'From Character Training to Personal Growth', p. 28.

[113] Freeman, 'From Character Training to Personal Growth', p. 23.

[114] It is important to recognise the complexities of the term 'rehabilitation' in relation to juvenile delinquency. As Abigail Wills notes, the practice of 'rehabilitating' juvenile offenders was shifted in post-war Britain from a holistic aim of strengthening the mind and body to an individualistic approach of helping figure out life choices. See: Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England', p. 182.

[115] In April 1961, Home Secretary R.A Butler commented on the LCPM adventure course initiative in the House of Commons. He said: 'I welcome the interest which the Mission (LCPM) is taking in the problem of delinquency, and the information provided about the reactions of the approved school boys to courses of this kind has been of value'. *Hansard HD*, Deb 27, April 1961, vol. 539, cols 59-63.

scheme enthused Yates and Smith. In July 1963, Smith justified the WSM's involvement in outdoor pursuits on the basis of the LCPM venture. Nevertheless, the application for the required funding to purchase Birchfield Lodge was based on its value as an educational instrument, rather than a rehabilitative tool for young offenders. Funding for the scheme was a product of the 1963 Newsom Report as illustrated by the receipt of considerable grants from the Department of Education and Manchester Corporation. Importantly, the report strongly advocated outdoor education as a means to encourage learning amongst less academically able pupils, especially within poor urban areas.[116] The provision of outdoor pursuits was viewed by the WSM committee as a response to juvenile delinquency and the limitations of the state education system.

Despite an aim to cater for juvenile offenders, it is clear that Birchfield Lodge quickly carved out a niche as a base for school visits. Rather than drawing on traditional depictions of the countryside as a rural idyll that could ease urban tensions, the WSM presented Birchfield Lodge, and more broadly the countryside, as a space for learning. This educational focus was demonstrated in newspaper coverage of the centre. In May 1965, the *Sheffield Star* published a feature length report on Birchfield Lodge entitled 'Another World', which placed great emphasis on the educational benefits of the centre. The report argued that Birchfield Lodge fulfilled an important social purpose of giving pupils access to the countryside, claiming that these visits were essentially 'another world' for some school pupils. Most importantly, it insisted that Birchfield Lodge could play a major role in stimulating learning. It argued that the centre enhanced pupil's grasp of important

[116] The 1963 Newsome Report argued that a 'curriculum conceived only in terms of formal lessons is unduly restricted' and that the residential trips can provide a 'general educational stimulus' by 'introducing boys and girls to fresh surroundings, and helping them to acquire new knowledge or try their hand at new skills'. See, Ministry of Education, *Half Our Future* (Newsom Report) (London: 1963), pp. 41-49.

subjects, commenting that 'map compass reading is an exciting new variation on mathematics', and their 'nightly reports keep their English up to standard'.[117] Moreover, it suggested that the experiences of one school girl were transformed by the project:

> A schoolgirl walking in the Dove Valley saw a cluster of dandelions and started picking them. When asked why, she replied: 'I don't know what they are, but they will brighten up my room...But by the end of the week, the girl who went to Derbyshire not knowing a dandelion from a daisy could find her way unaided across moorland, recite the geographical and geological features of the Peak District and tell the locals a new thing or two about pond, plant and animal life.[118]

Such favourable publicity was intended to promote Birchfield Lodge to schools in and around Sheffield. WSM promotional endeavours also strongly emphasise the educational virtues of the centre. Indicative of this was the 1974 annual report, which commented 'We take children to our Birchfield Outdoor Centre who have never seen a hill before, have no idea how milk gets into the bottle, and think every field is a public park'.[119] The positioning of Birchfield Lodge, as an educational instrument that stimulated and developed learning, was based on mounting concerns over state education, illustrated in the Newsom Report and later the series of Black papers on education published between 1969 and 1975. Historians of education, including Brian Simon and Clyde Chitty, have noted that the five Black papers attacked the comprehensive system introduced in 1965. From a right-wing perspective, the Black papers argued that progressive, as opposed to traditional, teaching methods led to an erosion of standards.[120] In fact, the 1974 WSM annual report justified the value of

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[117] WSM/14/5, 'Another World' *Sheffield Star*, 20 May 1965, p. 20.
[118] WSM/14/5, 'Another World' *Sheffield Star*, 20 May 1965, p. 20.
[119] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1974, p. 2.
[120] On the Black Papers, see: C. Knight, *The Making of Tory Education Policy in Post-war Britain, 1950-1986* (London: 1990), pp. 68-72; B. Simon, *Education and the Social Order, 1940-1990* (London: 1991), pp. 396-401; R. Lowe, *Schooling and Social Change, 1964-1990* (London: 1997),

Birchfield Lodge and the DofE with reference to the Black reports, commenting that 'we deal with hundreds of children who cannot read properly and never write' in spite of the report's criticism.[121]

Birchfield Lodge had a national appeal, with a visitor's book covering the period 1964 to 1967 revealing that it catered for secondary schools from major cities including London and Birmingham.[122] Importantly, the book contained a small comments section, which provides an insight into children's attitudes to Birchfield Lodge. Reflections of visits tended to be more positive than negative. In April 1965, there were 60 positive comments and only 4 negative. For example, B. Gilmore from Manchester expressed a great enjoyment of his visit to the countryside, commenting 'Every Minute a Pleasure'. [123] Negative comments concerned a struggle with the outdoor pursuits and a dislike of the food. A. Berry from Middleton complained that there were 'Too Many Hikes' and A. McKenzie from Lancashire felt that the 'Porridge Could be Better'. [124]

Financial constraints prevented fulfilment of the management committee's philanthropic desires. Providing outdoor pursuits at Birchfield Lodge entailed significant expenditure for the WSM. Employing around 10 staff, including a full-time Warden, the project cost over £14,000 in 1967/68.[125] Given previous experience of the high running costs of the Squires Gate holiday home, the management committee intended that Birchfield Lodge should break even. For this reason, the WSM only allocated roughly 10 per cent of places for Birchfield Lodge free-of-change, and charged a fee to schools and other voluntary organizations, which

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pp. 51-52. K. Jones, *Education in Britain: 1944 to the present* (Cambridge: 2003), pp. 103-104; and C Chitty, *Education Policy in Britain* (Basingstoke: 2009), pp. 36-39.
[121] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1974, p. 2.
[122] WSM/11/1/12, Visitors Book, 1964-67
[123] WSM/11/1/12, Visitors Book, 1964-67
[124] WSM/11/1/12, Visitors Book, 1964-67
[125] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1968, p. 10.

covered their running costs, but not administration of the centre.[126] Yet it appears that Yates was unsatisfied with this arrangement, feeling that the WSM could play a much larger role providing philanthropic holidays. In September 1970, he argued that, in spite of financial pressures, the WSM should provide much greater access to Birchfield Lodge for underprivileged children. He proposed that the WSM needed to 'return to our original idea when we acquired Birchfield of using it as a charity should, and allowing free courses to those in-need'.[127] As we shall see, Yates later advocated selling Birchfield Lodge in responding to the inflation crisis of the 1970s on the basis that it did not tackle poverty. To a large extent, the Birchfield Lodge project was a mixed success for the WSM. On one hand, the project capitalised on the limitations of state education and was in great demand from schools and other organizations. On the other hand, the need to make Birchfield Lodge self-financing meant that it did not completely fulfil original charitable intentions.

A 'Rediscovery' of Poverty: The Clothing and Toy Distribution

Although youth work was a priority for the WSM, it is also clear that the organization's long-standing poverty relief activities grew in importance. While demand for its distribution of clothing and toys had fallen during the immediate post-war period, the need for this philanthropic work steadily increased in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Between 1964/65 and 1974/5, the WSM moved from a position of providing cheap clothing to a group of 100 households (including roughly 300 children) to issuing free-clothing to 1,895 people.[128] Additionally, the number of

[126] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1973, p. 6.
[127] WSM/12/2, Superintendent's Report, September 1970.
[128] WSM/12/1, Superintendents Report, January 1965, p. 1; and WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1975, p. 8.

Christmas toys distributed increased by a third from 2,000 to 3,000.[129] This increase in demand for free-clothing and toys took place during a period of rising unemployment. Census data shows that from 1961 to 1971, the rate of male unemployment in Manchester rose from 2 per cent to 7 per cent.[130] While the clothing distribution became almost redundant in the late 1950s and early 1960s due to high labour demand and rising wages, the need for this philanthropic work re-emerged due to a rapid contraction of Manchester's manufacturing sector from the mid-1960s onwards. Between 1966 and 1972, 33 per cent of manual jobs across the city were lost, and 25 per cent of factories closed.[131] In Trafford Park, the most important industrial estate in the city, employment decreased from 75,000 in 1945 to 50,000 in 1967, settling at just 15,000 by 1976.[132]

By increasing the scale of its clothing distribution, the WSM responded to the growing limitations of the state in mitigating material deprivation as illustrated by Townsend and Abel Smith's seminal 1965 social survey of poverty.[133] Indeed, Townsend and Abel Smith have been credited with the 'rediscovery' of poverty in post-war Britain. Failure of the state to tackle poverty and material deprivation in Manchester was demonstrated in a Child Poverty Action Group survey published in 1971, which outlined the experiences of ten local families as part of a campaign to demonstrate the problems of unemployment and low-pay.[134] Using a poverty line of

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[129] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1963/64, p. 5; and 1975, p. 9.
[130] General Register Office, *The 1961 Census of England and Wales: Occupation, Industry, Socio-Economic Groups – Lancashire* (London: 1966), p.3; Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, *The 1971 Census of England and Wales: Economic Activity County Leaflet: Lancashire* (London: 1975), p. 13.
[131] Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 192.
[132] Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 192.
[133] See B. Abel Smith and P. Townsend, *The Poor and the Poorest: A New Analysis of the Ministry of Labour's Family Expenditure Surveys of 1953-54 and 1960* (London: 1965). Using a definition of poverty as household incomes under 140 per cent of national assistance, Abel-Smith and Townsend found that the number of households living in poverty increased from 10.1 per cent to 17.9 per cent between 1953/54 and 1960.
[134] R. Dunkley, *Ten Families: A Study of Poverty in Manchester* (Manchester: 1971), pp. 1-2.

income below Supplementary Benefit level, their survey suggested that poverty was not confined to those deemed as 'problem families' – it was a rapidly developing problem for smaller families in work with just one or two children.[135] For the WSM, the heightened pressure to distribute clothing entailed a closer relationship with the state. Clothing distribution records show that an increasing proportion of households were referred by statutory agencies across the 1960s. For example, between November 1959 and October 1960, the WSM distributed free-clothing to 51 families: 19 referred by statutory agencies, 30 by staff members and 2 by the church.[136] In comparison, from January to June 1967, the WSM distributed clothing to 72 families: 60 by statutory and voluntary agencies; and 12 self-referrals or by staff.[137] By May 1975, around 1,000 children who visited the WSM were referred by statutory welfare authorities.[138]

The limited power of the state to eradicate poverty was also a message voiced by the WSM. This was clearly demonstrated in an interview Yates gave to the *Guardian* in March 1969 for the organization's centenary. He proposed that the WSM was the real safety net for the poorest families in Manchester as they had an intrinsic dislike of state welfare. Although unstated, he insinuated that families despised claiming welfare benefits during the 1960s to the same extent as the means-test of the 1930s. Remarking that people had to 'screw themselves up' to claim benefit, he argued that for many families, visiting the social security offices was often a painful experience:

> People don't like the idea of welfare. Even if they know where to go for welfare services, they wouldn't claim them. It's not just the form. People

[135] Dunkley, *Ten Families*, p. 1.
[136] WSM/9/2/2, Parcels Received Book, 1946-75.
[137] WSM/9/2/2, Parcels Received Book, 1946-75.
[138] WSM Management Committee, 5 May 1975.

> have to screw themselves up to make the effort if they're going to use the welfare state. Sometimes, it's just beyond them.[139]

Yates's remarks were suggestive of a mounting criticism of the post-war welfare state for being unnecessarily bureaucratic. For example, the Aves Report of 1969 on the future of volunteers in social services claimed that the exertion of state influence supported a sense of the 'loss of some of the personal element' of voluntary endeavour.[140] Furthermore, it should be of little surprise that Yates carefully refrained from discussing the stigma of receiving charity, arguing instead that many families came to the WSM for sympathetic conversation due to financial anxiety and stress. He commented: 'The families come here, sometimes just for somebody to talk to, sometimes because they've lost the thread and need support while they gather themselves up'.[141] After the 1969 *Guardian* interview, Yates explicitly represented the WSM as the real safety net for families in Manchester. This was illustrated in a public appeal launched in November 1970 in the *Manchester Evening News* to raise £70,000 over 10 years in response to rising inflation. In justifying the importance of the WSM, Yates provided this example:

> One Christmas a father discharged himself from hospital after a lung operation, when his wife had a nervous breakdown. The seven children – six under seven – were running around barefoot in the filthy house with a nine-inch artificial Christmas tree in one corner. That was their Christmas – the mission clothed them, fed them, and provided them all with presents.[142]

Failings of the post-war welfare state were indicated by its omission from this example, with no reference made to the role of statutory authorities. Yates astutely

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[139] *The Guardian*, 25 March 1969, p. 8.
[140] G.M. Aves, *The Voluntary Worker in the Social Services* (London: 1969), p. 22.
[141] *The Guardian*, 25 March 1969, p. 8.
[142] *Manchester Evening News*, 14 November 1970, p. 10.

chose this case for public consumption as it stresses that the WSM helped 'deserving' poverty-stricken families. Although the father's health problem was extremely serious (a lung operation), he showed virtues of empathy and responsibility by discharging himself from hospital to take care of his children after his wife's breakdown. Furthermore, the severity of their poverty was expressed by a description of their home as being 'filthy', their children being 'barefoot', and a claim about the absence of any household savings to purchase a decent Christmas tree. Emphasising 'deserving' cases of clothing and other material assistance became an increasing feature of WSM promotional tactics. This was exemplified in the 1974 annual report, which portrayed the WSM as rescuing people from poverty. Written at a highpoint of the inflation crisis of the 1970s, the report was melancholic in tone, painting a bleak picture of hardship and destitution in Manchester. Amongst those who received the WSM's help, it was proclaimed, were the old man and disabled solider:

> The old man living alone with his gas fire on night and day, sleeping in all his clothes because he had no bedding, needed the Mission. The solider, invalided out and provided with a house for his family, had not sufficient money to buy cutlery, crockery, but the Mission found some.[143]

The old man and disabled solider descriptions fit into long-standing public perceptions of the 'deserving' poor. As Deborah Cohen has noted, philanthropy was at the heart of care for ex-servicemen prior to the Second World War, with the public greatly supporting the cause of veterans.[144] Both the old man and disabled soldier examples of assistance were carefully crafted by Yates in order to evoke public

[143] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1974, p. 4.
[144] D. Cohen, *The War Came Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (Berkeley: 2001), p. 102.

sympathy. Underlining their 'deservingness' did not require detail. In the case of the old man, there was no mention of whether he had a family and why they could not help him. Furthermore, in the case of the invalided solider, there was no mention of his service, the nature of his injury, and why local authorities did not assist him to furnish his house. What is interesting about the 1974 annual report was that no reference was made to Manchester's industrial decline and increase of unemployment even though it was providing clothing to a growing number of children referred by statutory authorities, whose parents would have been directly affected by these economic problems. The structural causes of poverty were a noticeable omission from the WSM's promotional literature in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

This emphasis of helping the 'deserving' sat uncomfortably with efforts to construct the WSM as a modern and liberal organization that understood the needs of young people. Yet Yates did not view philanthropy in terms of nineteenth century ideas of 'deserving' and 'undeserving'. As indicated by his comments in the 1969 interview, his understandings of the causes of poverty and the role of the WSM was more complex than simplistic judgements of families being undeserving. Rather, it appears that stressing 'deserving' cases was a necessary evil for the WSM; it had the desired effect of generating a major increase in clothing donations. Clothing collection records reveal a great expansion of donations, rising from 215 in 1968/69 to 723 in 1973/74, and that donors came from across Britain, ranging Kent and Greater London to North Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.[145] While the early 1960s witnessed new approaches to giving intended to alleviate the stigma of poverty, the economic downturn of the late 1960s and early 1970s challenged the WSM's efforts

[145] WSM/9/2/2, Parcels Received Book, 1946-75.

to reinvent itself as modern charitable organization. As we shall see in the next chapter, the WSM could not present its clothing operation in a new way, and returned to pre-1945 representations of itself when promoting its cause, as the economic problems of the late 1960s and 1970s fed into an unemployment crisis in the 1980s.

Responding to Rising Inflation: Financial Challenges in the 1960s and 1970s

While the WSM responded to a growth in unemployment over the late 1960s and early-1970s by increasing its distribution of basic necessities, a much more challenging economic problem was a dramatic rise in inflation. Indeed, the average rate of inflation increased from 3.8 per cent between 1950 and 1967 to 7.5 per cent between 1968 and 1973, later peaking at 24.2 per cent in 1975.[146] On one level, this posed an extremely serious problem for the WSM, not least because it had dual overheads in maintaining Birchfield Lodge and its Manchester operation. On another level, the growth in inflation placed the WSM in a moral quandary, as while the demand from families for poverty relief expanded, the costs of providing of welfare substantially increase. As a consequence, the WSM management committee faced the dilemma of whether to fulfil its social obligations at the risk of increasing spending and undermining its long-term viability.

Inflation significantly affected the WSM, with annual expenditure rising from £20,295 to £43,828 between 1967/68 and 1974/75 even though no new projects were

[146] On the problem of inflation during the 1970s, see: N. Woodward 'Inflation' in N. Crafts and N. Woodward (ed.), *The British Economy since 1945* (Oxford: 1991), pp. 200-205. For an analysis of the cultural impacts of rising inflation: see J. Tomlinson, *The Politics of Decline: Understanding Post-War Britain* (Harlow: 2000).

launched.[147] Under a climate of lower inflation from 1961/2 to 1966/67, there had also been a growth in its expenditure due to the expansion of youth projects, but at a much slower pace with an increase from £16,183 to £25,506.[148] Analysis of the WSM's income and expenditure shows an unsurprising growth of current account losses, rising from £5,796 in 1967/68 to £13,798 in 1974/75.[149] Most fundamentally, these increases in expenditure and subsequent annual losses entailed a significant weakening of the WSM's financial position. Annual losses were absorbed by its reserve fund, with the organization's savings falling from £73,711 in 1966/67 to just £36,423 in 1974/75.[150]

It is apparent that the deterioration of its finances was a source of great anxiety and concern for the committee. For example, the Honorary Treasurer, Michael Evans, outlined in his review for the 1972 annual report, that the committee needed to liquidate approximately £11,000 in investments as its bank overdraft had reached 'an unacceptable level'.[151] Moreover, he commented that, on top of the problem of rising expenditure, the committee felt compelled to spend £13,000 to purchase a share of the adjoining property at 52 Bridge Street. This purchase was to protect the WSM's interests from commercial developers buying land. What is striking about the 1972 annual report was that it contained an open letter written by Yates, which asked readers to increase their donations to the WSM. Placed on the first page, he called for an extra £5,000 per annum to ensure the organization remained financially viable. He argued that inflation had a major impact on all areas of its philanthropic work, giving an example that the cost of Christmas food parcels had risen by 30 per

[147] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1968 p. 10; and 1975, p. 11.
[148] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1962 p.10; and 1967, p 9.
[149] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1968 p 10; and 1975, p.11.
[150] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1967, p.9; and 1975, p.11.
[151] WSM/2/2 *Annual Report*, 1972, p.2.

cent within the space of two years. Rather solemnly, he concluded that the WSM's survival rested on an upsurge in public donations:

> We now face the prospect of having to reduce our work with children if we are to survive at all. As a charity our policy has been to spend the money given to us on poor children and this we shall continue to do while there is any left. We leave the matter of survival to the providence and the generosity of our friends.[152]

Despite emphasising the gravity of the situation, the appeal was ultimately unsuccessful, with subscriptions and donations failing to reach £5,000 in 1972/73 and 1973/74. More broadly, charitable giving to the WSM constituted a relatively small proportion of total annual income across the period, which never rose above 25 per cent. This was indicative of long-term trends in monetary philanthropy, with public donations not growing commensurate to the nation's wealth during the twentieth century. As Alan Ware argues, this trend is a product of social and cultural factors, encompassing secularisation and the influence of advertising.[153] Failure to obtain a substantial increase in donations brought about significant debate amongst the committee over whether to cut back projects. This was most explicitly demonstrated by Yates's proposal in February 1975 to sell Birchfield Lodge to alleviate financial pressures. At a committee meeting, he stated that the WSM's bank overdraft was 'constantly in the region of £25,000 plus', claiming that 'if we go beyond July without receiving extra income, the Mission will die'.[154] Yates argued that the WSM should sell Birchfield as its work with underprivileged children was 'minimal', citing that less than 10 per cent of spaces were given free to 'city youngsters who needed it'.[155]

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[152] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*,1972, p. 1.
[153] A. Ware, 'The Changing Relations between Charities and the State' in A. Ware (ed.), *Charities and Government* (Manchester: 1989), p. 11.
[154] (Given by the WSM), Management Committee, 28 February, 1975.
[155] (Given by the WSM), Management Committee, 28 February, 1975.

The management committee decided against selling Birchfield Lodge in the following month due to their receipt of a substantial legacy of £8,000 that reduced its overdraft from £27,000 to £19,000.[156] The fortuity of this development was even discussed by Evans in his Honorary Treasurer's review, which stated that the total legacy income 'almost equalled the deficit and thus enabled the Mission to survive without the need to realise investments'.[157] Together with legacies, the WSM managed to overcome inflation by re-organising its operation. In 1975, the WSM moved its offices from 50 Bridge Street (where it had been based for 70 years) to 24 Wood Street in order to lease the property for a commercial rent.[158] The problem of inflation thus fostered and sustained an enormous sense of anxiety within the committee, challenging their commitment not to either abandon or scale-back welfare projects. In particular, the committee took a considerable risk in responding to rising inflation in the 1970s, refusing to cut the WSM's range of philanthropic work to reduce costs, instead electing to undermine its long-term future via the sale of investments and running down reserve funds.

Conclusions

This micro study of the WSM from April 1962 to December 1975 has developed wider historiographical understandings of the relationship between the state and voluntary sector. For example, Geoffrey Finlayson, Jane Lewis and Bernard Harris, have noted that voluntary action thrived during the 1960s and 1970s with the growth

[156] (Given by the WSM), Management Committee, 20 March 1975.
[157] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1975, p. 10.
[158] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1975, p. 4.

of pressure-groups and an expansion of mutual-aid organizations.[159] Using the WSM as an example, this chapter has explored the management of a long-established philanthropic institution amidst this changing landscape for the voluntary sector. Crucially, the chapter demonstrates that the WSM redefined its relationship with both the state and local communities by reinventing itself as a secular youth-work organization. Focusing on youth work, the WSM aimed to actively capitalise on the weaknesses of the state, as outlined in the 1960 Albemarle Report and 1963 Newsom Report, through filling in gaps within the areas of recreation, advice and education. Reflected by the starting of the young person's advice centre and outdoor pursuits centre at Birchfield Lodge, the WSM sought to bring experimental projects to Manchester, thereby undertaking a pioneering function in voluntary activity as advocated by Lord Beveridge.

The chapter has also examined the nature of secularisation in the voluntary sector. In particular, this micro analysis of the WSM adds to a debate, notably led by Frank Prochaska, that the post-war welfare state brought about a considerable decline in Christian philanthropy.[160] The case of the WSM demonstrates that the process of engaging with youth work entailed a move onto a secular path. Under the directorship of Arnold Yates, secularisation was seen as pivotal to the success of the WSM's youth projects and the construction of an image as a modern organization, which possessed a special understanding of the needs of young people. Moreover, it is evident that secularisation was entwined with youth work in different ways: its youth club was modelled on a commercial coffee-bar; its advice centre was staffed by qualified social workers; and the starting of the DofE illustrated a view that

[159] See: Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain*, pp. 328-329; Lewis, 'Voluntary and Informal Welfare', p. 266; and B. Harris, 'Voluntary Action and the State in Historical Perspective', *Voluntary Sector Review*, 1:1 (2010), p. 35.
[160] Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain*, pp. 167-168.

religion was not vital to developing 'good' citizenship. Taking its post-war history as a whole, this thesis demonstrates that the experience of secularisation was both gradual and painful for the WSM. As established in Chapter 1, the WSM's determination to resist secularisation led to the March 1962 'crisis' meeting, which prompted this move into youth work.

By exploring the WSM's financial management, the chapter has shed light on how the inflation crisis of the 1970s impacted on a charitable institution. While historians, most notably Jim Tomlinson, have argued that the increase of inflation and the emergence of stagflation supported a culture of British 'decline', this chapter examined the consequences of this economic downturn on philanthropic endeavour.[161] This investigation of the WSM indicates that the inflation crisis placed charitable organizations in a dilemma of whether to scale-back welfare projects to reduce financial pressure. It is evident that the WSM management committee refused this option, and met an increasing demand for poverty relief by sanctioning an increase in spending. Furthermore, it is apparent that the WSM only survived by undertaking measures that placed its long-term future at risk, including releasing its investments, extending its overdraft facility to near maximum, and depleting its reserve account. Subsequently, the WSM management committee took a significant risk in responding to rising inflation during the early 1970s, rejecting cutting its range of projects to reduce operational costs, instead undermining its long-term future.

Major changes to the WSM's work and operation took place between April 1962 and October 1975, including the recruitment of those actively involved in the welfare field, the ending of its evangelical practices, and launching experimental

[161] See, especially, J. Tomlinson, *The Politics of Decline : Understanding Post-war Britain* (Harlow: 2000)

projects. In effect, this was a period of transformation – from an evangelical institution closely bound to its founding principles to a secular charitable organization committed to undertaking youth work. Yet it is also clear that, far from contracting, the WSM's poverty relief role expanded under the pressure of deindustrialisation and the inflation crisis of the 1970s. The next chapter investigates the WSM's response to the emergence of mass unemployment and hardship in the late 1970s and 1980s, and describes a substantial expansion of its role as distributor of clothing.

Chapter 3

Responding to Mass Unemployment and Hardship, November 1975 – December 1990

> The only effective way to reach all those who need help is through the voluntary service of millions of individuals who do what they can because they want to. And however much money we have and however rich Britain becomes there's no way and no budget which could produce statutory services to meet the needs which as volunteers you now satisfy...I believe that that the volunteer movement is at the heart of all our social welfare provision.[1]
>
> - Margaret Thatcher, *Speech to the Women's Royal Voluntary Service* (1981)

Discussing the future of welfare provision in 1981, Margaret Thatcher called for a realignment of the relationship between the statutory and voluntary sector. Thatcher asserted that the voluntary sector should play a much larger role than government in the provision of welfare, an argument reflective of a neo-liberal ambition to reduce the responsibilities of the state.[2] She later argued in the speech that the statutory sector must only have an enabling purpose in welfare delivery, commenting that it should be 'the supportive ones underpinning where necessary, filling gaps and helping the helpers'.[3] Nevertheless, it needs to be recognised that the state did not

[1] Margaret Thatcher, Speech to Women's Royal Voluntary Service: 'Facing the New Challenge', 19 January 1981. See: http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/104551 (Assessed: 2 June 2013).

[2] There is a significant body of work on the aims and policies of the Thatcher governments. For a selection, see: D. Kavanagh, *Thatcherism and British Politics: The End of Consensus* (Oxford: 1987); A. Gamble, *The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism* (Basingstoke: 1994). P. Clarke, *Hope and Glory: Britain 1900-1990* (London: 1996), especially pp. 358-404; E. Evans, *Thatcher and Thatcherism* (London: 1997); E. H. H. Green, 'Thatcherism: an Historical Perspective', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 6th series 9 (1999), pp. 17-42; B. Evans, 'Thatcherism and the British People', in S. Ball and I. Holliday (eds.), Mass Conservatism: the Conservatives and the Public since the 1880s (London: 2002), pp. 218-41. For a comparison of welfare policies in Britain and the US during the 1980s, see: P. Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State: Reagan, Thatcher and the Politics of Retrenchment* (Cambridge: 1994).

[3] Thatcher, Speech to Women's Royal Voluntary Service, January 19, 1981.

create a beneficial environment for the voluntary sector during the late 1970s and 1980s. Pat Thane, for example, has highlighted that while government funding to charities substantially increased, the increase came with stricter controls and conditions, which restricted their autonomy.[4] Crucially, the voluntary sector also had to utilise its resources to deal with a significant growth of unemployment and poverty under the Thatcher governments. According to the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG), the number of people living below half average income after housing costs, a definition of the 'poverty line' used by the European Community, increased by over six million between 1979 and 1988.[5]

This chapter investigates the work and operation of the WSM between November 1975 and December 1990, and argues that the organization refocused on its traditional poverty relief activities in response to a significant increase in unemployment and material deprivation in Manchester. While the WSM attempted to reinvent itself during the 1960s and early 1970s by focusing on youth work, it concentrated on developing its clothing distribution across the late 1970s and 1980s to fulfil an unprecedented post-war demand for poverty relief. The WSM greatly expanded its clothing operation, providing this assistance annually to approximately 1,000 families by the late 1980s.[6] With high unemployment stimulating a significant demand for clothing, a parallel can be drawn in the history of the WSM between the 1930s and 1980s. Unsurprisingly, WSM annual reports of the 1980s made comparisons to the inter-war depression. Its 1984 annual report, for example, declared: 'The type of poverty which existed fifty years ago is re-surfacing, and we

[4] P. Thane, 'Voluntary Action in Britain since Beveridge' in M. Oppenheimer and N. Deakin (eds.), *Beveridge and Voluntary Action in Britain and the Wider British World* (Manchester: 2011) pp.131-132.
[5] C. Oppenheim, *Poverty: The Facts* (London: 1993), p 41.
[6] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1989, p. 2.

find ourselves reverting to the role of providing for basic needs for those who cannot manage on a low fixed income'.[7]

This chapter also demonstrates that by December 1990, the WSM had abandoned its youth work ambitions. Between 1978 and 1983, the organization curtailed its projects for young people launched by Arnold Yates during the 1960s, closing the youth club and advice centre, as well as selling Birchfield Lodge that ended its provision of outdoor pursuits.[8] Indeed, the sale of Birchfield Lodge marked the end of a century-long history of owning residential accommodation for children's holidays. Additionally, the WSM was unable to maintain new youth work efforts launched during the late 1970s. Relationships with the state and local communities were not only altered by the expansion of the clothing operation and the ending of Yates's youth projects, but also through its participation in the Job Creation Programme (JCP) of the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) in 1977.[9] Marilyn Taylor has noted that the JCP permitted voluntary organizations access to significant central government funding, which in turn, enabled them to appoint extra staff and build community premises as a training enterprise.[10] Using initial funding from the JCP, and later a combination of central and local government grants, the WSM converted its premises into a major non-profit sports centre, but could not sustain the project.[11] As we shall see, state funding came with pitfalls, and by the end of this post-war history, the clothing and toy distribution was the sole project run by the WSM.

[7] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1984, p. 2.
[8] WSM/18/2/3, Wood Street Mission: 25 Year History, pp. 14-18.
[9] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1976/77, p. 2.
[10] M. Taylor, 'Voluntary Action and the State', in D. Gladstone (ed.), *British Social Welfare: Past, Present and Future* (London: 1995) p. 228.
[11] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1985, p. 5.

This chapter utilises archival evidence and oral testimonies to explore how the WSM managed the increase in unemployment and subsequent growth in demand for poverty relief. It draws on previously unexplored management committee minutes given by the WSM, as well as annual reports, correspondence, welfare registers and fundraising pamphlets to examine the expansion of the clothing distribution and the contribution of the sports centre. Furthermore, it draws on two interviews conducted in July 2009 with two former members of the WSM: Harold Palmer and Hayley Lawrence.[12] Both Harold and Hayley joined the WSM in the 1960s, and occupied important positions in the organization during the 1980s. Their testimonies reveal information on the WSM's operation not conveyed in archival sources, including the recruitment of committee members, its involvement on the JCP, and the sale of Birchfield Lodge.

The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section explores how the WSM responded to increased demand for poverty relief through a study of the views of directors and the management committee. The second section explores the mechanics of the clothing and toy operation, examining its network of donors, the main social groups that required help, and its representation of this philanthropic work. The third section investigates the decisions to finish youth projects started by Yates during the 1960s, while the fourth section examines the WSM's involvement on the JCP, and its establishment and running of the sports centre. The fifth section explores the financial operation of the WSM, paying special attention to its receipt of state funding through the sports centre.

[12] Given the fact that Hayley and Harold occupied leading positions in the WSM, and their desire to remain anonymous, I have not outlined the biographical details in order to protect their identities.

Managing Expanding Needs for Traditional Poverty relief: The Final Years of Yates and the Directorship of Carpenter and Adams

The period November 1975 to December 1990 saw a firm recognition by the directors and management committee that the WSM had to prioritise its traditional poverty relief endeavours over its youth work ambitions. Without any doubt, this realisation was the result of the most severe post-war environment of unemployment and poverty in Manchester. As Alan Kidd has highlighted, the recession of the early 1980s led to an unemployment 'crisis' in certain communities of Manchester, with 59 per cent of adult males in Hulme unemployed, 46 per cent in Miles Platting, and 44 per cent in Cheetham Hill and Moss Side.[13] Manchester became a site of poverty and social investigations conducted by academics, campaigning groups and the local council.[14] One of the most detailed surveys was undertaken in 1987 by Manchester City Council, which estimated that '1 in 3 Mancuinans' were in poverty using a definition of poverty as a household lacking three or more basic necessities, which included food and clothing.[15] Findings of its investigation, based on the methodology of the 1983 Breadline Britain study, unequivocally present a climate of mass deprivation: 20,000 households were affected by damp, 30,000 people lived in homes without essential heating, and 80,000 people were unable to afford a roast joint or its equivalent once a week.[16]

[13]A. Kidd, *Manchester* (Keele: 1993), p. 221.
[14] See: R. Snail and D. Byrne, *Breadline Wages: Low Pay in Greater Manchester* (Manchester: 1985); Manchester Joint Consultative Committee, *Health Inequalities in Manchester* (Manchester, 1986); Manchester City Council, *Poverty in Manchester: What is Poverty? Who does it affect? What can we do?* (Manchester: 1986); Manchester Employment Research Group, *Trends in Employment and Unemployment in Manchester* (Manchester: 1987); Manchester City Council, *Poverty in Manchester: The Third Investigation* (Manchester: 1988); and P. Townsend, *Inner City Deprivation and Premature Death in Greater Manchester* (Ashton-Under-Lyne: 1988).
[15] Manchester City Council, *Poverty in Manchester: The Third Investigation*, p. 30.
[16] Manchester City Council, *Poverty in Manchester: The Third Investigation.* p. 4.

The realisation that the WSM had to prioritise the clothing operation over youth projects coalesced with a change in management's understanding of poverty and the purpose of philanthropy. Despite his earlier liberal leanings, in a December 1976 interview with the *Manchester Evening News* covering the experience of his 15 years at the WSM, Arnold Yates put forward views informed by a neo-liberal critique of the welfare state. In accordance with his 1969 interview, he presented the WSM as the real safety net for working-class families in Manchester. However, in contrast to his previous interviews, his criticism of the welfare state was significantly more severe, describing it mockingly as a 'ramshackle house with a leaky roof and the Mission exists to plug the holes'.[17] Analysis of Yates's public statements reveals contradictions with regard to the causation of poverty. In 1969, Yates asserted that one cause of poverty was an intrinsic reluctance to claim benefits. This opinion was reversed in the 1976 interview, in which he expressed an opinion that benefits supported irresponsible behaviour. To quote Yates:

> The state hands out money. And these people go out and buy fish and chips for all the family. They don't realise that they could cook a good darn dinner by shopping for ingredients.[18]

Here, Yates suggested that welfare benefits undermined the virtues of thrift, and that the state had become a cause of poverty. Poverty, in his view, was not a problem of low-income; it was a result of unintentional irresponsible behaviour. In a similar vein to the 1974 annual report, Yates did not refer to Manchester's economic problems of industrial decline and unemployment at any time. Rather, he stuck to a consistent message that inadvertent 'bad' decisions had created a substantial need for

[17] WSM premises, 'Man with a Mission', *Manchester Evening News*, 17 December 1976, p. 10.
[18] WSM premises, 'Man with a Mission', *Manchester Evening News*, 17 December 1976, p. 10.

philanthropy. This was demonstrated in his claim that many fathers, whose families required the help of the WSM, had overspent on cigarettes and alcohol:

> Nobody sets off with the intention of becoming a problem family. But, young couples will produce child after child and can't cope. And when they can't cope it's the kids who suffer. You'll get an unskilled worker spending all his money on smokes and booze. In his thirties, he becomes arthritic and breathless, his income drops and we have to clothe and feed his three children. It happens all the time.[19]

Yates's use of the term 'problem family' signifies that he attributed poverty to poor lifestyle choices, rather than economic forces. His thoughts appear to have been informed by the 'cycles of deprivation' notion, as advocated by Sir Keith Joseph in June 1972, which placed great emphasis on the reproduction of social problems.[20] Indeed, he attributed the need for philanthropy to young couples recklessly having large families without bearing in mind the consequences. Although unstated, Yates subscribed to Joseph's view that effective family planning was a solution to poverty. It is also evident that Yates believed in a generational aspect to poverty by asserting that some young people were trapped in an unbreakable culture of despair. He proclaimed that daily, he saw 'children who will never, never get the opportunity to lead a full life' and that they will become 'twisted at 16 and will never get straight again'.[21] This interview suggests that his political beliefs had changed over the course of his directorship at the WSM, for while he expressed optimistic liberal views concerning the necessity for youth work during the early 1960s, he offered a neo-liberal critique of the welfare state during the mid-1970s.

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[19] WSM premises, 'Man with a Mission', *Manchester Evening News*, 17 December 1976, p. 10.
[20] For an excellent analysis the historical context of Sir Keith Joseph's 'Cycles of Deprivation' speech, see: J. Welshman, 'Ideology, Social Science and Public Policy: The Debate over Transmitted Deprivation', *Twentieth Century British History*, 16:3 (2005), pp. 306-341.
[21] WSM premises, 'Man with a Mission', *Manchester Evening News*, 17 December 1976, p. 10.

Yates stepped down as director in November 1979 (although he still remained on the management committee) to be replaced by his long-standing deputy Delayne Carpenter.[22] She joined the WSM as an office administrator in 1961 under the superintendence of A.L. Owen.[23] After Owen, she became heavily involved with Yates, in the day-to-day running of the clothing distribution and youth club. With over 15 years' experience, she had developed an extensive knowledge of the WSM. Her subsequent appointment as director was based on her long-standing experience, as well as the committee's desire for a smooth transition at a time of growing demand for its poverty relief work.

While Carpenter's predecessors during the post-war period were able to imprint their beliefs and visions on the charitable aims of the WSM, either evangelical (Ada Herbert) or tackling juvenile delinquency (Arnold Yates), her directorship was framed by the necessity to expand its traditional poverty relief activities. Her directorship corresponded with a further significant increase in unemployment, with the 1981 census showing that for Manchester and Salford, the rate of male unemployment stood respectively at 13 per cent and 9 per cent.[24] Moreover, Manchester City Council estimated that unemployment, for both men and women, increased from 11 per cent in 1978 to 24 per cent in 1985.[25] Unlike Yates, Carpenter rarely spoke to the press, only giving one short interview to the *Manchester Evening News* in May 1986, to mark her 25 years at the organization.[26] Her thoughts on poverty and the philanthropic role of the WSM were, nevertheless,

[22] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1979, p. 1.
[23] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1961, p. 7.
[24] Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, *The 1981 Census of England and Wales. County Report: Greater Manchester*. (London: 1982). p. 34 and p.42.
[25] Manchester City Council, *Poverty in Manchester*, p. 4. In this report, Manchester City Council claimed that the Thatcher governments altered the measurement of unemployment 16 times between 1979 and 1985 in order to keep figures low. On the construction of unemployment statistics in post-war Britain, see: W. R. Garfield, *The Measurement of Unemployment in Great Britain*, 1850-1979 (Oxford: 1980).
[26] WSM premises, 'Still with a Mission', 16 May 1986, *Manchester Evening News* p. not stated.

revealed in WSM annual reports. Her writings for the annual report emphasised that high unemployment had returned the WSM to a historic position of mitigating the worst effects of mass scale poverty. In 1984, for example, she referred to being overwhelmed with referrals from local authorities, remarking that 'voluntary organizations in general, and ourselves in particular, are being swamped with clients who have no-one else to turn to'.[27]

Figure 11: Photograph of Delayne Carpenter (far right, with Arnold Yates and Marie Elliot) (1987)
Source: WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1987, p. 6.

In sharp contrast to Yates, Carpenter discussed the problem of poverty and the need for philanthropy in structural terms. In the 1984 annual report, she attributed the increasing demand for charitable assistance to 'cutbacks, high unemployment and the discontinuation of clothing and bedding grants'. Her writing for the 1986 annual

[27] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1984, p. 2.

report continues in a similar vein, as she asserts that poverty is a product of a combination of environmental, economic and social factors:

> Nearly half of Manchester is on or below the Government's 'Poverty Line'. Why has this happened? Industrial decline has cut jobs in Manchester and unemployment has doubled since 1978. Also, a long history of environmental pollution, economic decay and social disadvantage has made Manchester one of the unhealthiest cities in the whole of Europe.[28]

Her views that Manchester was 'one of the healthiest cities in the whole of Europe' echoed major anxieties at the time over housing and health in the most deprived communities of the city. Peter Shapely has noted that, during the 1970s and 1980s, the *Manchester Evening News* and *The Guardian* printed emotive stories describing the awful experience of living in tower blocks in areas including Hulme, Ardwick and Beswick. For example, a *Manchester Evening News* report on housing tensions in Hulme, published in February 1985, carried the headline: 'Horror of the Concrete Jungle: How the Heady Dreams of the 1960s turned into a Human Nightmare'.[29] Health concerns were expressed the following year, when the Manchester Joint Consultative Committee revealed a high incidence of ill-health and disease within Manchester. Discussing its findings for the period 1981 to 1983, it argued that the mortality rate in Manchester for those aged under 65 years was 37 per cent higher than the national average.[30] Nevertheless, it is evident that Carpenter carefully refrained from making any overt political statements in her review, not least because the WSM received significant state funding. For example, no reference is made to either the actions of the Conservative government or proposed policies of the Labour

[28] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1986, p. 2.
[29] *Manchester Evening News*, 22 February 1985, pp. 6-7.
[30] Manchester Joint Consultative Committee, *Health Inequalities in Manchester*, p. 1.

party. As we shall see, securing central and local government funding carried implications that required deft handling.

An important view that Carpenter did express in her writings was that the WSM had to specialise on the clothing operation in responding to unemployment. In 1983, she argued that 'it is impossible for any organization to tackle all the social problems present in modern society', and that 'it is important to be effective in one or two roles rather than to be ineffective in a multiplicity of roles'.[31] Such thinking underpinned the decision to close the advice centre in that year following the retirement of one of the councillors. She argued that there had been a growth of alternative advisory provision since the 1960s, which permitted the WSM to 'withdraw from duplicating facilities that are very well done by other groups, many of whom have become specialists in that field'.[32] Yet it is evident that the WSM's view about specialisation was not completely shared within the charitable field in Manchester during the 1980s. The Manchester Jewish Social Services (MJSS), for example, commented in 1984 on the necessity to maintain a wide breadth of work in order to 'fill a void left by Local Authority cutbacks'.[33] In fact, it sustained several projects, including: a community centre; financial assistance for low-income families; sheltered accommodation for elderly people; and kosher hospital meals for the sick. Annual reports of the Manchester University Settlement (MUS) show that it continued a pioneering role in welfare provision, launching a women's health group in 1984, in addition to running a series of youth projects involving a youth club and a children's literacy initiative.[34]

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[31] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1983, p. 2.
[32] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1983, p. 4.
[33] Manchester Jewish Social Services, *1984 Yearbook and Annual Report & Accounts for 1983* (Manchester: 1984), p. 2; and pp. 22-26.
[34] MUS/2/1/64, *Annual* Report, 1986, p. 1.

Given high levels of unemployment and material deprivation generating significant demand for its poverty relief activities, Carpenter was less idealistic than other post-war superintendents and directors of the WSM. In the 1987 annual report, she asserted that continuity rather than radical change characterised the organization's history, and that the post-war welfare state had made little difference to its work and operation:

> It is written 'the poor will always be with you' and this has proved to be true even during the golden era of the Welfare State, but who would have thought that in our progressive society we would have seen such an increase in the numbers living below the poverty line and finding themselves still needing the intervention of charity. It seems the more things change, the more they remain the same![35]

In his oral testimony, Harold Palmer made a similar point concerning the WSM becoming more pragmatic over time through specialising on the clothing distribution. He argued that an unremitting demand for clothing, especially since the last quarter of the twentieth century, had forced the WSM to realign its priorities from youth work to catering for basic needs. In his view, the failure of state welfare meant that this traditional philanthropic work was, and would continue to remain, the priority for the WSM:

> Well yes, people will get social security, but at the end of the day, they don't have enough money to clothe their kids. Or sometimes even feed their kids. So that [clothing] demand, that challenge is still there. Because the welfare state isn't going to help them. The welfare state doesn't give them money to buy clothes…So that challenge has been with us, and will continue to be with us, in my view for a long time. There would be no change in that challenge.[36]

[35] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1987, p. 3.
[36] Harold Palmer, (pseud.), transcription of the interview by M. Crosher, 15 July, 2009, p. 7.

Specialising on the clothing operation permitted change to the dynamic of the management committee. Clarity over the WSM's philanthropic role, in comparison to the early 1960s prior to Arnold Yates, supported the recruitment of influential figures from Manchester's middle-class business and legal community, rather than welfare professionals directly working in the statutory and voluntary sector. Members of the management committee during the late 1970s and 1980s included: Professor John Goodman, lecturer at the Manchester School of Management, UMIST (joined in 1979); Anthony Fielden, a senior partner at the law firm Cobbett Leak Almond (joined in 1981); and Charles Hadfield of the property surveyors Charles Hadfield and Co (joined in 1984).[37] Committee minutes reveal that members were required to use their connections to help the WSM find clothing and monetary donors during the 1980s. In June 1984, for example, the committee discussed their efforts to forge new contacts that could give clothing, and commented that progress had been made with the Manchester Young Solicitors, the Masons and the Ladies Circle group.[38] Developing an influential network of contacts, especially within finance, business and local government, was fundamental to the WSM's operation. Palmer strongly felt that while having welfare professionals on the committee was important, it was vital to have well-connected members who could support the organization's existing philanthropic work:

> What are the skill sets that you want on the committee? And for an organization like this, well you obviously need financial, you need property, you need legal, you need some skills in investment…You also need some people who have a really good network in the city. The

[37] During the 1990s, WSM annual reports contained short statements from committee members concerning their involvement with the WSM. For Anthony Fielden, see WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1998, p. 5; Charles Hadfield, see WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1998, p. 5; and John Goodman, see, WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1999, p. 5.
[38] WSM premises, Management Committee, 20 June 1984.

> movers and shakers in the city. People who can pick up the phone and talk to the Chief Executive at the Town Hall and things like that.[39]

Reminiscent of the pre-1945 period, familial ties and close professional associations provided access to the WSM management committee. Anthony Fielden, for example, wrote in the 1998 annual report, that his participation in the committee continued a century long connection between the WSM and his firm Cobbett's.[40] The following year, John Goodman wrote that he came to join the WSM through Fredrick Towns, who was his father-in-law.[41] While the organization has always recruited committee members from Manchester's business and legal community, the late 1970s and 1980s saw an increased drive to forge connections with the corporate sector. As we shall see later, the WSM endeavoured to fund its poverty relief work by raising its profile amongst the city's entrepreneurial and banking community through holding promotional lunches and events.

It is evident that, by the 1980s, youth work was no longer a principal concern for the management committee. This was also illustrated by the appointment of Shirley Adams, who replaced Carpenter as director following a decision to take early retirement in November 1987 after 27 years at the WSM. Adams was the first superintendent/director to have previous experience of working at a national voluntary organization. Joining the WSM at 38 years old, she had worked for 12 years in a management role at the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NACRO).[42] Her appointment was not prompted by the desire of the committee to map out a new youth work strategy. Instead, her appointment was intended to provide the fresh impetus that would expand the

[39] Harold Palmer, (pseud.), p. 6.
[40] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1998, p.5.
[41] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1999, p. 5.
[42] WSM premises, Management Committee, 25 November 1987.

clothing operation and raise its profile amongst the public.[43] Despite joining from a different institutional culture, Adams reiterated Carpenter's view that the WSM's principal focus was its clothing distribution. Writing in the 1988/89 annual report, she expressed disillusion about the extent of material deprivation in Manchester, commenting wistfully that 'it is difficult to reconcile that our continued existence relies on continuing poverty'.[44] Superintendents and the management committee were thus tied to the need to enlarge the clothing operation across the late 1970s and 1980s. The next section uses a series of clothing collection and distribution registers, in addition to annual reports and committee minutes, to explore in detail the expansion of this philanthropic work.

The Mechanics of Mass Philanthropy: The Clothing and Toy Distribution

While the clothing distribution became gradually more important during the decade 1965-75, this philanthropic work expanded significantly over the period 1976-1990. Between 1976/77 and 1988/89, the number of families visiting the WSM for clothing doubled, from around 500 to 1,000.[45] Manchester City Council's 1987 poverty study demonstrated that an inability to purchase clothing was a significant problem for many local families. Their study found that 14 per cent of people in the city lacked a warm waterproof coat, 23 per cent lacked two pairs of all-weather shoes, and 19 per cent lacked new clothes.[46] These figures were much higher than the 1983 *Breadline Britain* national study, which revealed 7 per cent for the coat, 11 per cent for shoes

[43] WSM premises, Management Committee, 25 November 1987.
[44] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1989, p.2.
[45] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1976/77, p. 2; and 1989, p. 2.
[46] Manchester City Council, *Poverty in Manchester: The Third Investigation*, p. 3. The findings of the 1983 London Weekend Television commissioned *Breadline Britain* television series were published as a book by Joanna Mack and Stuart Lansley. See J. Mack and S. Lansley, *Poor Britain* (London: 1985).

and 8 per cent for new clothes.[47] A register of clothing applications for the period 1985-87 illustrates great pressure was placed on the WSM by local authorities to provide clothing. In 1986, for example, it distributed clothing to around 930 families, with 550 referred by statutory bodies, including social service departments, health centres and schools.[48]

Pressure on the WSM to expand its clothing operation was heightened by government cutbacks in relation to unemployment benefits and clothing grants.[49] In 1984, the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) highlighted that the 1980 Social Security Act severely tightened rules for clothing claims, including a condition that the need 'has arisen otherwise than by normal wear and tear', which entailed that it is not possible to obtain a payment when a child has outgrown an item of clothing.[50] High unemployment and government cutbacks led to a considerable number of self-referrals for clothing. From the approximate 930 families that received clothing in 1986, almost 340 were self-referred, suggesting that poverty experienced was prolonged and intense in nature.[51] Elaine Kempson constructed a hierarchy of approaches about how low-income families 'make ends meet' during the early 1990s, arguing that accepting charity was one of the last resorts for reasons of stigma.[52] More preferable options to receiving charitable assistance included:

[47] Manchester City Council, *Poverty in Manchester: The Third Investigation*, p. 3.
[48] WSM/9/2/4, Register of Clothing Applications, 1985-87. This register records the date of the request, the address of the recipient, the name of the person who referred the recipient to the WSM; their requirements and the date of collection.
[49] For a thorough analysis of cutbacks to unemployment benefit, see: T. Atkinson and J. Micklewright, 'Turning the Screw: Benefits for the Unemployed, 1979-1988' in A. Dilnot and I. Walker (eds.), *The Economics of Social Security* (Oxford: 1989), pp. 17-51.
[50] T. Raphael and J. Roll, *Carrying the Can: Charities and the Welfare State* (London: 1984), p.12.
[51] WSM/9/2/4, Register of Clothing Applications, 1985-87. This register records the date of the request, the address of the recipient, the name of the person who referred the recipient to the WSM; their requirements and the date of collection.
[52] E. Kempson, A. Bryson and K. Rowlingson, *Hard Times: How Poor Families Make Ends Meet* (London: 1994), p. 275.

spending savings; increasing debt by using consumer credit for regular expenditure; pawning valuables; and selling essential possessions.

Unsurprisingly, the clothing applications also reveal that the WSM distributed clothing to families from several of the most deprived areas across Manchester and Salford, including Ardwick, Miles Platting, Beswick and Longsight.[53] In Beswick, for example, over 50 per cent of schoolchildren qualified for free school meals.[54] Analysis of these clothing applications additionally reveals the gender dimensions of poverty, including women's disadvantage in paid employment and how hardship contests the traditional ideal of a male breadwinner.[55] Women constituted the vast majority of clients, with their young children the main beneficiaries. In February 1986, for example, around 80 per cent of clothing clients were women (51 out of 63 families).[56] From 130 children and adolescents assisted with clothing, almost 35 were in the age group 8-18 years, and over 95 were in the age group 0-8 years. Although the register does not record the family circumstances of applicants, it is likely that these findings reflect the high incidence of poverty amongst lone-parents, the majority of whom were young women. In 1984, 10,000 people in Manchester receiving welfare benefits were classified as one parent families.[57]

Little archival evidence exists with regard to the personal circumstances of families requiring the WSM's assistance. Although letters of applications for assistance have not been deposited in the WSM archive to observe rules of

[53] WSM/9/2/4, Register of Clothing Applications, 1985-87
[54] Manchester City Council, *Poverty in Manchester*, p.12.
[55] For an overview of the relationship of gender and poverty in Britain, see P. Alcock, *Understanding Poverty* (Basingstoke: 3rd edition, 2006), pp. 133-145. For more specific work, see: J. Millar and C. Glendinning, 'Gender and Poverty', *Journal of Social Policy*, 18:3 (1989), pp. 363-81; L. Morris, 'Women's Poor Work' in P.Brown and R.Scase (eds.), *Poor Work and the Disadvantage of Labour* (Milton Keynes: 1991), pp.71-87; and R. Lister, 'She has other duties – Women, Citizenship and Social Security' in S. Baldwin and J. Falkingham (eds.), *Social Security and Social Change: New Challenges to the Beveridge Model* (New York: 1994), pp. 31-44.
[56] WSM/9/2/4, Register of Clothing Applications, 1985-87
[57] Manchester City Council, *Poverty in Manchester*, p. 9.

confidentiality, a few anonymised letters were published in the annual reports. These referral letters stress that families in need of clothing and toys were unfortunate victims of circumstance. For example, its 1985 annual report contains the referral of 'Mrs M' by a social worker, which explains that she is a single parent as a result of bereavement and a victim of crime:

> Mrs M is now a single parent since her husband died two years ago. The house has been burgled and items of furniture and children's clothing stolen. The three children are now desperately short of clothing and the family needs assistance. We are supervising this case due to poor domestic standards and concerns relating to the development of the children.[58]

Another example was the referral by a probation officer of the 'S' family for toys at Christmas, published in the 1987 report.[59] In contrast to 'Mrs M', the 'S' family required assistance due to ill health. The health problem was described as 'significant', although neither the medical condition nor the identity of the afflicted individual was stated. Nevertheless, the letter suggests that the health issue was a cause of unemployment and great anxiety for the parents:

> I wonder if you could help me to take some of the financial burden of Christmas from the 'S' family this year. There are seven children in the family aged from 11 months to 9 years. There is not a wage coming into the household and significant health problems have further added to the family's troubles in recent months. If some toys could be provided, there would be considerable strain lifted from these parents.[60]

These referral letters were carefully selected to delicately convey the point that its clothing clients were worthy of assistance. In effect, they act as promotional tools which underline the limitations of state welfare and emphasises that the WSM helped

[58] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1985, p. 2.
[59] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1987, p. 2.
[60] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1987, p. 2.

'deserving' families, whose hardship was due to bad luck and situations out of their control. At least in part, the desire to present 'deserving' cases was connected to the continuation, well into the 1980s, of negative popular attitudes towards the unemployed. The *British Social Attitudes Survey* found that in 1986, 70 per cent of respondents agreed with the idea that 'large numbers of people falsely claim benefits'.[61] Such a notion corresponded to a developing discourse in the late 1980s and early 1990s of a welfare-seeking 'underclass' as advocated by conservative commentators such as Charles Murray.[62] Presenting clothing beneficiaries as victims of circumstance through referral letters was an almost guaranteed method of generating sympathy from the reader.

Responding to this increase in clothing applications entailed substantial financial investment on the part of the WSM. Using the proceeds of the sale of Birchfield Lodge – which is discussed in the next section – the management committee sanctioned the building of an extension to the clothing room, thereby expanding the storage capacity of its premises. Completed in 1985 at a total cost of £7,000, the clothing room extension meant that statutory and voluntary agencies could increase the number of referrals by a third.[63] Recognition of the need to expand the clothing room in the light of mounting unemployment surfaced in a committee meeting in November 1981. At the meeting, Carpenter reported that the clothing operation had reached full capacity, and that the premises were too small to meet the rising demand. She mentioned that the existing space in the premises limited support to 650 families annually, and that she anticipated a doubling of this

[61] P. Taylor-Gooby, 'Citizenship and Welfare' in S. Witherspoon, L. Brook and R .Jowell (eds.), *British Social Attitudes: The 1987 Report* (Aldershot: 1987), p. 7.
[62] C. Murray, *The Emerging British Underclass* (London: 1990).
[63] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1985, p. 2.

figure.[64] As a result, the building of the clothing room expanded the WSM's capacity to consistently distribute clothing to at least 1,000 families.

The building of the clothing room also gave the WSM the opportunity to further develop its extensive network of donors. Between 1976/77 and 1985/86, the annual number of material donations received increased by about 40 per cent from 738 to 1,186.[65] Significant quantities of clothing were passing through the WSM clothing operation by the mid-1980s. Indeed, the 1,186 donations received in 1985/86 represented approximately 25,000 items of clothing.[66] Under Carpenter, the WSM actively developed its donation base, particularly in the South Manchester and Cheshire areas by arranging door-to-door pickups of clothing through a local removal company. Clothing donation records for the late 1980s and early 1990s show that the WSM made monthly collections across the calendar year from areas surrounding Cheadle, Whalley Range and Stockport, which included small towns such as Sale and Altrincham, and suburbs such as Fallowfield, Withington and East Didsbury.[67] These monthly collections were pivotal to the success of the operation. For example, in 1989, the WSM collected almost 500 donations of clothing from monthly pickups, in addition to the other donations sent to its premises. In this respect, the WSM's clothing operation mirrored the geography of poverty in the Manchester region, with collections from prosperous areas in the south and distributions to deprived communities in the north. This was illustrated in the 1990 annual report, which stated:

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[64] Management Committee, 18 November 1981.
[65] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1976/77, p. 3; and 1986, p. 2.
[66] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1986, p. 2.
[67] See WSM/9/1/2, Clothing Collection Book for Whalley Range, 1988-1993; WSM/9/1/3, Clothing Collection Book for Stockport, 1988-1993; and WSM/9/1/4, Clothing Collection Book for Cheadle, 1987-1993.

> We also tried in the spring to develop parts of the Salford area and parts of North Manchester for donations and we sent out, via the local newspaper, information about the Wood Street Mission to a large number of households. The response was not what we had hoped and so we must try again and this time work through various community groups.[68]

Here is an admission that the WSM could not build a network of donors in the predominantly working-class areas of Salford and North Manchester. Alongside the publication of referral letters from statutory bodies, an important appeal tool during the 1980s was the reproduction of correspondence from families. The 1986 annual report, for example, contained a letter from a 'Mrs M' from New Moston (a different case to that stated in the 1984 report), who required clothing and shoes for her young son, Michael. In the letter, she stated explicitly that she has nowhere else to go for assistance:

> My health visitor gave me your phone number to ring as she knows I'm absolutely penny-less this Christmas. She told me you would help to clothe Michael who is 4 and half years old. I hope you don't find me cheeky, but do you have any shoes also, as Michael has no shoes. If so, I'll give you his shoe size. Thank you. Sorry to have to ask. Thank you, as you are the only people I can turn to. I thank you so much.[69]

A prominent feature of the letter was repeated expressions of gratitude for any help given, which culminates in an emotive admission that 'you are the only people I can turn to'.[70] Other annual reports reproduced letters from families that depicted the importance of the WSM in less bleak terms. Indicative was a 'thank you' letter from an unnamed family in Gorton for its Christmas distribution, which was published in the 1988 report:

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[68] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1989, p. 2.
[69] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1986, p. 3.
[70] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1986, p. 3.

> We thought we would write and thank you for Christmas, the children were tickled to bits with the toys, especially the cuddly teddy, he is really lovely. Someone has gone to a lot of time to make sure the right things, including the food was right for our family. So, may we thank you all very much indeed as, without your help Christmas would have been absolutely awful.[71]

In comparison to the case of 'Mrs M', this letter centres on the service given by the WSM. It praises the WSM for the quality of toys given as illustrated by the description of the teddy bear as 'cuddly' and 'lovely', as well as emphasising the dedication of staff who made sure that their Christmas gifts and food were 'right for our family'.[72] Despite the initial positive tone, the writer of the letter, made clear the severity of their financial hardships, and that their Christmas would have been very difficult and very different without the WSM. While the reproduction of thank you letters in annual reports only emerged in the 1980s, they subtlety reaffirm the pre-1945 imaginings of the WSM. The letter from 'Mrs M' clearly depicts the WSM as a rescuer from poverty, while the letter from the Gorton family emphasises that it provided happiness to children.

Pre-war representations of the WSM also surfaced in its interactions with the media. With clear parallels to the interwar period, the WSM promoted its Christmas toy distribution in the *Manchester Evening News* based on the theme of giving happiness to poor children. This was illustrated in December 1989, with the newspaper covering the WSM's distribution of 1,100 toys to local children with the headline: 'Santa's Never-Ending Mission of Joy'.[73] In fact, this coverage was based on an endeavour to reconstruct the past – the WSM recreated a photograph taken sometime during the 1930s showing a Santa Claus figure walking with children

[71] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1988, p. 3.
[72] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1988, p. 3.
[73] *Manchester Evening News*, 18 December 1989, p.15.

along the cobbles of Wood Street. Figure 12 is the original photograph, which shows a management committee member dressed as Father Christmas, walking down the cobbles of Wood Street with a small group of local children playing instruments. The original photograph was also staged, with children walking neatly in a line and smiling for the camera.

Figure 12: Photograph of Christmas at Wood Street (c. 1930s).
Source: Given by WSM.

Below two photographs, the 1930s original and 1989 recreation, the newspaper provided a synopsis of the WSM's history. This synopsis sought to evoke compassion in readers by posing the question of whether Alfred Alsop believed in 1869 that 'poverty would still be so prevalent' more than a century later?[74] This question, of course, was intended to provoke more than a yes or no response; it sought to convey a message that public donations and support was imperative as the WSM's philanthropic ideals established in 1869 remained as relevant in 1989. Although the WSM did not return to old philanthropic practices, such as the Boxing

[74] *Manchester Evening News*, 18 December 1989, p. 15.

Day distribution, a feature of its promotional efforts in the 1980s was a drawing on its pre-war past.

Under the directorship of Carpenter and Adams, the WSM also adopted new approaches to interaction with the media and the public. While Yates used his standing as a former Chief Superintendent of Manchester City Police in appealing for the WSM, Carpenter and Adams found different ways to generate publicity. In September 1981, the WSM held a month-long exhibition of its history, held at the Trustee Savings Bank in Kings Street, with an event hosted by the Lord Mayor of Manchester.[75] Promoting the WSM's activities also involved using connections to engage with local celebrities. In December 1985, its Christmas 'Toy and Tin' appeal was endorsed in the *Manchester Evening News* by the actress Thelma Barlow, who played the character Mavis Riley in the television soap drama *Coronation Street.*[76] In many respects, she was a good choice to front the appeal, not only because *Coronation Street* was an enormously popular soap, but also her character as a middle-aged housewife fitted the profile of many clothing donors. Her fronting of the appeal was part of a special fundraising event organised by trade union members at UMIST, who had adopted the WSM as their charity.[77] Figure 13 is a photograph of the appeal taken by the newspaper. It shows Thelma Barlow giving toys and food to the WSM as part of the appeal launch, and that the event was relatively well-attended. What is particularly interesting about the photograph is the WSM 'Toy and Tin' appeal sign. As we can see, the sign is very simple, with no religious imagery or depictions of children in poverty.

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[75] (Given by the WSM), Management Committee, 23 September 1981.
[76] *Manchester Evening News*, 12 December 1985, p 15.
[77] WSM premises, Management Committee 13 November 1985. It was stated that the trade unions were the National and Local Government Officers Association (NALGO) and Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs (ASTMS).

Figure 13: WSM 'Toy and Tin' Appeal, (1985).
Source: WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1985, p. 5.

Thelma Barlow's promotion of the 'Toy and Tin' appeal did generate much public interest. In that year, the WSM received donations of toys and food from over 20 groups, ranging from small associations such as Stockport Karate Club and Cheadle and Gatley Ladies' Circle, to large organizations including Granada Television and the Department of the Environment.[78] Barlow's support for the 'Toy and Tin' appeal fits into an expanding culture of celebrity affiliation with philanthropic causes in the final decades of the twentieth century. This included the emergence of fundraising telethons (such as BBC Children in Need adopting the format in 1980), mega events for humanitarian goals (most notably Live Aid in 1985), and the growth of charity singles.[79] Additionally, the WSM endeavoured to promote its cause via fundraising telethons. As Paul Longmore argues with reference to disability in the United States, fundraising telethons were an effective medium for communicating traditional ideas about philanthropy, with recipients of charity carefully constructed as figures whose

[78] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1985, p. 5.
[79] On the growth of charity singles in the 1980s, see: L. Robinson, 'Putting the Charity Back into Charity Singles in Britain, 1984-1995', *Contemporary British History*, 26:3, pp. 405-425.

'pathetic situation or heroic striving touches the hearts of readers and viewers'.[80] It is evident that the WSM had success in this area for in December 1990, it received grants from Children in Need and Granada Telethon, and its Christmas appeal was filmed by Granada for a short Christmas Day broadcast on how telethon money was spent.[81]

In summary, the WSM significantly expanded its clothing operation over the late 1970s and 1980s to deal with an unprecedented post-war demand for poverty relief stemming from unemployment, low-wages and government cutbacks. Developing its clothing distribution entailed major operational changes, including increasing investment in premises and undertaking direct clothing pick-ups. These operational changes represented a prioritising of its traditional poverty relief activities, and a move away from youth-work ambitions.

Ending Yates's Youth Projects: The Finishing of the Youth Club and the Sale of Birchfield Lodge

This expansion of the clothing distribution coincided with the curtailing of projects for young people launched by Arnold Yates during the 1960s. The WSM closed its youth club, finished the advice centre, and ended its provision of outdoor pursuits at Birchfield Lodge between 1978 and 1983. The closing of the youth club was especially significant, not least because Yates had viewed the project, and its running of the DofE scheme, as a vital measure to tackle juvenile delinquency. Signalling the end of the youth club was Manpower Service Commission (MSC) funding for its Job Creation Programme (JCP), which enabled the WSM to open a recreational centre

[80] P Longmore, 'The Framing of Disability: Telethons as a Case Study', *PMLA* 120:2 (March., 2005), p. 506.
[81] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1990, p. 2.

for young city workers in 1977.[82] As we shall see, there was much demand for sports facilities amongst city young workers, which encouraged Delayne Carpenter and the management committee to obtain further funding for the creation of a sports centre at the expense of the youth club. Closing the youth club appeared to be a straightforward decision. In the December 1976 interview with the *Manchester Evening News*, Yates claimed that youth club initiatives struggled to materialise as a consequence of the deterioration of factory built estates. He provided this example to the newspaper, which in turn, described youth club members as being 'captives' and 'causalities' of the housing problem:

> The Mission organises a band. It disintegrates because the kids, captives of the terrible Salford tower blocks, cannot practice without neighbours banging indignantly on flimsy walls. One of the casualties is a girl who would, eventually, have been good enough to play professionally.[83]

This example goes beyond conveying a sense of despair and disillusionment within local housing estates; it also suggests that Yates grew increasingly frustrated with youth work. The failure to help the girl fulfil her gift for music could be read as an admission by Yates that he was now unable to realise his own ambition to give young people 'outlets for their enthusiasm' and 'their many talents' as stated when he first joined the WSM.[84] Although there is a real lack of information concerning the operation of the youth club during the 1970s due to the omission of committee minutes and directors reports, the project did experience a long-term decrease in membership from 650 in 1965 to 100 in 1975, as briefly noted in Chapter 2. This decrease in membership was, to some degree, a product of a changing youth culture in Manchester. As Bill Osgerby has noted, a distinctive music scene and sub-cultural

[82] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1976/77, p. 2.
[83] *Manchester Evening News*, 17 December 1976, p.10.
[84] *The Guardian*, 3 May 1962, p. 18.

style emerged in Manchester, progressing from a thriving punk movement during the late 1970s (with bands such as the Buzzcocks and Joy Division) to the dance-orientated 'Madchester' phenomenon of the 1980s associated with Factory Records and the Hacienda nightclub.[85] In this respect, the commercial coffee bar model adopted by the WSM for its youth club during the early 1960s had become obsolete by the late 1970s. Finishing the youth club was, therefore, a logical choice for Carpenter and the management committee in the light of the immediate success of the sports centre.

Most importantly, the WSM brought to a close its provision of outdoor pursuits at Birchfield Lodge that marked the end of a century of providing free residential holidays for children. While Carpenter did express a view about the necessity to specialise on the clothing operation, the decision to end visits to Birchfield Lodge was unplanned. Although Yates had suggested in 1975 that the WSM sell Birchfield Lodge as a solution to the problem of rising inflation, it appears that the deal in 1981 was unplanned and not part of a wider long-term strategy. Birchfield Lodge was not advertised for sale, and its operation even generated a small profit of almost £2,000 in 1978/79.[86] The sale of Birchfield Lodge was initiated with a speculative offer of £140,000 in the autumn of 1981 from the Greater Manchester Youth Association (GMYA). Founded in 1908 – the GMYA was an umbrella organization for youth clubs, with a long-established role of arranging sports competitions, insurance cover, and training courses for workers and club members.[87] Affiliated with over 200 youth groups in the late 1970s, the GMYA

[85] B. Osgerby, Youth in Britain since 1945 (Oxford: 1994), pp. 170-175.
[86] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1979, p. 7.
[87] For an organizational history, see: K. V. Parker, *A History of the Greater Manchester Youth Association* (Manchester: 1978).

supported schemes for young people in disadvantaged communities, including telephone counselling and a literacy project.[88]

What prompted the sale of Birchfield Lodge were concerns, amongst Carpenter and the management committee, about how demand for outdoor pursuits would fare in a climate of local authority cuts.[89] Anxieties about the financial sustainability of Birchfield Lodge were reported in the 1980 annual report, which noted that bookings for 1981 totalled just two-thirds of the previous year.[90] In addition, management committee minutes illustrate concern about falling demand. In January 1981, the committee observed that bookings 'were very much poorer than previous years', that advertising had 'recruited little new business', and concluded that the problem was a result of 'government L.A cut-backs, increases in our own charges and the general recession'.[91] Close voluntary sector networks underpinned the WSM's sale of Birchfield Lodge to the GMYA. In her oral testimony, Hayley Lawrence mentioned that she personally knew the Director of the GMYA, Mike Payne. She recalled that the GMYA had an expanding interest in outdoor pursuits, but that their attempts to purchase a centre had fallen through at the last minute when they had already employed staff and taken bookings for the initiative:

> In fact, the man who ran it [the Greater Manchester Youth Association] Mike Payne, I was on the appointment board that appointed him for that job…But what had happened there, was they as youth association, wanted to have a centre themselves, and they had actually purchased a place, think it was in the Lakes, And they got courses signed up, and they were working with Police Cadets, and they got courses signed up and staff employed, and the sale fell through. So, they approached us to see if

[88] WSM premises, 'Service to Youth – The Work of the Greater Manchester Youth Association', *Countrywide*, December 1978-February 1979, pp. 6-8.
[89] On the Thatcher government's reforms of local government, see: S. Bailey and R. Paddison, *The Reform of Local Government Finance in Britain* (London: 1988); J .E. Kingdom, *Local Government and Politics in Britain* (London: 1991); and H. Atkinson and S Wilks-Heeg, *Local Government from Thatcher to Blair* (Cambridge: 2000).
[90] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1980, p.4.
[91] WSM premises, Management Committee, 7 January 1981.

> we were willing to sell Birchfield Lodge. It was never on the market. This was an approach. And of course, it was an answer to a prayer, as we were going downhill with it.[92]

Hayley's recollections suggest that the WSM enthusiastically accepted the GMYA's offer for Birchfield Lodge, remarking that the bid was 'an answer to a prayer'. For the GMYA, the building was fully operational permitting them to fulfil their contractual obligations without requiring significant additional building costs. Despite suiting both parties, it is clear that the deal almost collapsed due to the unpredictability of state funding. WSM Management committee minutes regarding these negotiations acutely reveal the tensions of reliance on government funding. Specifically, the GMYA were dependent on obtaining a £60,000 grant from the Department of Education and Science, which caused much uncertainty over the purchase of the building. In November 1981, the WSM management committee noted that the GMYA had paid £80,000 and taken possession of Birchfield Lodge on 30 October, but that there was still the possibility that the sale might collapse, from either the failure of the grant application or the Charity Commission's refusal to sanction the purchase.[93] Arrangements were subsequently made in the event of these two scenarios, with the WSM returning £80,000 to the GMYA in both cases, but keeping the interest payments from the instalment if the government grant failed. Only fully completed in January 1982, the deal hung in the balance for around six months.[94]

Although unintended, the sale of Birchfield Lodge certainly suited the interests of the WSM. On the surface, it alleviated immediate anxieties about demand for outdoor pursuits in a climate of local authority cuts. More fundamentally, it provided

[92] Hayley Lawrence (pseud.), interviewed by M. Crosher, 23 July 2009. Transcript, p. 4.
[93] WSM premises, Management Committee, 18 November 1981.
[94] WSM premises, Management Committee, 20 January 1982.

long-term financial security as the proceeds of £140,000 allowed the WSM to both pay its bank overdraft, and place significant funds in its reserve account. Indeed, in January 1982, the Treasurer of the WSM, J. Fielden, stated in a committee meeting that after payment of the bank overdraft and staff compensation, there would be a profit of around £85,000.[95] The ending of Arnold Yates's youth projects during the late 1970s and early 1980s should therefore, not be seen as part of a considered strategy, but rather as responses to unforeseen circumstances. Yet it is evident that the WSM's efforts to undertake youth work became increasingly difficult and less fruitful in the light of high unemployment, housing degradation and local authority cuts. As indicated by Lawrence's comments, there appeared to be no resistance to curtailing the youth work projects. In the case of Birchfield Lodge, its sale illustrates the immediate importance of state funding and voluntary sector networks in shaping charitable work. This is also shown in the next section on WSM participation in the Job Creation Programme.

The Job Creation Programme and the WSM Sports Centre

One of the WSM's most important decisions between November 1975 and December 1990 was to participate in the Job Creation Programme (JCP) of the Manpower Services Commission (MSC). An initiative of the Labour governments of 1974-79, the JCP attempted to tackle industrial decline in urban areas by providing temporary employment to young people on community projects.[96] The WSM's decision to apply for JCP funding was motivated by the decline of the youth club and influenced by its connections to the GMYA. Hayley Lawrence recalled that Mike

[95] WSM premises, Management Committee, 20 January 1982.
[96] Brenton, *The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services*, p. 100.

Payne informed the WSM about the JCP and provided guidance on the funding application:

> The youth club had fizzled out by this time. And then we had the big cry again, what do we do with this building? And we heard about this job creation scheme, again from Mike Payne of Greater Manchester Youth Association, and he was extremely helpful to us. He explained that we could get a scheme up to create jobs that were allied with part of our work. Anyway, he told us where to apply and we applied for it.[97]

But, it should also not be forgotten that a shifting economic terrain also framed the decision to apply for the JCP. While the WSM youth club was established amidst concerns about a 'corrupting' influence of post-war prosperity in the early 1960s, its application for the JCP was a product of deindustrialisation and rising unemployment during the late 1970s. The idea of a JCP recreational centre was nevertheless, not part of a radical break with the past in the same vein as Yates's decision to launch of experimental projects, such as the advice centre and outdoor pursuit scheme. What supported the idea of a recreational centre – and not something completely different – was a desire to utilise sports equipment used at the youth club. In this respect, the recreational centre was intended to be a reinvention of the youth club. Lawrence explains:

> So we started this of [the recreational centre] and initially, and I think we just had keep-fit, football and table-tennis. Similar things we had with the youth club, the stuff that we had. Oh, and badminton. And these were all the same things we had done when we had the young people in when we had the youth club.[98]

Through a grant of £18,700 obtained in April 1977, the WSM started the centre alongside the youth club.[99] This extensive funding from the JCP permitted the WSM

[97] Hayley Lawrence (pseud), p. 10.
[98] Hayley Lawrence (pseud), p. 10.
[99] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1976/77, p. 17.

to appoint new staff, particularly young people looking for their first job. Records of the organization's running of the JCP show that an extra seven employees were added to its weekly payroll, with an average wage of £38.[100] Despite the financial appeal, it was apparent that running government programmes was not always straightforward for voluntary organizations. Maria Brenton has pointed out that many voluntary groups found it difficult to administer the JCP due to a lack of experience keeping accurate financial records and expertise in handling a large workforce.[101] In the case of the WSM, its management of the JCP entailed some controversy. In April 1978, the *Manchester Evening News* reported that an employee on the Job Creation Programme had taken the WSM to an industrial tribunal.[102] At the tribunal, it was ruled that the WSM had unfairly dismissed Donald Egan, who was previously employed as an assistant youth leader. Speaking at the hearing, Yates argued that Egan was dismissed because 'he made no effort to find a permanent job, which was expected under the scheme', took 'no part in club activities', and made 'no effort to develop his talent for graphic art'.[103] In contrast, other witnesses claimed that Egan was 'talented artistically and a valuable member of the team', but 'not good at games'.[104] Rather than struggling with the bureaucratic aspects of the JCP, the WSM's difficulties in managing the scheme stemmed from an apparent strict handling of young people.

Despite this episode with the industrial tribunal, the experience of JCP was positive as a whole for the WSM. In total, the WSM provided temporary employment to 35 young people between April 1977 and March 1978. In her history of the WSM, Delayne Carpenter stated that many JCP employees used the work

[100] WSM/4/3/1, Job Creation Programme Day Book, 1977-78.
[101] Brenton, *The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services*, p. 101.
[102] WSM premises, 'Sacking Rap for Mission', *Manchester Evening News*, 17 April 1978, p. 5.
[103] WSM premises, 'Sacking Rap for Mission', *Manchester Evening News*, 17 April 1978, p. 5.
[104] *Manchester Evening News*, 17 April 1978, p. 5.

experience as a platform to pursue careers in social work, teaching and nursery care.[105] Furthermore, the recreational centre proved to be a success for the management committee, attracting approximately 300 visitors for its sports facilities each week in 1978.[106] Contributing to the success of the centre was its business-orientated promotion, even though it was not a profit-driven initiative as a result of funding conditions. This was exemplified in the 1976/77 annual report, which contained a special report on the project. The opening paragraphs discuss the value of the project in neither charitable nor social terms:

> For those young people living and working in the city, the Wood Street Club offers the possibility of doing more with a lunch break than grabbing a swift meal and a pint! True, Wood Street *does* offer meals and snacks at very competitive prices to be enjoyed in the comfort of the coffee and small games lounge. But there *is* more…For a small fee, the club is able to offer facilities for playing badminton, five-a-side soccer, table tennis, snooker and billiards, pool and darts amongst others! And, unlike most sports centres, no additional charge is made for equipment hire.[107]

Directed to young working men and women, the report is essentially an advertisement for the recreational centre. Commercial influences were indicated by the use of both exclamation marks and italics as a way to draw the reader's attention to benefits of the project. Most importantly, there was great emphasis placed on the 'competitive' pricing of the recreational centre, and the way in which the pricing corresponded to other gyms and organizations. For the first time in its post-war history, the WSM promoted is activities along commercial lines.

The evident demand for the recreation centre encouraged the WSM to apply for further state grants to expand the initiative. In April 1978, the WSM obtained a combined funding from the Sports Council and Greater Manchester Council to the

[105] WSM/18/2/3, Wood Street Mission – 25 Year History, 1962-1987, p. 17.
[106] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1978, p. 4.
[107] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1976/77, p. 7.

sum of £16,900.[108] With the aid of funding, the WSM transformed its premises into a fully operational sports centre and multi-gym with three staff, offering modern facilities for sports (including football and badminton) and classes in keep-fit and self-defence. Central to its running of the sports centre was further government funding via the Manchester and Salford Inner City Partnership.[109] Established in 1977, the Manchester/Salford ICP was another product of deindustrialisation and rising unemployment across the area, with the initiative involving a central and local collaboration to tackle urban problems of 'economic decline', 'physical decay' and 'social disadvantage'.[110] In effect, the WSM pitched its sports centre as an urban regeneration project, and received between £10,000 and £13,000 annually through the programme from 1980/1981 to 1988/89.[111] It is evident that the WSM carved out a niche with the sports centre, responding to a significant demand for fitness facilities in Manchester. Throughout the mid-1980s, the popularity of the sports centre saw it attract around 30,000 visitors annually.[112] Its 1987 annual report, for example, stated that the sports centre operated at full capacity, remarking that the project was 'booming' and that its sessions were 'packed every day'.[113] Success was due to a continued low-price that enticed young city workers, in addition to its location in the heart of Manchester. Without either membership or subscription fees, the sports centre was a non-profit initiative that appealed to a broad group of young workers wanting to keep-fit, but unwilling or unable to pay the costs of more commercial and prestigious gyms. Figure 14 is a photograph of the multi-gym

[108] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1978, pp. 12-13.
[109] For the purpose of conciseness, the Manchester and Salford Inner City Partnership will be hereafter referred to the Manchester/Salford ICP.
[110] Manchester/ Salford Partnership Committee, *Preliminary Report on Problems, Priorities and Key Issues* (Manchester: 1978), pp. 2-16.
[111] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1981, p. 10; 1989, p. 5.
[112] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1987, p. 4.
[113] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1987, p. 4.

facilities published in the 1984 annual report, which is intended to present the sports centre to readers as modern, spacious and clean.

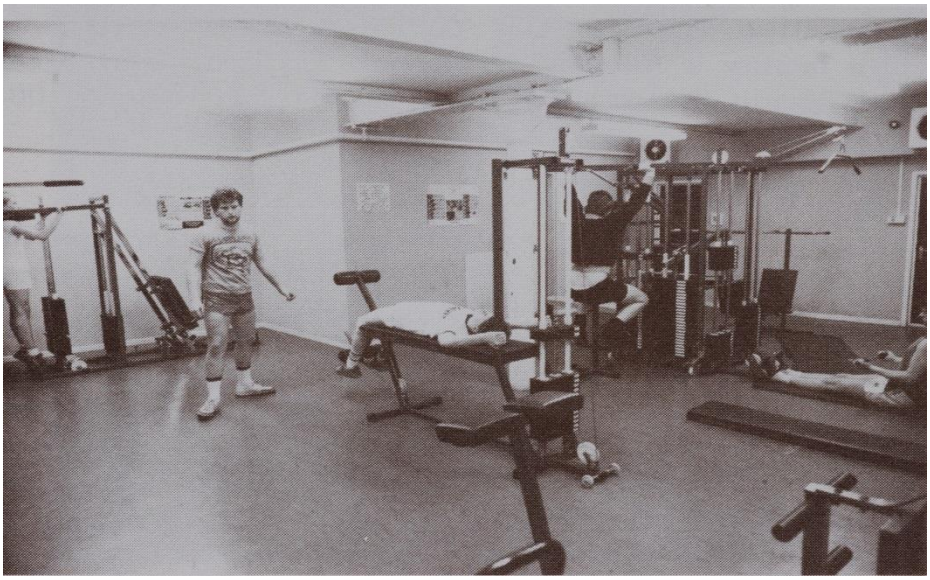

Figure 14 – WSM Sports Centre, (1984).
Source: WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1984, p. 5.

The WSM sports centre did not exclusively cater for young workers. One important development arising from the project was a sport coaching scheme intended to mitigate juvenile delinquency. Starting in 1980, the WSM provided coaching in popular sports to excluded school pupils and juvenile offenders in cooperation with statutory and voluntary agencies running intermediate treatment and educational programmes.[114] Recognising a space in statutory and voluntary provision, the WSM offered its three sports centre staff and facilities free-of-charge to organizations, including specialist schools and local branches of NACRO. Long-term relationships were established with these organizations, indicating that they viewed the coaching

[114] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1980, pp.3-4; and WSM/18/2/3, Wood Street Mission – 25 Year History, 1962-1987, p. 18. For an overview of intermediate treatment, see: J. Muncie, *Youth and Crime* (London: 2009), p. 278. For a policy review to intermediate treatment during the 1970s, see: Personal Social Services Council, *A Future for Intermediate Treatment* (London: 1977).

as beneficial to the young people in their care. Between 1982/83 and 1988/89, the WSM worked with six organizations in Manchester, which included: Ridgeway Intermediate Treatment Centre, Moss Side; Southern Cross Special School, Chorlton; and Parkway Intermediate Treatment Centre, Beswick.[115] Although not a priority activity for the WSM, it is apparent that the sports coaching scheme filled a gap within the probation and educational services, with approximately 2,300 children involved in this initiative in 1985/86.[116]

This sports coaching scheme was started against a background of media-induced fear of crime and criminal activity, aggravated by unemployment. Indicative of this anxiety was a *Manchester Evening News* feature in January 1980 entitled 'The Violent City', which provocatively claimed that the Sharston Green area of South Manchester was 'a mugger's paradise'.[117] While records of the participants on this sports coaching scheme were not held by the WSM, annual reports indicate that unemployment underpinned the problems of young people receiving sports coaching. This was illustrated in the 1984 annual report, which documented the impact of the scheme on a young man named 'Keith'.[118] In the case of 'Keith', the image was presented of an initially manipulative and childish unemployed young man, who influenced and pressurised others into being disruptive on the scheme, but whose behaviour gradually improved with help from the WSM:

> Keith was a very immature young man who could easily sway his peers into following his anti-social attitude towards our training programme. Through another contact he started on a work experience scheme, since when we found he could respond well to responsibility. Thinking about getting a job has obviously given him a more responsible attitude and he has become a most useful and helpful member of the group.[119]

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[115] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1984, p. 4; and 1989, p.1.
[116] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1986, p. 4.
[117] *Manchester Evening News*, 4 January 1980, p. 15.
[118] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1984, p.5.
[119] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1984, p .5.

It appears that 'Keith' found it difficult to deal with not being able to find work, reflecting the problem of youth unemployment in Manchester during the 1980s. The WSM used its contacts to find him a work placement, which apparently made him more reliable and conscientious. Unsurprisingly, it was claimed that the scheme transformed young people's outlook and behaviour. This was also shown in another example in the report: 'Shelia'. In contrast to 'Keith', the case of 'Shelia' was significantly more serious. While statutory authorities have sensitively termed those on intermediate treatment programmes as 'children in trouble', her case was expressed in severe terms as a means to emphasise the importance of this work to the reader.[120] Describing 'Sheila' as 'disturbed' and 'maladjusted', it was explicitly declared that she had violent tendencies, and originally rejected all efforts to help her:

> Sheila was a member of a group of disturbed and maladjusted youngsters using our facilities one afternoon each week. She was violent and abusive to staff and refused to take part in any activities. Gradually, we were able to draw alongside her and form a bond. As time went on, she began to respond to an interest being taken in her and started to make small items of pottery for members of staff. She is said to be now one of the keenest participators, especially in badminton and squash, and really looks forward to coming.[121]

Similar to 'Keith', it was claimed that her behaviour slowly improved through the sports coaching scheme, as close attention was paid to her well-being: 'Shelia' reciprocated the efforts of WSM staff to connect with her by making them little presents. The assertion about her present making is significant – it is suggestive that she had developed virtues of kindness and thoughtfulness through the sports

[120] See: Department of Health and Social Security, *Intermediate Treatment: A Guide for the Regional Planning of New Forms of Treatment for Children in Trouble* (London: 1971).
[121] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1984, p. 5.

coaching. It is important to note that the cases of 'Keith' and 'Sheila' are discussed in non-religious terms, with no reference made to Christian guidance. Secularisation remained integral to the WSM's efforts to develop 'good' citizenship during the 1980s.

Although the examples of 'Shelia' and 'Keith' published in this annual report present the sports coaching scheme very favourably, it is almost certain that there were varying degrees of success, with some embracing and others rejecting this work. It is interesting to compare the experience of 'Keith' and 'Sheila' at the WSM with an intermediate treatment project undertaken by Barnardo's. Over the period 1980-1983, approximately 25 per cent of young people participating by direction of the courts in the Barnardo's project in Speke in Liverpool, later re-offended.[122] However, correspondence does suggest that statutory and voluntary organizations appreciated the WSM's sports coaching scheme. This was illustrated in a letter sent in May 1990 from the Head of Southern Cross Special School, M. Howard, with regard to the closure of the sports centre (which will be discussed in detail in the next section).[123] Howard argued that the sports coaching programme – a vital aspect of its work with young people – would be 'sorely missed'. Moreover, he praised WSM sports centre staff for their tolerance and empathy, and argued that they helped break down barriers between their teachers and young people. He wrote:

> The building itself was ideal; many sports halls are off putting for children experiencing emotional and behavioural problems. Most importantly, the contribution made by John, Tony and Jane [WSM sports centre staff] has enabled many children to see community facilities and the adults who supervise them in a different light, breaking down prejudices, which in turn, makes facilities in their own districts more accessible when they leave school.[124]

[122] SRA, D239, A3, 1/123a, Barnardo's, *Annual Report* 1983, p.12.
[123] WSM/18/1/10, Letter from M. J Howard to S. Adams, 15 May 1990.
[124] WSM/18/1/10, Letter from M. J Howard to S. Adams, 15 May 1990.

The involvement of the WSM on the JCP, and its later establishment of a sports centre, added a new dimension to its relationship with local communities. Through the JCP and the sports centre, the WSM had a direct role in promoting employment, assisting with urban regeneration and working with juvenile offenders. Most importantly, the sports centre opened the WSM to the public, helping to raise awareness of its charitable work. As we shall see, the establishment of the sports centre did coincide with a substantial increase in charitable giving. The next section explores the financial operation of the WSM, with particular attention to the economic implications of the sports centre.

Financing Mass Poverty relief and Navigating Government Funding

Although the Thatcher government's promotion of the voluntary sector led to an increase in central government funding, cuts to local authority budgets were a great cause of concern to charities that had depended on this revenue stream.[125] As we have seen, the sale of Birchfield Lodge in 1981 greatly eased the WSM's monetary pressures by enabling it to settle its bank overdraft, and deposit considerable funds in its reserve account. Profits from the sale, in addition to the receipt of significant legacies, raised its reserve funds from £30,457 in 1979/80 to £147,076 in 1981/82.[126] Until the sale of Birchfield Lodge, the WSM continued to experience financial problems as a consequence of the inflation crisis. In their Honorary Treasurers' statements for 1977, Michael Evans and Philip Livesey argued that the long-term future of the WSM was at great risk, as annual losses over the past two years had

[125] G. Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain, 1830 – 1990* (Oxford: 1994), pp. 374-375.
[126] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1982, p. 10.

totalled £46,000.[127] Furthermore, the WSM was only able 'to keep its financial head above water' by short-term measures and fortuitous developments, such as the receipt of legacies, the sale of investments and support from the bank.[128] Although unforeseen, the sale of Birchfield Lodge was a blessing by allowing the management committee to clear its debts, placing the WSM on a more secure financial footing.

Anxieties over local authority cuts in the late 1980s also prompted a renewed drive by the management committee to raise the WSM's profile amongst Manchester's entrepreneurial and banking community. In February 1980, the committee decided to alter the format of the AGM by holding a special invitational lunch, wherein members would invite local prominent businessmen and bankers. Invitations were sent to major local businesses, including the manufacturing company Turner and Newall, and the textile firm Thomas French and Co. Ltd.[129] Fundraising dinners were also arranged to promote the WSM, including a subscription dinner organised in May 1981 at the Belgrade Hotel in Stockport, in which the Chief Constable of Manchester, James Anderton was the guest speaker.[130] Overall, these efforts were unsuccessful as charitable giving decreased by £1,000 between 1979/80 and 1981/82.[131] A deeds of covenant register covering the period 1971-85 shows a relatively small number of financial subscribers to the WSM during the early 1980s.[132] The register shows that less than 300 people subscribed to the WSM between November 1981 and October 1982, with only 21 people willing to donate more than £15.

[127]WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1976/77, p. 17.
[128]WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1976/77, p. 17.
[129] WSM premises, Management Committee, 6 February 1980.
[130] WSM permises, Management Committee, 7 January 1981.
[131] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1980, p 8; and 1982, p. 10.
[132] WSM/9/1/1, Deeds of Covenant Register, 1971-1985.

What appears to have been more effective in generating charitable giving was the growth of the sports centre, the expansion of which coincided with an increase in subscriptions and donations, rising from £6,280 in 1983/84 to £16,370 in 1986/87.[133] Nevertheless, it is evident that investment income, rather than charitable giving, formed the main revenue stream for the WSM. In 1982/83, 43 per cent of its current account income derived from investments, with 12 per cent from charitable giving, 18 per cent from state grants, and 27 per cent from sports centre receipts.[134] Between 1981/82 and 1989/90, the organization's investment income rose between £23,313 and £33,404.[135]

Financial records indicate a concerted effort by the WSM to develop its portfolio of investments. A register of dividends covering the period 1984-1991, shows that the WSM had acquired shares in over 20 companies, including British Petroleum, Cadbury's Schweppes and Midland Bank.[136] The register also shows that the WSM had 13 investments in treasury stocks, with each guaranteeing a return of over £500 per year.[137] Alternatively, cash books show that property rents through its co-ownership of 52 Bridge Street (acquired in 1973 for £13,000) became an important revenue stream under the housing boom of the 1980s. Rental income almost doubled from approximately £6,500 in 1982/83 to £12,500 in 1988/89. Major increases in yields demonstrated the significance of the WSM's investment portfolio. Between 1975/76 and 1984/85, the organization's returns from investments rose by almost six-fold from £3,697 to £24,707.[138]

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[133] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*,1984, p 7; and 1987, p. 13.
[134] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1983, p. 10.
[135] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*,1982, p 10; and 1990, p. 5.
[136] WSM/7/3, Register of Dividends and Legacies, 1984-1991.
[137] WSM/7/3, Register of Dividends and Legacies, 1984-1991.
[138] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1976/77, p. 10; and 1985, p. 7.

Investment income funded the growth of its traditional poverty relief work during the 1980s. A promotional pamphlet written by Carpenter in 1985 entitled 'Projects for Funding' stated that the combined costs of running the clothing and toy distribution totalled £11,100, comprising of: £4,000 for 2 part-time workers; £3,000 for toy and food Christmas parcels for 150 families; £2,000 for clerical administration; £1,100 for advertising, telephone and postage; £1,000 for clothing collection transport.[139] The significance of the WSM's investment portfolio also covered deficits concerning the operation of the centre. Even though there was high demand for the sports centre, the project proved to be a drain on the WSM's resources. Indeed, the 'Projects for Funding' pamphlet stated that the sports centre cost £49,611 to operate, while revenue totalled £29,037 through both funding and income at the door.[140] This spending included: £20,700 for salaries of three staff; £10,000 for administration; £17,590 for building maintenance; and £1,324 for office expenses.[141] Although the sports centre did raise a solid income, it is evident that the project was not financially viable without either investment income or grants from the Manchester/Salford ICP.

Despite financing the sports centre, the receipt of state funding was a cause of anxiety for Carpenter and the management committee. This issue arose from the fact that such grants were based on a three year cycle, a situation that undermined the long-term financial security of the WSM. As Geoffrey Finlayson notes, the Thatcher governments were reluctant, in spite of their rhetoric, to undertake the long-term core funding of charities, preferring instead to finance projects on a short-term basis.[142] Committee minutes reveal that the temporary nature of this funding caused much

[139] WSM/12/2, 'Promotional Facility titled Projects for Funding', p. 1.
[140] WSM/12/2, 'Promotional Facility titled Projects for Funding', p. 3.
[141] WSM/12/2, 'Promotional Facility titled Projects for Funding', p. 3.
[142] Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain*, p. 376.

concern. In July 1986, for example, Carpenter reported to the committee that the cycle for this funding was coming to an end, and that she had received no assurances about future funding opportunities. Moreover, she indicated a belief that the WSM needed to be politically mindful as successful applications had to conform to Labour Party policies:

> Mrs Carpenter reported that the Inner Cities Grant meeting had not resulted in any further progress. The City Council stated they would not issue a 'blank cheque' to voluntary agencies. We were told that no project would be taken onto mainstream funding without first a review taking place to assess the project's worth to the council and its compliance with City Council and Labour Party policies.[143]

Similar issues have been highlighted in a detailed case study of the Manchester/Salford ICP by Gwyndaf Williams, who noted that the relationship between the statutory and voluntary sector was not a harmonious one. Williams argued that local authorities, by their control of funds, exerted excessive influence over voluntary organizations, who consequently became disillusioned with the initiative.[144] Although the WSM managed to obtain funding through the Manchester/Salford ICP after this July 1986 meeting, it proved to be relatively short-lived. In December 1989, the WSM made an unsuccessful public appeal in the *Manchester Evening News* for donations due to the withdrawal of the grant.[145] Neither annual reports nor committee minutes provide any insight into why the funding was retracted, although it is evident that Adams and the committee wanted to retain the project. Yet this was not to occur at the expense of damaging the organization's long-term financial security. Six months after the public appeal, the WSM was forced to close the sports centre as it became untenable without the

[143] WSM premises, Management Committee, July 16, 1986.
[144] G. Williams, *Inner City Policy: A Partnership with the Voluntary Sector* (London: 1983), pp.68 – 70.
[145] *Manchester Evening News*, December 1 1989, p 30.

funding; expenditure for the project was over £46,000 in 1988/89, while revenue at the door totalled around £26,880.[146] By June 1990, the clothing and toy distribution was the sole project run by the WSM.

Conclusions

By exploring the WSM's work and operation from November 1975 to December 1990, this chapter has provided an important insight into how a small philanthropic institution responded to the Thatcher governments' economic and welfare reforms. Although historians and social policy academics, including Nicolas Deakin and Pat Thane, have examined the impact, at a national level, of the Thatcher governments' neo-liberal policies on the voluntary sector, this study of the WSM shed light on how these reforms affected the provision of welfare on a micro level.[147] The chapter establishes that the WSM significantly expanded its long-standing poverty relief activities during the 1980s. Increasing unemployment combined with social security cut-backs supported an environment of mass hardship and deprivation across Manchester, which forced the WSM to distribute clothing on an unprecedented post-war scale. As we have seen, the severity of poverty and deprivation was acutely illustrated by the significant number of self-referrals for clothing during the mid-1980s.

This micro investigation of the WSM has also furthered knowledge of the interplay between the post-war welfare state and voluntary sector under the Thatcher governments. Nicolas Crowson, for example, has noted the 1980s witnessed a major rethink about the contribution of the state to social welfare, and a renewed emphasis

[146] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1988/89, p. 1.
[147] N. Deakin, 'The Perils of Partnership: The Voluntary Sector and the State, 1945-1992' in J. Davis Smith, C. Rochester & R. Hedley (eds.) , *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector* (London: 1995), pp. 55-63; and Thane, 'Voluntary Action in Britain since Beveridge', pp. 130-132.

on expanding the scale of voluntary action.[148] The case of the WSM indicates that small, local charitable organizations struggled to maintain their range of welfare provision in the light of increasing need for poverty relief. While the WSM was able to expand its clothing operation, the management committee ended its youth work launched in the 1960s. Indeed, between 1978 and 1983, the WSM finished its youth club, advice centre and provision of outdoor pursuits at Birchfield Lodge. Expanding the clothing operation and curtailing youth projects altered the WSM's relationship to the post-war welfare state. In contrast to the 1960s, in which the WSM emphasised its value to statutory authorities by launching innovative projects, the organization abandoned a pioneering role in welfare provision during the late 1970s and 1980s to focus on the clothing distribution in response to a growth in poverty and deprivation.

Another important part of the relationship between the state and the WSM was government funding. As Geoffrey Finlayson has noted, the Thatcher government's efforts to promote voluntary endeavour was underpinned by a significant growth in state funding to the voluntary sector.[149] This chapter has developed historiographical understandings by demonstrating how this growth in state investment could be a double-edged sword for small philanthropic institutions. It is clear that the WSM's participation on the MSC job creation programme permitted access to considerable investment in 1978, which allowed a development of its premises and the appointing of additional staff. Additional government funding also helped the WSM establish a low-cost sports centre, which in turn, met a great demand for recreational facilities amongst young professionals working in the city. Nonetheless, it would be mistaken to view the WSM's experience of government funding as overwhelmingly positive.

[148] N. Crowson, 'Introduction: The Voluntary Sector in 1980s Britain', *Contemporary British History*, 25:4 (2011), p. 491.
[149] Finlayson, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990*, pp. 374-375.

As demonstrated by the closure of the sports centre in June 1990, government funding did not offer a secure means of long-term income, and could determine the termination of a project even against the wishes of the WSM management and local community.

By December 1990, the clothing and Christmas toy distribution was the only project run by the organization. It is clear that the Thatcher governments' ambitions to retract the role of the state had major implications for the WSM. Government decisions to implement social security cutbacks and a failure to effectively tackle high unemployment led to significant pressure on the WSM to increase its traditional poverty relief activities. Although increasing need for its clothing distribution gave the WSM a sense of purpose, it narrowed room to experiment in welfare provision, undermining Beveridge's intentions for voluntary action. In many respects, the work and operation of the WSM during the 1980s resembled that of the 1920s and 1930s, in which high unemployment sustained a great demand for traditional poverty relief activities.

Chapter 4

Memories of the Mission: Remembering the Post-War Work and Operation of the WSM

> It would have been 40 years ago and I was going there [the WSM] as a child. And I can't believe it's still open. And it's still doing what it's doing when I was a kid…They can help generations. And that's what they have done with mine. They have helped me as a child and my parents, and then gone onto me as a parent, and then my children. There has been a lot of help and assistance.[150]

- Interview with Andrew Smith (2009)

Discussing his experience of charity, Andrew Smith reminisced that the WSM had helped his parents during his childhood in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and later him and his family. His testimony revealed that the WSM helped mitigate the effects of poverty on three generations of a family, and demonstrated that the organization had a strong emotional impact. The previous three chapters of this study have examined the work and operation of the WSM between 1945 and 1990 primarily using archival sources. In contrast, this final chapter uses oral testimony to investigate how former employees, and people who received help, have remembered their experiences of the WSM during that period. Using the WSM as a case study, the chapter breaks new ground in the scholarship of post-war welfare by using oral testimonies to explore the relationship between poverty, charity and memory. As noted in the introduction, the chapter analyses four interviews – two from former employees (Sally Eremere and Lucy Cave) and two from clients (Andrew Smith and Liz Shaw) – within a theory of memory composure.

[150] Andrew Smith (pseud.), interviewed by M. Crosher, 28 July 2009. Transcript, p. 5.

This chapter will argue that these men's and women's recollections of the WSM were shaped by contrasting understandings of the term 'poverty', ranging from ideas of temperance and physical efficiency put forward in the nineteenth century, to notions of economic austerity and material deprivation proposed since 1945. Furthermore, it establishes that understandings of poverty were pivotal to individuals' efforts to achieve psychological composure in the narration of stories, reflecting the fact that poverty is one of the most problematic social constructions. As Hartley Dean notes, poverty is one of a number of emotive words with flexible definitions, such as freedom, liberty, and democracy; words that are powerful concepts, but capable of being construed in radically different ways.[151] This chapter argues that the divergent meanings of poverty provided charity staff and clients with psychological composure when recounting their experiences of hardship and philanthropy.

The chapter also argues that the concept of 'empathy' enabled my interviewees to attain composure in forming their accounts of the past.[152] During the twentieth century, the concept of empathy has been developed in different ways by personality theorists, psychotherapists and social and developmental psychologists such as Daniel Batson and Martin Hoffman.[153] For example, it has been construed as a process of cognitive role and perspective taking, an emotional and affective practice,

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[151] Hartley Dean, 'Poverty Discourse and the Disempowerment of the Poor', *Critical Social Policy*, 12:35 (1992), p. 79.

[152] For good overviews of the concept of empathy, see C. D.Batson 'These Things Called Empathy: Eight Related but Distinct Phenomena' in J. Decety and W. Ickes (eds.), *The Social Neuroscience of Empathy* (Cambridge, Mass: 2009), pp. 1-15; and A. Coplan, 'Understanding Empathy: Its Features and Effects' in A. Coplan and P. Goldie (eds.), *Empathy: Philosophical and Psychological Perspectives* (Oxford: 2011).

[153] L. Wispe, 'History of the Concept of Empathy' in N. Eisenburg and J. Strayer (eds.), *Empathy and its Development* (Cambridge: 1987), pp. 24-34. See also: C.D Batson, *The Altruism Question: Toward a Social- Psychological Answer* (Hillsdale, N.J: 1991); and M. Hoffman, *Empathy and Moral Development: Implications for Caring and Justice* (Cambridge: 2000).

and a method of information gathering in therapy.[154] This chapter illustrates that several concepts of empathy were conveyed in accounts of the WSM, including caring about someone else, being emotionally affected by another's experiences, and imagining oneself in another's situation.[155] It argues therefore, that memories of the WSM's post-war work and operation were structured and moulded by contrasting understandings of the term 'poverty', and diverse expressions of the concept of empathy.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section will outline the details of Sally, Lucy, Liz and Andrew, summarising their biographical histories and relationship with the WSM. The second section explores the theory of memory composure used to examine their testimonies, and the interviewing context of the production of their testimonies. The third section explores the ways in which interviewees conveyed poverty in their accounts of the WSM's post-war history, and how their interpretations of the term coalesced with efforts to attain composure. The fourth section examines how interviewees have conveyed empathy in their testimonies, and the way in which expressions of the concept related to the process of composure.

Biographical details of Interviewees

Sally Eremere

Born in 1923, Sally was originally from Wakefield in West Yorkshire. Brought-up in a working-class home with her father employed in a local mill, she left school at fourteen to work as a scullery-maid in the country-house, Nostrell Priory. After

[154] N. Eisenburg and J. Strayer, 'Critical Issues in the Study of Empathy' in N. Eisenburg and J. Strayer (eds.), *Empathy and its Development* (Cambridge: 1987), p. 3.
[155] Coplan 'Understanding Empathy, p. 4.

involvement with the Women's Airforce Service Pilots (WAFS) during the Second World War, she settled in the Manchester region, marrying and having a family. She joined the WSM in 1969 after discovering its work through her local church. Her local church donated toys and food to the WSM every year at Christmas. Until her retirement in 1988, Sally worked as a part-time welfare assistant on the clothing distribution project, with responsibilities of sorting-out donated clothing and meeting families.

Lucy Cave

Born in 1941 in Salford, Lucy grew-up in a working-class family with her father employed as a lorry driver and her mother as a shop assistant. After attending a local secondary modern school and college, she worked in office-based jobs before marrying and having a family. During the 1970s, she made a career change by joining Salford Youth Service as a detached youth worker. Her experience of working with drug and alcohol dependent young people was rewarding, but she left the position when her children were young. She retained a desire to pursue a career in either the public or voluntary sector, and joined the WSM in 1988 when her children had grown-up. Employed on a full-time basis, Lucy worked as an administrator until her retirement in 1998, and was involved in several aspects of the organization's work, including responding to telephone calls from social workers and people requiring assistance, and giving talks to churches and schools as part of promoting its clothing appeals.

Liz Shaw

Born in 1953 in Manchester, Liz was brought-up in a large working-class family, the second youngest of 13 children. Between the ages of six and ten years, she received

clothing, toys at Christmas and a free-holiday to Blackpool through the assistance of the WSM. Although her mother was employed making handbags at a local factory, her father's struggle to find permanent employment, created the need which led to her family's request for the assistance of the WSM. During Liz's adolescent years, her parents did not require the help of the WSM for clothing or other material support. Given that Liz was the next to youngest child in her family, the financial pressures of raising children had eased by her teenage years. Afterwards, Liz worked and raised a family in Manchester, and had no association with the WSM for over forty-five years. Visiting the WSM across a four year period from 1959 to 1963, Liz's experience of charity was solely confined to childhood.

Andrew Smith

Born in 1961, Andrew was brought-up in a large working-class family in Manchester, as the middle child of 11 children that included seven sisters and three brothers. Similar to Liz's experience, he visited the WSM as a child, receiving clothing, toys at Christmas and a free-holiday. While his father had a permanent blue-collar job at a local factory, his parents required assistance from the WSM during the late 1960s and early 1970s. His family's financial pressures were later eased, as he and his siblings found employment after school. At sixteen, he worked as a messenger boy for the *Daily Mirror*. Despite Andrew and Liz both visiting the WSM as children, there is an important difference in their relationship to the charity. In 2004, Andrew required the WSM's support after leaving his job in transport to look after his partner who has health problems and three children. At the time of interview, he had an active association with the organisation.

‘Composure’ and the Construction of Philanthropic Narratives

This chapter focuses on four oral interviews conducted by the author between 2009 and 2011. These interviewees are: Sally Eremere, Lucy Cave, Liz Shaw and Andrew Smith. These testimonies collectively cover a significant part of the WSM’s post-war history, spanning the 1950s to the 1990s. Sally and Lucy’s testimonies cover different standpoints and periods in the post-war work of the WSM: Sally was employed as a welfare assistant on its clothing operation from the 1960s to the 1980s, while Lucy worked as an office administrator between the late 1980s and the late 1990s. Similar to Sally and Lucy, Liz’s and Andrew’s testimonies covered different periods of the WSM’s post-war history: Liz’s experience was as a child during a period of popular affluence in the late 1950s and early 1960s, while Andrew visited as a child during the late 1960s and 1970s, a period that coincided with a severe economic downturn in Manchester. Another difference in their relationship to the WSM can be identified. Liz had no association with the WSM for approximately forty-five years before the interview. In contrast, Andrew has had an active connection to the organization as he has required assistance with clothing since 2004. Overall, these four oral testimonies include different experiences of hardship and philanthropy, cover a considerable time-frame of the WSM’s post-war history, and so provide valuable insights into how the organization has been remembered in the last sixty years.

The use of four oral interviews is justifiable academically. Rather than interviewing a large sample of interviewees in pursuit of the ‘average’ kind of experience at the WSM, this chapter aims to explore the subjectivities of former charity staff and clients. In this respect, the chapter differs from a traditional approach to oral history, which has intended to describe the ‘real’ social world of

marginalised groups through an analysis of a considerable number of interviews. Many oral history projects committed to recovering the 'voices' of the working classes sought to negate a criticism that oral history is 'unrepresentative', in which the information attained from individuals is so specific that it cannot allow historians to make bigger arguments about the past with a degree of confidence.[156] An excellent example of this traditional oral history approach is Paul Thompson's 1971 study of Edwardian Britain, which contained interviews with around 500 men and women, deemed representative of that past society. [157] Creating a representative group entailed devising a 'quota sample' – a list of categories based on the 1911 census, encompassing social class and place of residence, which interviewees had to satisfy.[158]

The decision to use four interviews to investigate the subjectivities of former charity staff and clients is informed by poststructuralist contentions about the production of historical knowledge. Poststructuralist analysis of personal testimony as a historical source has emphasised that accounts of lived experience are not produced in a straightforward unadulterated way.[159] As a consequence, this analysis contends that the 'evidence of experience' is problematic; experience is always an interpretation that has to be unravelled. Joan Scott argued that discourse and experience are inextricably linked, and that no one individual can produce a personal testimony with an objective truth independent of discourse. As Scott notes, it is

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[156] For examples of such oral history projects, see: P. Thompson, *The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society* (London: 1971); S. Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels: Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth, 1889-1939* (Oxford: 1981);E. Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women, 1890-1940* (Oxford: 1984); R. Munck, B. Rolston & G. Moore, *Belfast in the Thirties: An Oral History* (Belfast: 1987); and C. Chinn, *They Worked All Their Lives: Women of the Urban Poor in England, 1880-1939* (Manchester: 1988).

[157] Thompson, *The Edwardians*, pp. 16-18.

[158] Thompson, *The Edwardians*, p. 17.

[159] My understanding of poststructuralist critiques of oral history evidence derives from Lynn Abrams's chapter on subjectivity and intersubjectivty. See: L. Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (London: 2010), pp. 54-77.

misguided to view accounts of personal experiences as the product of 'autonomous individuals exercising free will'.[160] Instead, an individual's experiences and social identity is constituted discursively, as their 'agency is created through situations and statuses conferred on them'.[161] Applied to the post-war history of the WSM, my interviewees' testimonies should be interpreted within discursive constructions and meanings of 'poverty' and 'philanthropy'.

Central to poststructuralist positions on experience and discourse is the malleability of memory. It is important to state that remembering is not a straightforward and mechanical practice, but a complicated and emotional process that is socially and psychologically situated. Understandings of the workings of memory were significantly advanced in the interwar period by the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who asserted that memory is publicly mediated, and that each specific memory is formed in a communication to a social group.[162] Post-war study into memory has also dismissed the idea that the process of remembering is a simple act of the mind summoning past experiences. Indeed, Lynn Abrams has highlighted that a social and cultural context always influences the trajectory of remembering – the calling up of past images, experiences and emotions, the ordering of them, and then the framing of them into a narrative.[163] Memory is therefore in a constant state of flux, wherein it is continually shaped by discursive constructions and public interpretations of the past.[164]

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[160] J. Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1991), p. 793.
[161] Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', p. 793.
[162] For an overview of Maurice Halbwachs's work on memory, see: J. Assmann, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique* 65 (1995), pp. 126-127.
[163] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p. 79.
[164] In 1979, an editorial of *History Workshop* commented that 'memory does not constitute pure recall; the memory of any particular event is refracted through layer of subsequent experience and through the influence of the dominant and/or local specific ideology'. Quoted in P. Summerfield, 'Culture and Composure: Creating Narratives of the Gendered Self in Oral History Interviews', *Cultural and Social History* 1 (2004), p. 66. My initial grounding for understanding memory was: P.

Given the complexities of memory, historical investigation of individual subjectivities requires access to detailed personal testimonies in either a written or oral form. For the oral historian, it is imperative to conduct in-depth qualitative interviews, which would permit a detailed analysis of the production of testimony. Consequently, many studies of subjectivity, and the way people have interpreted the past, have tended to be based on a small sample of interviews. In a British context, Penny Summerfield has explored how public discourses of the Second World War impacted on men's and women's retelling of their life-stories, and memories of the conflict, using a sample of eight interviews.[165] More recently, Celia Hughes utilised a collection of ten interviews to explore the left-wing identities and political experiences of men associated with the Labour Party Young Socialists in the 1960s.[166] Furthermore, Barry Hazley has examined the issue of subjectivity in a similar vein by using three testimonies to examine how competing constructions of femininity informed Irish women's recollections of migrating to, and living in, post-war Britain.[167] Thus, the use of four oral testimonies to investigate memories of the WSM fits into an academic convention of employing a small sample of interviews to study individual subjectivities, and how they were shaped by experience, discourse and emotion.

This chapter will utilise a theory of memory composure to investigate oral recollections of the WSM. The concept of memory 'composure' provides a means to

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Burke, 'History as Social Memory' in T. Butler (ed.), *Memory, History, Culture and the Mind* (Oxford: 1989), pp. 99-113.

[165] See: Summerfield, 'Culture and Composure', pp. 65-93.

[166] See: C. Hughes, 'Young Socialist Men in sixties Britain: Subjectivity and Sociability', *History Workshop Journal*, 73 (2012), pp.170-192.

[167] See: B. Hazley, 'Ambivalent Horizons: Competing Narratives of Self in Irish Women's Memories of Pre-Marriage Years in Post-War England', *Twentieth Century British History* (forthcoming, advanced access is available).

explore the configuration of past experiences.[168] Graham Dawson has argued that the concept stresses the roles of culture and psychology in the creation of life-stories. On one level, the formation of personal accounts of the past involves an active composition, in which an intricate method of selection, ordering and highlighting prioritises particular events over others and interprets their significance.[169] In this respect, the term 'composure' refers to the act of constructing a narrative about the self. On another level, composure refers to an emotional endeavour to achieve a sense of personal equanimity. Indeed, Dawson argued that the construction of a narrative involves a striving 'for a version of the self that can be lived in relative psychic comfort'.[170] For my interviewees therefore, the narration of their testimonies involved an endeavour to align the past and present by configuring past experiences at the WSM into a story that brings contentment and pride. As a consequence, there is a double meaning to the term 'composure', which in turn, involves a dual practice of achieving equanimity and composure through composing oneself as a subject of a narrative.

The formation of life-stories, and attempts to achieve composure, is not a passive act of individuals drawing on impartial public discourses. The notion of a 'cultural circuit' underlines that individual stories of experience are revised and polished by media and other communicative outlets for a mass audience, and that these adapted stories constantly change over time.[171] Nevertheless, revised versions of stories are not neutral – they tend to reflect the interests of those in power. The cultural circuit provides dominant institutions and social groups with a pivotal role in

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[168] For an analysis of the concept of 'composure', see: G. Dawson, *Solider Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinity* (London: 1994), pp. 22-26**;** A Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (New York: 1994), pp. 7-13; and Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, pp. 16-23.
[169] Dawson, *Solider Heroes*, p. 22.
[170] Dawson, *Solider Heroes*, p. 22.
[171] Summerfield, 'Culture and Composure', p 8.

shaping popular discourses and images, which frame how individuals interpret their past experiences.[172] It is important to note that the revised narrative or image produced by the circuit, may conflict with personal experience and the achievement of composure. If an interviewee feels unable to use publicly available scripts to configure memories, they will struggle to form an account of past experience. As we shall see, philanthropic narratives of the WSM broadly fitted into, and sometimes grated against, two contrasting popular images of poverty; firstly, a 'passive victim' representation, whereby people were characterised as isolated and without hope; and secondly, a 'heroic survivor' depiction, in which hardship was actively and tenaciously resisted.[173]

The approach of using a theory of memory composure to study oral testimonies can enrich understandings of poverty, and make an important contribution to the historiography of post-war philanthropy. By engaging with the concept of memory composure, this chapter will make a valuable addition to the historical scholarship by providing an insight into how former charity staff and clients have remembered and reconstituted their experiences. Despite a growing body of historical research on voluntary action, there is great scope to explore people's experiences of post-war philanthropy, and crucially, how they have interpreted those experiences over time. For instance, Matthew Hilton's and James McKay's edited collection, published in 2011 charting the history of the 'Big Society', did not contain a chapter on experience.[174] Examinations of the experience of voluntary action and philanthropy have made little reference to the workings of

[172] Dawson, *Solider Heroes*, pp. 24-26.
[173] For an overview of the 'passive victim' and 'heroic survivor' images of poverty, see: R. Lister, *Poverty* (Oxford: 2004), p. 116. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation has also briefly discussed these depictions of poverty in campaigning for more responsible coverage of the topic. See D. Seymour, *Reporting Poverty in the UK: A Practical Guide for Journalists* (York: 2009), pp.32-34.
[174] See: M. Hilton and J. Mckay (eds.), *The Ages of Voluntarism: How we got to the Big Society* (London: 2011).

memory. Katherine Bradley used letters to explore young people's experiences of the London settlements activities, but was unable to consider at length the relationship between experience and memory without undertaking comprehensive oral interviews.[175] What this approach will therefore permit, using the WSM as a site of study, is a focused investigation of the way in which the experience of post-war philanthropy intersects with the composing of memories.

Analysing oral testimonies within the framework of memory composure theory can also further historical awareness of the post-war impact of poverty. This approach to studying the recollections of former WSM staff and clients will unearth how they internalised and moulded different concepts and understandings of poverty, when constructing their stories about post-war philanthropy. Although social policy academics including Hartley Dean and Ruth Lister have discussed the linkage between poverty and stigma, and the extent to which the term can stimulate feelings of anger, pain and despondency, there is little knowledge of how individuals shape their meanings of the term.[176] In effect, this approach will reveal how WSM interviewees recycled and reworked the notion of poverty to create psychological ease when forming accounts of the past. Given that people's accounts of the past are influenced by a need to make sense of their own experience, a study of their narratives can open a window into how poverty frames both subjectivity and composure. This research will demonstrate that memories of the WSM were framed by religious, class and political understandings of poverty. Additionally, it

[175] See: K. Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State: Charities and the Working Classes in London, 1918-79* (Manchester: 2011).

[176] Erving Goffman has defined 'stigma' as 'an attribute that is deeply discrediting' and argued that 'we believe the person with a stigma is not quite human'. See: E. Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity* (New Jersey: 1963), pp. 13-15. For an analysis of the relationship between poverty and stigma, see: Lister, *Poverty*, pp.117-120. See also: P. Taylor-Gooby and H. Dean, *Dependency Culture: The Explosion of a Myth* (London: 1992); P. Beresford, D Green D, R. Lister, and K. Woodard, K. *Poverty First Hand: Poor People Speak for Themselves*. (London: 1999).

complicates the post-war secularisation of voluntary action thesis by revealing, in the case of Sally Eremere, that religious imagery and interpretations of poverty greatly shaped memories of the WSM.

This research also makes a valuable addition to the historiography by shedding light on the nature of inter-subjectivity within the context of poverty and charity in post-war Britain. Inter-subjectivity relates to the social contexts of the production of narratives, and the effect of an audience in shaping memory composure. Attempts to achieve personal equanimity and a sense of well-being from composing an account of a past experience are dependent on social recognition.[177] Providing psychological composure for an interviewee is the sense of belonging derived from knowing that his narrative corresponds to other peoples. As Dawson argues, the intrinsic impulse to elicit recognition from an audience therefore exerts a 'determining influence upon the way in which a narrative can be told'.[178] Conversely, a failure to elicit social recognition in the narration of a life-story can result in 'discomposure'. Penny Summerfield has argued that a harsh line of questioning and an unsympathetic response from an audience can produce discomposure; that is, personal disequilibrium.[179] During an interview, discomposure would be reflected by feelings of confusion, melancholy, anger, self-contradiction and problems in recounting a narrative. The interactions of the interviewer and interviewee are therefore, pivotal to the construction and narration of an account of the past with the relationship influencing, at any minute or second, the balance between 'composure' and 'discomposure'.

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[177] Dawson, *Solider Heroes,* p. 23.
[178] Dawson, *Solider Heroes,* p. 23.
[179] On the concept of 'discomposure', see: P. Summerfield 'Dis/composing the subject: Intersubjectivities in oral history', in T. Cosslett, C. Lury and P. Summerfield (eds.), *Feminism and Autobiography. Texts, Theories, Methods* (London: 2000), pp. 91-106.

Given this need to attain social affirmation, and its role in the forming of testimonies, it is important to outline the interviewing context of this oral history study of the WSM. This is because the composing and narrating of life-stories are structured by two dynamics of the interviewing process: firstly, how the interviewer both organises the interview and phrases questions; and secondly, the way in which the interviewee understands the questions posed. My interviews were always conducted on a one-on-one basis, and took place either at the interviewee's home or at the WSM. Sally and Lucy wanted the interview to take place at their home, while Liz and Andrew preferred to meet at the WSM for reasons of convenience. Interviews were semi-structured in nature, and conducted through a set of between 10 and 12 open-ended questions. Broad questions (such as: 'What was Christmas like at the WSM?') were intended to encourage interviewees to fully discuss their experiences at the organization. Other questions sought to elicit the emotional impacts of experiences at the WSM (For example: 'Do you have a particular story or vivid memory about the WSM?'). Furthermore, an opportunity was provided at the end of the interview to discuss any topic on their minds, and bring closure to the interviewing process. An important decision was taken to omit the words 'poverty' and 'charity' from the interview questions. I sought to avoid imposing my understandings of poverty and charity on interviewees by not asking them to recount their stories through loaded questions.

My interviewee's efforts to achieve composure in recounting their stories of the WSM were influenced by how I was observed and identified. Interviewee's perceptions of the interviewer can fashion the construction of memories, feelings of psychological ease, and the recounting of accounts of the past. According to Summerfield, the specific composition of an audience directly relates to the

construction of oral testimonies.[180] At the time of the interviews, I was in the third and fifth years of my PhD based at Manchester University. At a more fundamental level, I am male, aged between 26 and 28, heterosexual, middle class with no regional accent, and mixed race (my mother being Chinese and father being half English/half Dutch). Furthermore, I am left-leaning politically (which framed my beliefs regarding poverty in a general sense), although I refrained from being drawn into political discussion. In the forthcoming sections, it will be demonstrated that the interviewing context influenced this production of philanthropic stories of the WSM. My questions and routes of enquiry, markers of my social identity, and reflexive facial expressions and gestures shaped interviewees' responses, and how they relayed their experience of hardship and philanthropy.

In summary, the approach of using memory composure theory to analyse oral testimony, adopted in this chapter, can greatly further historical understandings of poverty and charity in post-war Britain. Using the case of the WSM, this approach will permit an investigation of how former charity staff and clients have remembered and reconstituted their experiences of philanthropy. In the process, it illustrates how they moulded different concepts and meanings of poverty to create a sense of belonging and psychological ease when forming their life-stories. Finally, this approach provides insight into the nature of inter-subjectivity – how the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee shapes the production of memory and the recounting of the narrative – within the context of poverty and charity in post-war Britain.

[180] Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, p. 31.

Understandings of Poverty

Interviewee's recollections of the post-war work and operation of the WSM were underpinned, in great part, by their understandings of the term 'poverty'. From the perspective of former staff members, their understandings of poverty were conveyed in accounts of their motivations to join the WSM, encounters with people who received help, and reflections of their experience in charitable work. From the standpoint of those who received assistance, their understandings of poverty were put across in narratives of hardship during their childhood, experiences of the WSM's charitable work, and attempts to review their lives. Yet, as noted above, poverty is a highly problematic of social constructions. This part of the chapter explores the way in which interviewees conveyed 'poverty' in their stories of the WSM, and their efforts to attain 'composure'.

Recollections of the WSM were, unsurprisingly, framed by very different understandings of poverty. For example, two of the oral testimonies were clearly influenced by an interpretation prominent in Victorian Britain. This was certainly the case of Sally Eremere, whose accounts of the WSM's post-war work parallel temperance tracts published in the nineteenth century, which heavily emphasised the link between drinking and social downfall.[181] Her testimony contained several stories about her experience as a welfare assistant helping elderly homeless men with acute alcohol problems. Her memories of witnessing homelessness were at the forefront of her mind, and she quickly wanted to recite these stories during the interview. Close to the beginning of her testimony, she recalled that a typical morning at the WSM was spent dealing with 'the old men sleeping rough, the drunks, and the ones who

[181] On the influence of the temperance movement in Victorian Britain, please see: B. Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872*, (Keele:1994); J. Burnett, *Liquid pleasures: A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain* (London: 1999) and J. Greenaway, *Drink and British Politics since 1830: A Study in Policy-Making* (Basingstoke: 2002).

had nowhere to go'.[182] She added that, for cash to buy alcohol, some of the men tried to sell complete work suits distributed by the WSM, and that she soon learned to abandon the practice. She said:

> It's amazing; there were always quite a lot [homeless people]. They used to be the first ones in on a morning, about quarter past nine. And then they would come, and you learned very quickly, not to give these men, a suit as a suit. It sounds rather sad. You give them a good coat, good trousers. If you gave them a suit as a suit, they would only sell it. And you would not have really helped them in having something to wear. I know they would drink the money.[183]

In common with Victorian temperance tracts, Sally's recollections of the WSM stressed the destitution and suffering of homeless, alcoholic men. Brian Harrison has argued that a central feature of temperance promotional material was the systematic social decline of the drunkard. Temperance stories are therefore seen to display a mid-Victorian middle-class morality that warned against imprudence and indiscipline, containing an overriding message that the drunkard and his children were destined 'for the gutter'.[184] In the same way, Sally's stories contained the message that the alcoholic man had reached rock-bottom both socially and economically. She constructed these men as 'passive victims' of poverty, who accepted their plight. This was shown in an account in which she bumped into a homeless man that she knew from the WSM near to Manchester Piccadilly bus station. What she vividly remembered of the encounter were feelings of humour and amusement as he had greeted her in front of a large crowd of people with the joking comment: 'Mrs Eremere, I didn't know you without your clothes on'.[185] While she understood the comment – he had always previously seen her at the WSM in a work

[182] Sally Eremere, (pseud.), transcription of the interview by M. Crosher, 21 July, 2009, p. 2.
[183] Sally Eremere (pseud.), p. 2.
[184] B. Harrison, Drunkards and Reformers: Early Victorian Temperance Tracts, *History Today*, 13:3 (1963) p. 183.
[185] Sally Eremere (pseud.), p. 4.

overall – the crowd of people stared at her, momentarily bewildered. Despite this element of humour, her overall story resembled temperance tracts studied by Harrison in relation to the message that the alcoholic man was incontestably destitute. His desperation and pitiful hygiene were conveyed at the start of the story, with the description of him searching for food in bins while people moved away from him:

> I can remember one guy, and he really was tatty looking. I was going home, and the buses went outside the plaza in Piccadilly. There was a big queue, and he was there rooting in the bins, looking for things. People were all moving away from him. And all of a sudden, he came and stood in front of me, and said in a very loud voice, Oh its Mrs Eremere, I didn't know you without your clothes on[Sally laughs loudly]…We had a little room[clothing room], and he had only seen me in a great big overall that covered everything. I knew what he meant, but it was the way he said it and everyone just looked at me.[186]

Sally told this account fluidly without interruption or need for a prompt, suggesting that she had recounted the experience previously. Moreover, her stories of alcoholic men were consistent with a belief that alcohol is a principal cause of poverty. Proclamations concerning the dangers of alcohol were interwoven within her recollections of the WSM. For example, she put across an opinion that alcohol was as harmful as hallucinogenic drugs when recalling her early years as a welfare assistant, remarking: 'In those days, there were no drugs, except to my mind, drink is as bad as a drug'.[187] Here, Sally configured her memories to overlook the drug culture of the 1960s and 1970s in order to affirm her narratives of helping homeless alcoholic men. In a similar vein, she later put across a strong view that alcohol is a social evil and a cause of family breakdown using the former Tottenham Hotspur

[186] Sally Eremere (pseud.), p. 4.
[187] Sally Eremere (pseud.), p. 5.

and England footballer Jimmy Greaves (who had a well-publicised struggle against alcoholism during the 1970s) as an example. She commented:

> It's the trouble with drink. It cuts them off from their families and everyone they love. They try, but it brings their family down. Even that famous footballer Jimmy Greaves was like that.[188]

Her heavy emphasis on the destructive impact of alcohol within recollections of the WSM and current opinions was underpinned by strong religious convictions. During the interview, she spoke about the importance of Christianity in her life, pointing out that she was educated at a Wesleyan Methodist school. However, her motivation to join the WSM was not based on its religious heritage, but rather the nature of its philanthropic work. Parcelling and distributing clothing to families and individuals provided a clear-cut way of fulfilling an active religious duty to help the poor. In this respect, the position of welfare assistant allowed her to alleviate, in her own mind, an indisputable experience of poverty. During the interview, she emphasised the severity of hardship amongst people visiting the WSM, reminiscing that many had little or no choice about accepting the clothing due to their dire financial circumstances. She recalled:

> They really were desperate for anything you could give them, there were no pickiness about it, as long as it fitted, you know. You had it whether you wanted it or not.[189]

What is striking is that Sally's testimony contained little information in relation to her experiences of meeting women and children affected by unemployment. Her career at the WSM coincided with the severe deindustrialisation of Manchester

[188] Sally Eremere (pseud.), p. 5.
[189] Sally Eremere (pseud.), p. 7.

during the 1970s and 1980s, which as discussed in Chapter 3, entailed a substantial increase in the number of families requiring clothing. Despite mentioning that she nearly always dealt with mothers and their children from the family, these interactions occupied little space within her testimony as a whole. Indeed, she narrated just one story relating to this experience across the whole interview, reminiscing about meetings with Emma Grainger and her son Gary, who had a learning disability. Recalling specific meetings with families and children was not at the front of her thoughts during the interview, as her account of Emma and Gary was directly prompted by my questioning:

> **Mark:** Do you have a really vivid memory of a family coming in to pick up clothing? Or something that has really touched you?
> **Sally:** Yes, I used to put little things on my notes [in her workbook] Emma Grainger and her boy, I remember. He was, probably looked about eighteen or nineteen, but he was really a man about forty, he was mentally disabled. And, she used to bring him, and he was thrilled to bits if you could get a football thing [she smiles]…And then one day, she said to me that he had to go to hospital for an operation [she recites more slowly] and very sadly, Gary died under the operation. And she came, which I thought was really rather nice, she washed anything she could wash that we'd have given her. So, someone else could have them.[190]

Her recollections of these meetings however, were not focused on their experience of poverty and hardship, but rather Emma's devotion to her son. At the heart of her narrative was Emma's final visit to the WSM after Gary had died in an operation, and the gesture of washing and returning all the clothing given to him. Emma's final visit to the WSM continues to evoke feelings of sadness for Sally as indicated by differences in the pace of her speech. Sally's recollection at the end of her account was reflective, delivered with a slow and melancholic tone, reciting at the end of the account was done in a slow and melancholic way, in direct contrast to her opening

[190] Sally Eremere (pseud.), p. 7.

positive recollection of giving football memorabilia. Sally's sadness in evoking the memory of Gary's death was later illustrated by an admission that she continues to pray for Emma: 'I have always prayed for her because, that was her life really, looking after that lad'.[191]

As the psychologist Daniel Schacter notes, memory can deeply encode intense events and emotional experiences.[192] This working of memory not just accounts for her story of Emma in responding to my question, but also Sally's recounting of previous experiences of meeting destitute alcoholic men at the WSM. With her role as a welfare assistant, many poignant events in her career involved helping people in the most appalling of circumstances. In effect, her narration of several stories of meeting homeless alcoholic men at the WSM, and the substantial space she made for them within her testimony, represented an attempt to come to terms with witnessing extreme manifestations of poverty and suffering. What helped Sally to interpret her career at the WSM, and particularly emotional experiences of philanthropic work, was her long-standing religious faith. As discussed in the next section, her accounts of providing help to old homeless and alcoholic men involved different expressions of empathy with overt religious overtones.

Long-established understandings of poverty also underpinned the oral testimony of Andrew Smith. His accounts of experiencing hardship as a child and visiting the WSM during the late 1960s and early 1970s were consistently structured by a nineteenth century definition of poverty based on physical efficiency.[193] During the interview, he repeatedly discussed poverty in terms of the consumption of food,

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[191] Sally Eremere (pseud.), p. 8.
[192] D. Schacter, *Searching for Memory, The Brain, the Mind and the Past* (New York: 1996) pp. 45-46.
[193] For example, B. S. Rowntree defined primary poverty as 'families whose total earnings are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessaries for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency'. See: B. S Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (London: 1902), p. x.

reflecting the influence of the physical efficiency notion. A good example was a recollection that a feature of the financial hardship of his childhood was the repetition of his mother's evening meals of potato hash, a traditional Northern working-class dish. However, he added that his family never went hungry as his mother cooked in large quantities:

> It wasn't a pauper's life, a sad life or anything like that, what my mum used to do, my mum used to do these what they called potato hash. She would make a massive big pot of potato hash, and you never went hungry because the potato hash was there even if you didn't like it. You might have got it five days in one week, but you knew there was enough food for you.[194]

His account concerning his family's evening meals conveyed older understandings of poverty in relation to a definition and language. In particular, he referred to pauperism, an expression associated with the New Poor Law during the nineteenth century.[195] Many of Andrew's recollections of his past sat comfortably within a 'heroic struggle' portrayal of poverty. Defining poverty in relation to the consumption of food helped him to coherently and positively compose his childhood along the lines of working-class struggle. This composition of the past was also clearly illustrated in his accounts of childhood Christmases. He recalled that his mother, trying to manage on a tight budget, started collecting food for Christmas several months in advance to avoid poverty and to make the occasion special:

> My mum used to have a big oak wardrobe in the bedroom, and what she used to do, she used to start in June, and buy an extra tin of something and put it in the wardrobe. So at Christmas, we would have a treat.[196]

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[194] Andrew Smith, (pseud.), p. 7.
[195] Marjorie Levine Clark highlighted that the first annual report of the operation of the New Poor Law of 1834 discussed the problem of the 'idle and worthless pauper' that existed in parishes where the system was not efficiently implemented. See M. Levine-Clark, 'Engendering Relief: Women, Ablebodiedness and the New Poor Law in Early Victorian England', *Journal of Women's History*, 11:4 (2000), p. 107.
[196] Andrew Smith, (pseud.), p. 4.

Andrew's recollections of the repetitive nature of evening meals and saving of tins at Christmas did not simply reflect an old conceptualisation of poverty in terms of physical efficiency. Through these accounts, he intended to emphasise that an important aspect of his upbringing was that financial struggle brought out old-fashioned working-class virtues of thrift and determination. Indeed, Andrew Davies has noted that in working-class neighbourhoods of inter-war Salford, self-sacrifice was seen as essential to 'good' motherhood.[197]Andrew Smith's conveying of traditional understandings of poverty in these accounts was connected to an effort to achieve a sense of security and well-being during the interview. He told these stories in a clear and assertive manner, indicating that he enjoyed the act of narration and that it provided him with psychological composure. In many respects, his recounting of the past resembled a type of reminisce positioned to maintain dignity.[198] While Andrew was confident at relaying accounts of his family's hardships, he struggled at certain times to discuss his childhood experiences at the WSM. For example, his recollections of initial visits to the charity were very brief: 'As a kid, you were going somewhere, you didn't know where you were going'.[199]

An established script of working-class struggle helped Andrew to re-work childhood experiences at the WSM into a present narrative. This was demonstrated by his account of going on holiday with the WSM during the early-1970s, in which he remembered the experiences of having an extensive breakfast every morning. Andrew's recollections of his holiday with the WSM were interwoven with his

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[197] A. Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty: Working-Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900-1939* (Buckingham: 1992), p. 55.

[198] Penny Summerfield, for example, has argued that reminisce orientated to upholding self-esteem entailed an interviewee seeking a feeling of dignity by reiterating stories that prove their worth and value of the past. Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, p. 18. See also, P. Coleman, 'Ageing and Life History: The Meaning of Reminiscence in Late Life', in S. Dex (ed.), *Life and Work History Analyses: Qualitative and Quantitative Developments* (London: 1991), pp. 130-131.

[199] Andrew Smith, (pseud.), p. 4.

family's hardships and struggles. Once again, he discussed poverty in terms of food consumption. Although not contradicting his denial of experiencing hunger, he commented that receiving plentiful helpings of food on holiday with the WSM contrasted with life in Manchester. He recalled that a routine experience growing-up was competing in the mornings with his siblings for breakfast:

> I mean, I came from a family of eleven, and coming from that family of eleven [pause] we had toast for breakfast in the morning and [pause] about five biscuits. And that was breakfast. And then we were packed off to school, and then returned home. And when you got up in the morning on this holiday…and, and you didn't have to worry, for that week. You didn't have to worry [pause] if there was enough bread left to make toast for your breakfast. Because if you got up late at home, the bread was gone. You had to wait. So you had all of that.[200]

It is important to note that markers of my social identity influenced the construction of this account. The pauses in his narration of the account represented an attempt to explain to me the experience of coming from a large working-class family in the knowledge that I had a different background. It also appears that fond memories of a family seaside holiday crossed into Andrew's account of his trip with the WSM. For example, he struggled to remember the location of the WSM trip, remarking: 'I guess it was Morecombe, I'm not 100 per cent'.[201] Given that there is no archival evidence that the WSM provided trips to Morecombe during the early 1970s, it was likely that he visited Birchfield Lodge Outdoor Pursuits Centre in the land-locked Peak District. Fond memories of a seaside trip surfaced within Andrew's recollections of the WSM holiday when he asserted that he visited the beach for the first time. He reminisced:

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[200] Andrew Smith (pseud.), p. 7.
[201] Andrew Smith, (pseud.), p. 2.

> We went to see Bedknobs and Broomsticks. And that came out in 1971. I was saying to Jan [Director of the WSM], I had never been to the pictures before, so that was the first time. And I've never been to the beach. And that was the first time for me. And I've never stayed out overnight either. So, there were a few first times.[202]

It is clear that Andrew's assertion of visiting the beach for the first time was part of a broader point about how the experience of a holiday contrasted with family life back in Manchester. Indeed, he nostalgically recalled that the WSM holiday also provided him with his first visit to the cinema to see the 1971 Walt Disney movie *Bedknobs and Broomsticks*. As we shall see later, Andrew's expressions of empathy within his testimony involved a deep loyalty to the WSM for the assistance given to him, not only as a child, but also as a parent in middle-age. Along with his old understandings of poverty conveyed in narratives, his expressions of empathy were part of reminiscence positioned to maintain dignity.

While Sally and Andrew conveyed an old interpretation of poverty in their accounts, a different understanding of the term was conveyed by Liz Shaw. Her testimony of hardship and visiting the WSM as a child was grounded in a popular memory of post-war austerity. Particularly striking about Liz's testimony was her lengthy reminiscence about the impact of post-war austerity when discussing her childhood in the late 1950s and early 1960s. These years were commonly considered as the 'Golden Age' of the British economy, characterised by economic growth, near full employment and popular working-class affluence. During the interview, she placed her family's experience of hardship within a collective experience of post-war austerity, which stressed a requirement for resourcefulness and prudence. This was illustrated close to the beginning of the interview, when she spoke of the necessity to make substantial economies with evening meals:

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[202] Andrew Smith, (pseud.), p. 2.

> In Manchester, in the 50s, you got to remember, we came through the war, and women were still making do. Like, if you had a meal on a Sunday, if there was anything left over, you would have it on a Monday night for tea. It was all waste-not-want-not in that day and age. You couldn't afford to waste things, especially with thirteen children. You just couldn't afford to do it.[203]

Similarly to Andrew's, Liz's account of her childhood fitted into a 'heroic struggle' depiction of poverty. Most importantly, Liz's understandings of post-war austerity as a cause of poverty were connected to her effort to interpret her past with pride. Her accounts of hardship resembled a wartime and immediate post-war message of sacrifice, which in turn, accorded the experience of working-class hardship with 'good' citizenship. Sonya Rose argued that an important measure adopted by the wartime government was the dissemination of an 'equality of sacrifice' discourse that strongly endorsed an egalitarian morality amongst the working-class and condemned privilege.[204] Later in the interview, Liz reaffirmed this message of sacrifice by asserting that her upbringing was marked by the absence of items considered luxuries at the time. Furthermore, she emphasised that these items were inexpensive in the present:

> And there were no luxuries, apples, oranges, crisps, things like that. We used to get, an apple or orange, at Christmas. I remember, an apple or an orange at Christmas, and that was a luxury'.[205]

Liz's comment that an apple constituted a luxury appeared to be an exaggeration of the extent of her family's hardships. Conditions of post-war austerity between 1946 and 1948 did not lead to reduced consumption of fruit (together with fish, sugar and

[203] Liz Shaw (pseud.), transcription of the interview by M. Crosher, 2 June, 2011, p. 3.
[204] S. Rose, *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Britain, 1939-1945* (Oxford: 2004), p. 31.
[205] Liz Shaw (pseud.), p. 3.

potatoes) in the working-class diet.[206] Although Liz tried to add weight onto her narrative of post-war austerity, she was unable to maintain this position during the whole interview. Her recollections of a shared experience of austerity grated against discussions of her father's sporadic unemployment during her childhood. The transcript shows that her initial responses to prompting concerning her parents' employment were brief, indicating a reticence to discuss the topic:

> **Mark:** With your mum and dad, your mum, was she in work?
> **Liz:** Yeah, she always worked. Was never out of work.
> **Mark:** And, your dad was
> **Liz:** Intermittent.
> **Mark:** I suppose [pause], I suppose, with your mum, she had a lot of children to bring-up.
> **Liz:** Lack of money…I remember at the school, they [a teacher] went round the class, and said: 'What does your father do for a living? I remember some said: 'My father is a doctor'. Another said: 'My father is a solicitor'. And they came to me, [Liz giggles] and said: What does your father do? And I said: 'Nothing'. And they said: 'Don't be silly, he must do something'. And I said: 'No, I can't think of anything'. [Liz laughs].You know, it was just the way it was. My mum kept us all.[207]

Liz used humour to mask a difficult childhood experience at school in having to tell the class that her father was unemployed. Despite giggling and laughing in places, the melancholic tone of her voice indicated that she did not enjoy narrating this childhood memory of feeling isolated at school. This suggests that this aspect of the interview was characterised by discomposure. Liz also found it difficult to narrate her experience at the WSM. With the exception of the Blackpool free-holiday scheme (which shaped her expressions of empathy), her recollections of visiting the WSM in the late 1950s and early-1960s were somewhat incomplete. In response to a few questions, she openly admitted that she could not remember events at the charity. Indicative was a line of enquiry about whether she had visited the WSM

[206] I. Zweiniger-Bargelowska, *Austerity in Britain: Rationing, Controls, and Consumption, 1939-1955* (Oxford: 2000), p. 37.
[207] Liz Shaw (pseud.), p. 2.

church, in which she replied: 'I don't remember going there. I do remember coming to the Wood Street Mission with my mum, but as for the church, I really don't know'.[208] Liz's difficulty in recollecting her experience at the WSM was not just a result of events taking place around fifty years ago, but also her disconnection with the charity since the age of eleven. Although not elaborating on the issue, she recalled that she did not visit the WSM after her elder sister had from Australia to live in Manchester.

In sharp contrast, Liz found it easier to narrate a story of childhood hardship and post-war austerity. The term 'austerity' provided a thread for Liz to link the present to the past when composing her memories. As Carolyn Steedman notes, the construction of life-histories involve individuals searching 'backwards from the vantage point of the present in order to appraise things in the past and attribute meaning to them'.[209] This was especially demonstrated when she related her upbringing during the late 1950s and early-1960s to children experiencing hardship in 2011 under the Coalition government's austerity measures. She remarked, for example: 'There are a lot of kids out there, and I know them, who have got nothing. It's like being back in the 50s'.[210] Yet, her attempts to link the present to the past involved an adjusting of a sequence of events. Although her childhood coincided with a period of perceived public affluence, she positioned her family's hardship within a context of post-war austerity in order to interpret her experiences. Most importantly, her understanding of poverty in terms of post-war austerity was pivotal to her attaining a sense of well-being and psychological composure in the interview by submerging hard and uncomfortable memories with regard to her father's unemployment.

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[208] Liz Shaw (pseud.), p. 4.
[209] C. Steedman, *Landscape for a Good Woman* (London: 1986), p. 21.
[210] Liz Shaw (pseud.), p. 6.

Of the four interviewees, Lucy Cave conveyed the most contemporary interpretation of poverty when recollecting her experience as an office administrator at the WSM during the 1980s and 1990s. Her testimony was grounded by a post-war definition of poverty based on material deprivation. During the interview, she demonstrated a sharp awareness of the features of poverty in post-war Britain, with her recollections of the WSM connected to specific economic and social problems of the period, including unemployment, high interest rates, growing levels of debt and house repossession. For example, she recalled an experience of speaking to some families who, as a result of their dealings with loan-sharks, mistakenly thought that the WSM loaned clothing for a fee with interest:

> Well, loan sharks appear on your doorstep when you go into certain council estates. And offer you fifty pound loans. Well, it seems like a godsend, but when the rates are like five thousand per cent or whatever and you can't pay it back the next week and then debt becomes utterly [Lucy emphasises utterly with a raised voice] unmanageable. So, to find somewhere like Wood Street, where it is given to you. In fact, there have been a few times it has been said to you how much do you charge? And really quite taken aback [she raises her voice] when there isn't a charge, it's a gift, it's given to you. To be quite surprised at that, [she says more softly] you know.[211]

Lucy's discussion of debt in this recollection represented a solid knowledge of the difficulties faced by low-income families. For example, a 1991 report by the Child Poverty Action Group, on the relationship of poverty and debt, noted that a significant feature on the poorest local authority estates were illegal loan sharks that would offer loans in excess of 1,000 per cent APR for low-cost goods such as shoes, pots and bedding.[212] Lucy's condemnation of loan sharks was passionately conveyed, reflected by fluctuations in the tone of her voice when speaking. In

[211] Lucy Cave, (pseud.), transcription of the interview by M. Crosher, 30 July, 2009, p. 9.
[212] J. Ford, *Consuming Credit: Debt and Poverty in the UK* (London: 1991), pp. 35-37.

particular, her raised tone of voice during narration indicates that the experience of witnessing these family's problems at the WSM has always evoked feelings of frustration and anger.

Lucy's recollections of the post-war work of the WSM accorded with a structural left-wing view of poverty, which stresses the importance of economic forces and unfortunate social circumstances as a root cause of poverty. Although her testimony was not explicitly political – she did not mention political parties or politicians – her recollections of the WSM were structured by a left-wing interpretation that emphasised the failures of the free-market. Prior to the loan-shark account, she insisted that high unemployment during the 1980s and 1990s transcended class boundaries, with some middle-class families requiring assistance from the WSM.[213] Lucy's understandings of poverty were also informed by a rejection of popular right-wing notions of an 'undeserving poor' and an 'underclass'.[214] This rejection was conveyed in a recollection about the practice of accepting clothing self-referrals at the WSM. She recalled that the decision was based on the principle that families' experiences were neither self-inflicted nor deliberately chosen. Asking a rhetorical question to make the point, she bluntly asked:

> It's not something you exactly choose, is it, poverty? It's not what anybody chooses what happened to them. There's a blame, a kind of implied blame [Lucy emphasises blame with a raised voice] as though there is something you could have done differently. And sometimes, it isn't; it's part of life'.[215]

[213] Lucy Cave (pseud.), p. 10.
[214] For a discussion of the 'underclass' concept since the 1980s, see J. Welshman, *Underclass: A History of the Excluded, 1880-2000* (New York: 2006), pp. 157-181. During the 1980s and 1990s, an influential advocate of the 'underclass' argument in the US and Britain is the sociologist Charles Murray. See: C. Murray, *The Emerging British Underclass* (London: 1990).
[215] Lucy Cave (pseud.), p. 10.

Lucy's sympathy for families visiting the WSM coalesced with a material deprivation definition of poverty. Her sympathy stemmed from her working-class upbringing in Salford during the 1940s and 1950s. However, the most significant influence on her understanding of poverty was an experience with Salford Youth Service during the 1970s. Her work with unemployed young people suffering from alcohol, drug and mental health problems led to her witnessing first-hand the negative impacts of government policy. This was illustrated by a fierce criticism of the 'Care in the Community' policy during the 1970s and 1980s, which advocated domicile care.[216] She recalled a feeling of fear when meeting young people with mental health issues who were homeless, in her view, as a consequence of the policy, remarking:

> There was a kind of upsurge at that point of people not just living on the streets, but living on the streets because care in the community did not work. Not a lot of community and not a lot of care. And we were picking up people with severe [problems]…I feared them, I did.[217]

Directly observing the way in which government policy caused homelessness had left a permanent imprint on the way in which she interpreted poverty. In this position, she had frequently seen how hardship was beyond an individual's control. However, it was the demands of having a young family, and not dissatisfaction with the work, which prompted Lucy to leave Salford Youth Service. She commented that she felt compelled to leave the position when her daughters 'accused me of putting other kids before them'.[218] Her decision to join the WSM in 1988 represented a long-standing ambition to pursue a career that had a social impact after her children had

[216] A. Rodgers, *Mental Health Policy in Britain*, (Basingstoke: 2001), p. 20.
[217] Lucy Cave (pseud.), p. 2.
[218] Lucy Cave (pseud.), p. 1.

grown-up. Prior to her appointment, she worked for many years as a secretary that she did not find fulfilling.

While Lucy's role as a youth worker involved regular interaction with people, her experience as an administrator at the WSM was initially office-based with responsibility for organising records, responding to telephone calls, and making appointments with people who required clothing. Although she did not usually meet families, Lucy fondly remembered her career at the WSM in the interview, emphasising that her work progressed from office-based activities to undertaking promotional outreach work. She mentioned that the former director, Shirley Adams, gave her the confidence to undertake outreach work: 'Shirley was someone who empowered you if you felt you had a talent, or you felt you had something you wanted to pursue'.[219] Lucy enjoyed speaking about her outreach work, which involved giving talks about the WSM's poverty relief activities to various schools, churches, social groups and other voluntary associations:

> Well, it went from a very much administrative, typographical reporting on meetings kind of a role to outreach work. There were a great number of nights I used to work when I was out talking to people at night, some women's groups only meet in the evenings. Every single night really. So, it had to be carefully balanced cos I had a day job to do. So it went from being an office bound one to a very much outreach bound one. And out wherever I needed to be.[220]

Here, Lucy recounts how she relished the responsibility of undertaking outreach work and threw herself into this new role. She commented that she frequently worked weeknights promoting the WSM to different audiences and was willing to speak to any interested groups. Afterwards, she was eager to emphasise the value of her outreach work in helping the WSM to attain clothing donations:

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[219] Lucy Cave (pseud.), p. 4.
[220] Lucy Cave (pseud.), pp. 3-4.

> I've spoken to Mason's, I've spoken to Rotary, I've spoken to Church Groups, spoken to schools, both primary and secondary, sixth form colleges…Withington Girls School always come to mind as being a school that has expanded its support of our work. But there wasn't a school, whose kids didn't respond, you know, wherever we went. But, particularly the churches. At the recent 140th celebration, it was delightful to walk into a room and see people who have co-opted, when I had contact with their church, to see that they were still doing that ten years later. That was encouraging to know.[221]

A very important feature of this account was a connection between the past and present. It is apparent that Lucy evaluated her experience of outreach work with the WSM in terms of time. Firstly, she argued that her outreach work was important to the organization's operation in the 1980s and 1990s. She suggested that the scope of her promotional endeavours was far-reaching by recounting a list of the groups visited, and insisted that audiences were receptive to her talks. Secondly, she argued that her outreach work continued to benefit the WSM after her retirement in 1998. She mentioned that she met old contacts who continued to support the WSM at the organization's 140th anniversary celebration lunch in January 2009. Lucy's linking of the past and present in forming her account of her outreach work was not spontaneous; it was a conscious effort to demonstrate her contribution to alleviating poverty, and giving value to her experience at the WSM.

Lucy's desire to work at the WSM and undertake outreach work was framed by a structural left-wing interpretation of poverty that evoked compassion towards working-class families. Her recollection of progressing from office-based duties to outreach work was essentially a story of finding fulfilment in her career. Historians of emotion have placed great weight on the psychological effects of accomplishing goals. For example, William Reddy has contended that 'emotions are badges of

[221] Lucy Cave (pseud.), p. 3.

deeply relevant goals' and that individuals 'track the relevance of such goals to the current context'.[222] In effect, Lucy's account of her outreach work provided her with a feeling of well-being. At the end of the interview, she did not use an opportunity to discuss any additional memories of the WSM, suggesting that narrating recollections of her outreach work was her principal objective prior to recording, As we have seen, Sally, Andrew, Liz and Lucy have relayed different accounts of the post-war work of the WSM using contrasting interpretations of poverty. Yet, in all cases, their interpretations played a vital role in shaping efforts to achieve composure when narrating their stories.

Expressions of Empathy

While recollections of the post-war work and operation of the WSM were greatly shaped by interviewee's understandings of the term poverty, another important feature of their testimonies was expression of the concept of empathy. This aspect of their testimonies reflects the significant role of emotion in motivating philanthropy. Indeed, the *Oxford English Dictionary* has defined philanthropy in emotional terms as 'love to mankind'; 'practical benevolence towards men in general'; and 'the disposition of active effort to promote the happiness and well-being of one's fellow man'.[223] From a psychological standpoint, empathy has been defined in differing ways, including 'knowing another's mental state', 'coming to feel as another person feels', 'intuiting or projecting oneself into another's situation' and 'imagining how another is thinking or feeling'.[224] Empathy is used here to denote efforts to bridge the

[222] W. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: Framework for a History of Emotions* (Cambridge: 2001), p. 25.
[223] B. Harrison, *Peaceable kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain* (Oxford: 1982), p. 220.
[224] Batson 'These Things Called Empathy', pp.3-8.

gap between the 'self' and 'other.'[225] This part of the chapter will investigate the way interviewees have expressed empathy in their stories of the WSM, and their efforts to attain 'composure'.

Empathy as a concept was repeatedly expressed within interviewee's recollections of the WSM. In particular, Sally Eremere's oral testimony contained accounts that conveyed empathy in different ways. Similar to her understandings of poverty, Sally's expressions of empathy, within stories recounting her experience as a welfare assistant, were entwined with religion. She recounted one experience from the 1970s of providing assistance to a homeless disabled man who required footwear. What is most striking about her story is that the encounter centred on an act of washing the feet, an established religious practice that symbolises brotherly love and humility.[226] The cleansing of the feet is a dominant image in religious iconography, most famously in depictions of Mary Magdalene anointing the feet of Jesus Christ. In recounting this experience, Sally placed great emphasis on the cleansing of feet as a means of relieving pain. She spoke of steeping his feet in hot water as they were 'welded' to his socks, a consequence of the loss of an arm. She said:

> I don't know what it is like now, but it was certainly like that then, you got to know them so well [pause]…We used to have one, and he only had one arm. Imagine, only having one arm. Bit difficult for sleeping rough as well…And so, he would only come every three or four months for a pair of boots. And he had the pair on that we gave him last time, and of course, because he only had one arm, he had them on all the time, didn't he? You know, he slept rough, so people used to say, tell him to come when Sally's there, she'll help [Sally laughs and smiles]. We would take him down the old cellars, to steep his feet in. Because his

[225] Amy Coplan argued that there are three essential features of empathy that connect the self and other: (1) Affective Matching; (2) Other-Orientated Perspective Taking; and 3 Self-Other Differentiation. See: Coplan, 'Understanding Empathy', p. 6.

[226] For an overview of the ritual of cleansing the feet in Christianity, see G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian art; Vol.2, The passion of Jesus Christ*, (London: 1972), p.42.

> socks were welded to his feet. And I would change them for him, give him all fresh.[227]

Sally's depiction of such a symbolic religious iconographic picture in recollecting the past coalesced with two expressions of empathy. Firstly, she expressed empathy in this narrative as a feeling of concern, compassion and tenderness after witnessing another person's suffering.[228] She made a particular point of mentioning that the disabled homeless man was told to specifically visit her at the WSM, indicating that she had a reputation for helping people in-need. Secondly, she conveyed empathy in the story by imagining herself in another's situation.[229] Sally conveyed this feature of empathy through comments of 'imagine only having one arm' and 'bit difficult for sleeping rough as well'. Although spoken spontaneously, these expressions of empathy were pivotal to her effort to attain 'composure'. Reflecting the need to attain social recognition for an experience from her audience, these comments were intended to prompt me to contemplate the disabled homeless man's experiences of poverty and physical pain, and subsequently to stimulate my compassion and understanding.

As indicated by the depiction of the religious act of cleansing feet, Sally's endeavour to achieve 'composure' was entwined with a reconstruction of the past based on a fulfilment of a Christian duty to take care of the needy. She composed the disabled homeless man as a mysterious unnamed figure who evoked her pity.[230] Similar to Victorian representations of the 'tramp', the homeless man of her story was footsore, unkempt, a wanderer as indicated by his irregular visits to the WSM,

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[227] Sally Eremere (pseud.), p. 8.
[228] For this definition of empathy, see: C. D. Batson, J. Fultz and P. Schoenrade, 'Adults emotional reactions to the distress of others' in N. Eisenberg and J. Strayer (eds.), *Empathy and its Development* (Cambridge:1987), p. 181.
[229] Coplan, 'Understanding Empathy', p. 4.
[230] M.A. Crowther, 'The Tramp' in R. Porter (ed.), *Myths of the English* (Cambridge: 1992), p. 92.

and destitute with no hope of finding employment.[231] In contrast, Sally composed herself as a kind of charitable 'nurse', who relieved the suffering of the poor. Her composition of this role provided her with much satisfaction and pride. This was shown almost at the end of the interview when she returned to the case of the elderly and disabled homeless man:

> Not everybody could have washed that guy's feet in a bucket of water when his feet were welded on. He had them on for five months [Pauses] That didn't bother me. People as good as they are, couldn't do that perhaps. It's alright handing clothes out, but if you have to get really involved with people who are in a mess, not everybody can do that. No disrespect to them.[232]

Sally also expressed the concept of empathy with religious overtones outside the sphere of relieving physical suffering. This was demonstrated in her reminiscence of Bill Cole, an elderly alcoholic, who visited the WSM during the late 1960s and early 1970s, when it was based in Bridge Street. What she distinctly remembered from meeting Bill was that he often asked her to pray for him. Despite describing him as comical, Sally commented that Bill had battled hard against alcoholism, which prompted his request for a prayer. Here, she expressed a notion of empathy as being emotionally affected by someone else's emotions and experiences in her account of Bill.[233] Specifically, she mentioned that she continues to think about her conversation with Bill at the WSM, and his requests for a prayer. Moreover, her recollections of Bill were part of a therapeutic use of the interview, which was illustrated by the location of the story within the testimony. She narrated her account of Bill at the very end of the interview, responding to my prompt inquiring if she had any final memories of the WSM that she would like to discuss:

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[231] J.M. Strange, 'Tramp: Sentiment and the Homeless Man in the Late-Victorian and Edwardian City', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 16:2 (2011), p. 245.
[232] Sally Eremere (pseud.), p. 14.
[233] Coplan, 'Understanding Empathy', p. 4.

> **Mark:** I think I have asked everything on my list, is there anything that you would like to discuss?
> **Sally:** I'll tell you, if you don't mind, I always think about one particular guy who used to come, when we were in Bridge Street, Bill. I will say his name because he is dead. Bill Cole. He was a drunk, but he was comical. He used to come, and he'd say: [Sally pauses] 'You do pray for me, don't you'. [Sally whispers] I say: 'Bill, I pray for you every night, love'…And he was trying really hard, it isn't easy.[234]

Pauses and whispers in the narration of this recollection of Bill Cole indicate the emotive nature of this memory for Sally. What principally made the experience of meeting Bill at the WSM emotional for Sally was his tragic death. Soon after narrating that recollection, I inquired if she knew whether Bill had managed to overcome his alcohol problems. She commented that 'one of his mates told me, that he had got into some sort of argument and somebody had knifed him. He died sadly'.[235] Given this response, and my perception that she started to feel upset, I quickly changed the topic of conversation. As contended by Luisa Passerini, there is a psychological dimension to silences in personal testimonies. These silences, in the recounting of life-stories, reflect 'wounds in the tissue of memory', which influences the information revealed and enclosed.[236] Despite wanting to speak about the experience, the subject matter was a very difficult terrain of memory for Sally, and she was evidently not able to attain 'composure' in the dual senses from speaking about her dealings with Bill at the WSM.

While the death of Bill Cole was a very sensitive area of discussion, Sally did discuss the subject of mortality earlier during the interview. Once again, she expressed a religious dimension of empathy by recalling that she had attended the

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[234] Sally Eremere (pseud.), p. 14.
[235] Sally Eremere (pseud.), p. 15.
[236] L. Passerini, 'Introduction' in L. Passerini (ed.), *Memory and Totalitarianism* (Oxford: 1992), p. 13.

funerals of homeless men whom she met at the WSM using information provided by the Salvation Army. With their funerals paid by the local council, her desire to attend was to give dignity to these homeless men in death. As Julie-Marie Strange has argued in the context of Victorian and Edwardian Britain, public burials were 'synonymous with the shame of poverty' by negating the assertion of an individual's identity.[237] What Sally distinctly remembered was a sense of emptiness at these funerals, with neither their family nor friends in attendance. She recalled that just three people would generally pay their respects at the funerals, a Priest, a Salvation Army officer and herself:

> And some of the old men, it's amazing, I think about it now, ones buried in an open grave quite near where my husband is in Moston. They were in the Salvation Army you see, and the Salvation Army officer let us know if anyone had passed away. If it was at Moston, I would go to the funeral. And there would only be the Sally officer, the priest and me. Very sad, isn't it. Nobody there at the end of a life.[238]

Similar to the account of Bill Cole, Sally's account of attending the funerals of the homeless expresses empathy as being emotionally affected by someone else's experiences. Clearly, her account included an admission that she continues to reflect on the experience. Her admission signifies that she was, at 86 years old, apprehensive about coming to the end of her life. In this respect, her anxieties in the present influenced her recollections of the past, and the creation of her stories of the WSM. Despite her memories of Bill Cole and funeral visits still evoking melancholic feelings, the production of empathy was different between the two experiences. While Bill's death was unexpected, Sally actively decided to attend the funerals, thereby placing herself deliberately in a situation that made her feel emotional. Psychologists have demonstrated that a successful way of reducing empathetic

[237] J.M. Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: 2005), p. 159.
[238] Sally Eremere (pseud.), p. 5.

feeling is exposure control; that is, an individual deliberately avoiding contact with another and to their situation. [239] By attending these funerals, Sally consciously chose not to stop her exposure to empathy out of religious conviction.

Lucy Cave expressed empathy in a different way to Sally Eremere during the interview. For example, Lucy used rhetorical questions to convey empathy, in addition to her understandings of poverty. This was best illustrated in a philosophical response to my enquiry about the WSM's achievements during her involvement: 'I suppose just, just to help for heaven's sake. What else is being a human being about if you don't help your fellow men?'[240] What is also evident is that Lucy struggled to form accounts of personally giving assistance to families at the WSM. While Sally was able to regularly convey empathy when narrating experience of providing face-to-face help as a welfare assistant, Lucy admitted that she typically did not meet families in her position as office administrator. Throughout the interview, Lucy narrated only one detailed story of meeting a family at the WSM, recalling a very difficult experience of speaking to a divorced single mother who was a victim of domestic violence committed at the hands of her estranged husband. Remembering that the mother repeatedly attempted to flee the violence, Lucy mentioned that Manchester City Council relocated the mother and son to different parts of the city several times. Central to her recollections was that the mother required the assistance of the WSM because the estranged husband would destroy her clothing and possessions:

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[239] S. Hodges and K. Klein, 'Regulating the costs of Empathy: The Price of being Human', *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 30 (2001), p. 444. For a detailed article on empathetic exposure, see: L. Shaw, C.D Batson, and R. Todd, 'Empathy Avoidance: Forestalling Feeling for another in order to escape the motivational consequences', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67:5 (1994) pp. 879-887.

[240] Lucy Cave (pseud.), p. 1.

> And I always found her to be immensely courageous because she would suddenly be on the phone after ten days or a week after she had received clothing from us, and she'd just say: 'He's found me again'. And I would tell her to come in, because he would burn all her stuff and tear it all up. [Lucy recites more quickly and loudly] Because that's one way, a man tries to keep hold of a woman in violence by ripping and tearing apart her clothes. Working on the principle if she hasn't got clothes, she won't go.[241]

It was evident that Lucy was emotionally affected by the mother's experiences. Describing the mother as an 'immensely courageous woman', Lucy felt incredibly sorry for her, and greatly admired her bravery in attempting to escape the situation. Crucially, Lucy conveyed the notion of empathetic anger in recounting this difficult experience. Empathetic anger, as highlighted by the psychologist Martin Hoffman, arises when a person witnesses someone else's distress or suffering, and feels anger towards the perpetrator by taking the victim's perspective and sympathising with their feelings.[242] Lucy's expression of empathetic anger in recounting this experience was shown by the criticism directed at the estranged husband for causing so much pain to his former wife and child. She added: 'He was a very disturbed young man, and no matter what he did, he never seemed to get restrained'.[243] As a consequence, her recall of this experience displayed an 'empathetic duality', which in turn, contrasted an empathetic distress for the victim and an empathy based anger at the aggressor.[244]

Given her anger, Lucy did not attain the dual satisfactions of 'composure' in recounting the experience. In common with Sally Eremere's conversations with Bill Cole, the experience was an uncomfortable ground of memory for Lucy. Contributing further to the emotive dimension of the memory was the fact that Lucy

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[241] Lucy Cave (pseud.), pp. 5-6.
[242] M. Hoffman, *Empathy and Moral Development*, p. 98.
[243] Lucy Cave (pseud.), p. 6.
[244] Hoffman, *Empathy and Moral Development*, p. 98.

never knew whether the mother and child had managed to successfully escape the violence. She admitted that she still thought about the mother: 'I often wonder whether she managed to dump him and begin to live some peaceful life'.[245] Yet, in comparison to Sally, Lucy did not have a strong wish to speak about the experience. Lucy only told this story in response to much prompting about her vivid memories of work at the WSM. Furthermore, she did not return to discuss the experience at any later point in the remainder of the interview. Although a difficult memory, her decision to relay the story was not motivated by a therapeutic need, but rather borne out of a desire to give an honest testimony.

Expressing empathy was also a significant feature of the testimonies of WSM 'clients'. While Sally and Lucy predominantly conveyed empathy when recounting stories about their meetings with families and individuals requiring assistance, Andrew Smith and Liz Shaw put across the concept several times when reminiscing about family life during their childhood. In their testimonies, Andrew and Liz expressed empathy as acts of compassion displayed by their parents. As Harry Hendrick notes, child-parent relationships in Britain tended to become less authoritarian and more liberal after the 1920s. This was a result of factors including the decline of strict religious views, and the emergence of a 'new' child psychology, especially advocated by John Bowlby, which called attention to the harmful social effects of 'maternal deprivation'.[246] Parental acts of kindness and compassion framed both Andrew's and Liz's vivid memories of the post-war work of the WSM. For example, Andrew recounted a story of his parents collecting a specific Christmas toy from the WSM in response to a question about his earliest memory of the organization. He recalled that he discovered this present almost immediately after his

[245] Lucy Cave (pseud.), p. 6.
[246] H. Hendrick, *Children, Childhood and English Society, 1880-1990* (Cambridge: 1997), pp. 28-35.

parents visited the WSM, which subsequently brought about a realisation that the toy was given via charity:

> When we got home, my dad took the one bag upstairs, and mother started to take, it was tins of food, it was a food parcel, and it was Christmas time. And when we went upstairs, we knew as kids, where mum and dad hid our toys at Christmas. [Andrew jokingly grinned and I laughed]. So I looked through, and looked through, and I see there were no toys before my dad went up, but when my dad had been up, I seen toys. So, I knew that this place [the WSM] had given the toys and the food. And there was a toy in the cupboard that I specifically wanted, I was hoping I that would get it…It sounds daft, but all it was, was a wind-up toy.[247]

Andrew recounted this story in a relaxed manner, indicating that he enjoyed narrating this recollection. It is important to note that the transcript of the interview demonstrates a display of empathy on two levels. On one level, he carefully narrated his parents' actions of kindness in hiding his toys for Christmas and collecting a specific present from the WSM. This was shown by repetition at the end of the story – he affirmed twice that he really wanted the wind-up toy given to him at Christmas. On another level, his narration of the story was influenced by a display of empathy between himself and me. The transcript shows that, in the middle of recounting the recollection, he jokingly grinned and I laughed. Here, I expressed a reflexed and unplanned form of empathy as a knowing of Andrew's thoughts and feelings. Our joking contributed to a relaxed and friendly atmosphere, which helped him to complete telling the story. In effect, the production of the account was structured by controlled and automatic display of empathy.[248]

Most importantly, Andrew's conveying of empathy in this story was part of a consistent effort across the interview to nostalgically remember his childhood.

[247] Andrew Smith, (pseud.), p. 1.
[248] On automatic and controlled empathy, see: S. Hodges and D. Wagner (ed.), 'Automatic and Controlled Empathy' in W. Ickes, *Empathetic Accuracy* (New York: 1997), pp. 311-337.

Nostalgia as a mode of expression, as highlighted by Steven Brooke, was firmly entrenched in working-class culture in post-war Britain, and it accorded stability and integrity to the experience of hardship.[249] As seen earlier, Andrew stressed that a feature of his upbringing was 'good' family values of determination and thrift, reflected in stories about the repetition of evening meals and the saving of food for Christmas. While Andrew's understanding of poverty was connected to reminiscence orientated to maintain self-esteem, his expressions of empathy were linked to a fond remembering of the past that provided him with much contentment and psychological composure.

Andrew's expressions of empathy in the interview were also connected to the present. Referring to his return to the WSM as an adult in 2004, he expressed empathy in relation to the need to take care of his partner and three children. Following a discussion of his childhood recollections of the WSM, he recalled that he initially felt stunned about going back to the organization. He commented: 'I was astounded, I mean, I was astounded, when we got a referral [from the welfare officer], it had WSM on it, I told my partner I was going there as a child'.[250] An important aspect of Andrew's testimony were his reflections regarding the WSM assisting three generations of his family – his parents, himself and his siblings, and his children. His reflections communicated a deep emotional attachment and loyalty to the WSM for its support over many years. This attachment was evident in his final comments in response to the end of the interview prompts. He reflected that he would 'love' to help the WSM and other families in the event of him winning the lottery:

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[249] S. Brooke, 'Gender and Working Class Identity in Britain during the 1950s', *Journal of Social History* 34:4 (2001), p. 773.
[250] Andrew Smith, (pseud.), p. 7.

> I have always said to my partner, I have a go on the lottery occasionally…I've always said to her, if I ever won the lottery or something like that, I would love to come here and the carers centre where I go as well, cos they do a heck of a lot of good as well, and I'd love to be able to turn around and say,[pause] how much does it cost to take twenty families on holiday and sponsor it. It would be great something like that.[251]

Andrew's concluding remarks at the end of the interview illustrate his dream of sponsoring the WSM in the future for helping him at different stages of his life. His comments about helping other families can be interpreted as empathetic altruism, with altruism defined as 'a motivational state with the ultimate goal of increasing another's welfare'.[252] According to C. Daniel Batson, empathetic altruism involves an adoption of the perspective of the other in producing motivation, and not self-interested causes, such as punishment-avoiding, reward-seeking and alleviating personal distress.[253] In this case, Andrew's comments concerning his lottery plans denote that he has long aspired to sponsor the WSM – it was a way of saying 'thank you' for the assistance given to him and expressing his concern and sympathy for others who found themselves in a similar situation. Although Andrew's position as a current client of the WSM could have manifested in a desire not to give an interview, his decision to speak about his experiences was driven by a wish to support the organization. Giving an interview was a token of his appreciation for the WSM's assistance at difficult periods of his life.

Liz Shaw also expressed empathy in the past recollections and current opinions during the interview. Empathetic actions were present in Liz's mind when attempting to compose accounts of the WSM, an endeavour that she found difficult given her disconnect with the organization for over 50 years. While she was unable to form

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[251] Andrew Smith, (pseud.), p. 8.
[252] Batson, *The Altruism Question*, p. 6.
[253] Batson, *The Altruism Question*, p. 8.

accounts about her visiting the WSM for clothing and Christmas toys, she did relay a detailed story concerning the Blackpool free-holiday scheme involving a parental act of kindness. She reminisced that she was not used to the dark at bedtimes on the Blackpool holiday, as her mother had always left the landing light switched on at night for her children. Her most distinctive memory of the holiday was of trying to sleep in the holiday home dormitory. In response to a question concerning her vivid memories of the holiday, she said:

> Having your own bed, and the three meals a day. [Pause] The big dormitory painted pink. Things like that would stick out more, than the day trips. Cos, that was like another world. [Pause]You weren't sharing a bed with three sisters in a cramped house, with thirteen kids. And the peace and quiet as well… It all seemed so strange, the quietness at night. They turned the lights out, cos my mum always left the landing light on…They turned all the lights out. 'Right lights out!' And you would lay in this bed, on your own.[254]

What also stuck in her mind was the quietness in the dormitories at night, a consequence of not having to share a bed with her three sisters. Her memory of sharing beds with her siblings was especially reflective of experience in traditional working-class life. Indeed, Anna Davin has argued that, in a study of childhood in Victorian and Edwardian London, hardship necessitated bed-sharing, and that children in the same room would naturally keep each other awake.[255] Liz's reminisces regarding bed-sharing in a cramped house were part of a wider assertion that the Blackpool holiday was a completely new experience, which differed with ordinary family life, typified by hardship. But, the importance of the holiday for her lay not in the excursions to popular entertainment venues such as the Pleasure Beach

[254] Liz Shaw (pseud.), p. 3.
[255] Anna Davin, *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London, 1870-1914* (London: 1996), pp. 52-57.

or Tower Circus, but simply on her stay at the Squires Gate holiday home, and how this experience contrasted with her family life.

Liz's childhood experiences of the Blackpool holiday were connected to her decision to give an interview. Her response to my newspaper advertisement in May 2011 was not simply prompted by a wish to relay her memories of the holiday, but also a reflection that the whole experience profoundly impacted on her life. The newspaper advert was the catalyst for her review of the past and present, and the way in which childhood experiences of hardship and charity impacted on her life-course. In particular, she reasoned that experiences on holiday – three meals a day, your own bed and sleeping in a nice pink dormitory – built her hopes and dreams for a better life from an early age. In this respect, her comments in the interview echoed the beliefs of the WSM management committee during the 1940s and 1950s, who as noted in Chapter 1, claimed that the Blackpool free-holiday scheme developed children's aspirations through an experience of witnessing affluence and material comfort at the holiday home. Her immediate response to a question about why she contacted me for an interview was that the holiday opened her eyes to a 'different world':

> **Mark:** If you don't mind me asking, because you contacted me through the advert, what motivated you to contact me?
> **Liz:** It was just to let you know, [pause] that I had fond memories of going to Blackpool, and it did open my eyes, that there is a different world out there when you are poor. And you've got nothing. It's just to let you know that it's a good thing that charities did this [holidays] for children, because it can alter their way of life completely. You see, if I had never gone on those holidays, and realised that there was big pink dormitories and beds you had on your own, I might have gone for years not wanting better. Don't get me wrong, my mum tried to give us the best she could, but I wanted better myself, I wanted more. I wanted to go out of Manchester, and see England…But there are kids in Manchester

> where I live now that have never got out of Manchester…I think you need charities to carry on, and try to do their best. [256]

It is evident that Liz's expressions of empathy in response to my question had a current context. Despite it being mentioned before the interview that the Blackpool free-holiday scheme had ended during the 1960s, she viewed such work as having a contemporary social relevance. Remarking that charities can alter children's 'way of life completely', she implied that children from disadvantaged families in Manchester at this time would respond to free-holidays in a similar way to her, conveying empathy by projecting her own experiences and views onto others.[257] Liz's reflections and judgements were framed by her stable financial position in middle-age, which required no charitable assistance. Although not wealthy, she was able to afford certain luxuries. Prior to recording the interview, she mentioned that she only had 90 minutes to speak as she had an appointment to meet her daughter for lunch at a city-centre bar. For Liz, the interview was an opportunity to affirm a narrative of personal change, and to mark how the post-war activities of the WSM provided the inspiration for her to make the most out of life.

It is also important to recognise the political context of the production of her testimony. Her decision to voice support for the WSM came at a time of significant public anxiety in Manchester over the Coalition government's austerity measures, and extent of the impact of the 'cuts' on the poorest families. Only four months before the interview, the Bishop of Manchester, Rev Nigel McCulloch argued that the cuts were 'completely lacking in compassion' and that it was 'just not right' that

[256] Liz Shaw(pseud.), p. 6.
[257] D. Ickes, 'Empathetic Accuracy: Its Links to Clinical, Cognitive, Developmental, Social and Physiological Psychology' in J. Decety and W. Ickes (eds.), *The Social Neuroscience of Empathy* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT 2009) p. 57.

Manchester and other deprived cities should face such savage cuts.[258] Although Liz did not refer to the Coalition government, her comments suggest that the economic climate in Britain was a cause of much frustration and annoyance. Her motives to recount her childhood experiences and convey her views were as much public as personal. Even with the knowledge that the free-holiday scheme had ended, Liz maintained her message about the importance of the WSM. Through my research, she wanted people to know that the WSM can make a real difference to the lives of children in Manchester, and to ensure that the public continue to support the organization in the future.

Conclusions

Using the WSM as a case study, this chapter has made an innovative contribution to the historiography of post-war welfare by exploring how former charity staff and clients have remembered and reconstructed their experiences. Building on the work of Alessandro Portelli, Penny Summerfield and Alistair Thomson, the chapter drew on a theory of memory composure to analyse the oral testimonies of former WSM employees and clients.[259] The chapter establishes that their testimonies were shaped by diverse understandings of poverty and multiple expressions of empathy. As we have seen, their recollections of the WSM were structured by religious, class and political interpretations of poverty. For example, Sally's stories of helping homeless alcoholic men echoed the message of Victorian temperance tracts that alcohol is the root cause of poverty, while Andrew's narratives of working-class thrift emphasised

[258] Manchester Evening News, 28 February 2011. See: http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/bishop-of-manchester-blasts-government-cuts-855059 (assessed: 21 September 2013).

[259] See: A. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories* (Albany, NY: 1991), pp.1-29; Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, pp.16-23; and Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend*, pp. 7-13.

a resistance to hardship. In contrast, Liz and Lucy's understandings of poverty conformed to a twentieth-century interpretation: Liz used the needle of 'austerity' to thread the past and present together, and Lucy's recollections fitted into a left-wing structural view of poverty.

Expressions of empathy were also integral to the recounting of stories about the post-war work and operation of the WSM. Oral testimonies contained features of empathy as charted by psychologists such as C.D. Batson, including empathetic feelings, inference, exposure, imagining and anger.[260] It is noticeable that expressions of empathy were connected to the present. For example, Liz conveyed empathic inference when relating her experience to those of children currently impacted by the Coalition government's austerity policies. Crucially, this chapter demonstrates that understandings of poverty and expressions of empathy framed former WSM employees and clients endeavours to achieve 'composure' during the interview. Andrew used a definition of a psychical efficiency definition of poverty to compose a positive narrative of working-class struggle that brought satisfaction and psychological composure. Furthermore, Lucy's testimony featured discomposure and an expression of empathetic anger when she recalled listening to the single mother's experiences of domestic violence. Thus, this chapter shows that the concepts of poverty and empathy were malleable dynamics in the formation of contemporary accounts of philanthropy, and that these concepts were vital in the attempts of both employees and clients to derive 'composure' from recounting the past.

This investigation of the oral testimonies of former WSM staff and clients also developed knowledge about the nature of inter-subjectivity within the context of

[260] See: Batson, 'These Things Called Empathy: Eight Related but Distinct Phenomena', pp. 1-15.

post-war poverty and philanthropy. In particular, the chapter draws on Graham Dawson's assertion that the production and narration of stories is socially conditioned, in which an interviewee's efforts to achieve psychological composure when recounting the past are dependent on audience recognition.[261] It is evident that questions and prompts, markers of my identity and background, gestures and joking, moulded their recounting of their recollections of the WSM. Moreover, my role as an interviewer influenced the way in which recollections were told – they were told with humour, melancholy, honesty and anger. This retelling of the stories reveals the effects of recollecting experiences of post-war philanthropy. It was, amongst other things, empowering, emotional and painful.

On a more fundamental level, this chapter has illustrated that the WSM had profound impact on the participants in this research. For example, Sally still had a strong desire to narrate moving encounters of providing assistance as illustrated by her account of Bill Cole. Reflected in her recollections of outreach work, Lucy derived a great source of pride when reviewing her career at the WSM. Andrew conveyed a genuine loyalty to the WSM for helping generations of his family, and Liz felt that her childhood holiday to Blackpool altered her life-course by fostering a sense of aspiration. Indeed, they all demonstrated their desire to support the WSM by granting an interview, and relating their positive accounts of its poverty relief work. However, this does show a methodological limitation to the research. Given that poverty and charity are delicate topics, it was unsurprising that those who may have had difficult experiences at the WSM could not be located to give an interview. Nonetheless, it is clear that the WSM has always evoked powerful and enduring memories.

[261] Dawson, *Solider Heroes*, p. 23.

Conclusion

Using a case study of the WSM, this thesis has demonstrated that microhistory can make a significant addition to the historiography of poverty, charity and secularisation in post-war Britain. While historians including Geoffrey Finlayson and Pat Thane have examined broad continuities and changes within the voluntary sector on a macro national level, the practice of microhistory can significantly expand historical understanding by providing a close, detailed analysis of the work and operation of charitable institutions.[1] This study of the WSM has utilised a microhistory approach to explore how the organization tackled poverty, the extent to which its welfare activities were successful, how it financed its philanthropic work, and the way it interacted with the media to promote its cause. Furthermore, this study of the WSM has revealed that microhistory can expand knowledge of the boundaries of welfare in post-war Britain by analysing how charitable institutions responded to central and local government policies, attempted to connect with local communities, and how they organised financial resources at times of social and economic instability. Yet, the main advantage of adopting a microhistory approach, as opposed to analysing several organizations, is that it can open a window on to the everyday life at a charitable organization. As we have seen, this study has been able to unearth key decisions made by the WSM management committee, the organization's daily and weekly philanthropic practices, the layout of its activities, and experiences of former staff and clients.

[1] See: G. Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain, 1830-1990* (Oxford: 1994); and. P. Thane, 'Voluntary Action in Britain since Beveridge' in M. Oppenheimer and N. Deakin (eds.), *Beveridge and Voluntary Action in Britain and the Wider British World* (Manchester: 2011), pp. 120-134.

This microhistory of the WSM has made an important contribution to the study of post-war welfare. In particular, this thesis builds on Jane Lewis's contention that the welfare system is a 'mixed economy' of changing relationships between the state, private and voluntary groups, and the individual.[2] What this microhistory of the WSM has shown is that local, middle-class philanthropy was a resilient and dynamic force within the mixed economy of welfare in post-war Britain. Between May 1945 and December 1990, the WSM performed a diverse range of work in the fields of health, leisure, education and advice to alleviate economic and social tension stemming from inflation, unemployment, housing and juvenile delinquency. The diversity of the organization's activities during the post-war period can also be illustrated by the list of groups assisted: unemployed and low-paid families with children; working-class teenagers, including school pupils and juvenile offenders; city workers; homeless people; and old men and women. This thesis has established that, in spite of initial post-war fears about the survival of voluntary action, local middle-class philanthropy was a vital component within the mixed economy of welfare.

This microhistory of the WSM has additionally enriched the debate over secularisation in post-war Britain. Hugh McLeod and Callum Brown have asserted that Britain decisively moved in a secular direction from the 1960s onwards, and Frank Prochaska put forward a similar view with regard to the voluntary sector.[3] Utilising microhistory to study the WSM – an institution with strong evangelical roots – the thesis has problematized Prochaska's argument that post-war welfare led

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[2] J. Lewis, *The Voluntary Sector, the State and Social Work in Britain: The Charity Organization Society/ Family Welfare Association since 1869* (Aldershot: 1995), p. 3.

[3] See: H. McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (Oxford: 2007), pp. 61-82; C. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation* (London: 2009), pp. 175-192; and F. Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford: 2008), pp. 148-176.

to a devitalisation of Christian philanthropy by bringing to light the complexities and implications of the secularisation process.[4] An important aim of this study is to demonstrate that the WSM's experience of adjustment to the welfare state, and its movement toward a secular path, was not immediate. Rather, it was gradual and painful, which culminated in the March 1962 'crisis' meeting as highlighted in Chapter 1. Secularisation was subsequently displayed in diverse ways at the WSM: the renaming of its Sunday school and later closure of the church; its attempts to develop 'good' citizenship via the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme; and the recruitment of directors based on their professional expertise, rather than their religious conviction. Secularisation also had financial implications – it opened opportunities for the WSM to attain substantial central and local government to establish projects, including the Birchfield Lodge outdoor pursuit scheme in the 1960s and sports centre in the late 1970s.Yet, it is important to note that religion remained part of the WSM's post-war history. For example, Lucy Cave recalled that the WSM heavily relied on church donations of clothing and toys, whilst Sally Eremere's memories of its work were entwined with religious imagery.

Crucially, this thesis has made a unique contribution to the historiography of post-war welfare by revealing how former charity staff and clients of the WSM have remembered and reconstructed their experience. Although historians such as Elizabeth Roberts, Andrew Davies and Anna Davin have used oral interviews to document working-class people's experience of hardship, this research has broken new ground by exploring the subjectivities of former charity staff and clients, and how they internalised and moulded meanings of poverty when constructing their life

[4] Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain*, pp. 167-168.

stories.[5] Drawing on the work of cultural historians of subjectivity, such as Alessandro Portelli and Penny Summerfield, this study applied the theory of memory composure to the context of poverty and charity in post-war Britain.[6] This thesis has demonstrated that oral recollections of the WSM were not only shaped by conflicting old and contemporary views of poverty, but also several expressions of the concept of empathy. At a more fundamental level, the thesis establishes that the writing of post-war philanthropy should incorporate the voices of those within the welfare system at the ground level. In this respect, E.P. Thompson's justification for studying the working-class still rings true: 'they lived through these times of acute social disturbance and we did not. Their aspirations were valid in terms of their own experience, and if they were causalities of history, they remain condemned in their own lives as causalities'.[7]

What more can historians of charity and welfare learn from this microhistory of the WSM's post-war work and operation? A first important insight concerns changes in the post-war relationship between the state and charitable institutions. Social policy scholars such as Marilyn Taylor, Nicolas Deakin and Pete Alcock have examined government policy towards the voluntary sector, and argued that the sector has assumed a growing importance in the formulation of social policy.[8] By adopting a micro historical approach, this thesis has shed light on how, and why, the WSM

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[5] See: E. Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women, 1890-1940* (Oxford: 1984); A. Davies, *Gender and Poverty: Working-Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900-1939* (Buckingham: 1992); and A. Davin, *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London, 1970-1914* (London: 1996).

[6] See: A. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories* (Albany, NY: 1991); and P. Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives: Discourse and Subjectivity in Oral Histories of the Second World War* (Manchester: 1994).

[7] E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: 1968), p. 13.

[8] See: M. Taylor, 'Voluntary Action and the State' in D. Gladstone (ed.), *British Social Welfare: Past, Present and Future* (London: 1994), pp. 214-240; N. Deakin, 'The Perils of Partnership: The Voluntary Sector and the State, 1945-1992' in J. Davis Smith, C. Rochester and R. Hedley, *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector* (London: 1995), pp. 40-65; and P. Alcock; *Social Policy in Britain* (Basingstoke: 2008), pp. 151-163.

adopted varying roles in relation to the state. For example, the first chapter illustrated the WSM's reluctance to alter its philanthropic practices in response to the establishment of the post-war welfare state, which in turn, was a result of a strong commitment to its evangelical aims. In contrast, the second chapter demonstrated how the WSM, with an objective to modernise its image and justify its importance to statutory welfare authorities, actively responded to the limitations of state welfare provision by launching experimental projects for young people. The third chapter saw the WSM forge new relationships with the state by participating in state-funded urban regeneration projects and responding to government-induced unemployment by significantly expanding its poverty relief role. Taken as a whole, these chapters illustrate that the WSM deepened its ties to statutory authorities, mirroring a growing realisation that neither the state nor charitable endeavour alone could eradicate poverty.

A second important insight relates to the changing post-war landscape of voluntary sector funding. Focusing on the national picture, Maria Brenton and David Wilson have investigated trends in voluntary sector income and asserted that the sector became increasingly reliant on state grants.[9] This microhistory of the WSM has challenged the notion that the post-war financing of charitable institutions was simply a story of ever-increasing government funding. In many respects, the receipt of central and local government grants was a double-edged sword for the WSM. Although state funding helped the WSM to establish new projects, this investment could undermine its financial viability. As highlighted in Chapter 3, the closure of the sports centre in 1990 illustrated that state funding was not an entirely positive

[9] See: M. Brenton, *The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services* (London: 1985), pp. 57-85; and D. Wilson, 'New Trends in the Funding of Charities: The Tripartite System of Funding' in. A. Ware (ed.), *Charities and Government* (Manchester: 1989), p. 55-81. For an assessment of the economic contribution of the voluntary sector in the 1990s, see: J. Kendall, *The Voluntary Sector: Comparative Perspectives in the UK* (London: 2003), pp.19-43.

development. Moreover, it is evident that the WSM's income streams did not support a trend of ever-increasing state funding, which supplanted charitable giving. In 1945/46, approximately 75 per cent of the WSM's current income derived from charitable giving, with the other 25 per cent coming from investments.[10] In contrast, this balance had changed considerably by 1989/90, with around 45 per cent of current account income derived from investments, 20 per cent from charitable giving, 20 per cent from sports centre receipts and 15 per cent from local authority grants.[11]

A third important insight centres on the interactions between charitable institutions and the media. This microhistory of the WSM adds to a growing body of historical literature on the topic; for example, Eve Colpus has investigated how popular cultural mediums have framed and represented altruistic causes using the paradigms of BBC philanthropic radio appeals in the 1920s and 1930s, and Lucy Robinson has investigated the growth of charity singles during the 1980s and 1990s.[12] Above all, this thesis has established that the WSM obtained significant media coverage during the post-war years. Generating interest from national and local newspapers was achieved in a number of ways; the Squires Gate holiday home was constructed as a 'special' place for children; Arnold Yates promoted the WSM through the medium of feature-length interviews; the launching of experimental youth projects, such as the advice centre, aroused considerable curiosity; and persuading *Coronation Street's* Thelma Barlow to front its Toy and Tin appeal capitalised on the appeal of celebrity. A particularly prominent feature of the WSM's

[10] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1946, p. 11.
[11] WSM/2/2, *Annual Report*, 1990, p. 5.
[12] See: E. Colpus, 'The Week's Good Cause: Mass Culture and Cultures of Philanthropy at the Interwar BBC', *Twentieth Century British History*, 22:3 (2011), pp. 305-329; and L. Robinson, 'Putting the Charity Back into Charity Singles in Britain, 1984-1995', *Contemporary British History*, 26:3,(2012), pp. 405-425.

post-war operation was the use of contemporary media forms to promote its traditional poverty relief activities, as in December 1990, when the organization participated in the Granada Telethon. To a large extent, this research chimes with Eve Colpus's assertion that the history of British philanthropy is characterised by a 'cultural blending', in which new modes of communication disseminate and recycle long-standing messages about charity and civic duty.[13] As we have seen, the WSM's pre-1945 representations of itself as a 'rescuer of poverty' heavily surfaced in its promotional efforts across the post-war years.

Whilst this thesis covered the period from May 1945 to December 1990, it is interesting to note that the work and operation of the WSM has not fundamentally changed over the following decades. Despite the pledge of New Labour to abolish child poverty by 2020, the WSM has responded to continuing high levels of poverty and deprivation in Manchester by expanding its traditional poverty relief activities, and resisting diversification into other areas of welfare. As recently as 2011, Save the Children found that Manchester (with Tower Hamlet in London) had the highest level of child poverty within local authorities nationally.[14]At present, the WSM runs five projects based on the distribution of necessities: a clothing operation; an Easter food hamper and chocolate egg scheme; a school uniform project; a children's book club; and the giving of Christmas toy and food parcels.[15] The development of the WSM over the past three decades indicates that William Beveridge's ambition

[13] Colpus, 'The Week's Good Cause', p. 328.

[14] This research was expressed in a briefing by Save the Children entitled 'Severe Child Poverty: Nationally and Locally' released in February 2011. It was estimated that 27 per cent of all children in Manchester lived in 'severe poverty' using a definition of severe poverty as families living on less than £134 per week for a lone parent with one child and £240 per week for a couple with £240 for a couple with two children'. See:
http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/resources/online-library/severe-child-poverty-nationally-and-locally (assessed: 15 December 2012).

[15] WSM newsletter, May 2013. See:
http://www.woodstreetmission.org.uk/images/May2013%20Newsletter.pdf (Assessed: 1 August 2013).

during the late 1940s that the state would eradicate poverty and the voluntary sector would fulfil a pioneering function in welfare provision was not fulfilled. Especially since the 1980s, the sustained levels of material deprivation has increased pressure on the WSM to return to long standing poverty relief activities and limited their freedom to innovate in welfare.

Through this microhistory of the WSM, this thesis has sought to contribute to a rapidly developing historiography of voluntary action and welfare in Britain. Recent research over the past decade on the topic has ranged from the workings of the Inner London Juvenile Court, to the fundraising strategies of Save the Children, and to the interplay between the government, the public and the homeless lobby.[16] Yet, the opportunities for further investigation of the topic are enormous; for example, there has been little analysis of charitable institutions catering for disabled people and ethnic minorities during the post-war years.[17] An interesting possibility for studying voluntary action relates to a history of emotions.[18] Historians such as William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein and Peter Sterns have argued that the study of emotion can offer new insights into political, social and cultural history. Exploration of emotions, in the view of Sterns, would permit the historian to make stronger

[16] See: K. Bradley, 'Juvenile Delinquency, the Juvenile Courts and the Settlement Movement 1908–1950: Basil Henriques and Toynbee Hall', *Twentieth Century British History*, 19:2 (2008), pp. 133-155; E. Baughan, 'Every Citizen of Empire Implored to Save the Children!' Empire, internationalism and the Save the Children Fund in inter-war Britain, Historical Research**,** 86:231 (2013), pp. 116-137; and N. Crowson, 'Revisiting the 1977 Housing (Homeless Persons) Act: Westminster, Whitehall, and the Homelessness Lobby', *Twentieth Century British History*, 24:3 (2013), pp. 424-447.

[17] Historical studies have examined charitable work for disabled ex-soldiers prior to the Second World War. See, in particular, J. Reznick, *Healing the Nation: Soldiers and the Culture of Caregiving during the Great War* (Manchester: 2004). There is also historical research on charitable endeavour for African and West Indian Communities prior to 1945. See: C.E.Wilson, 'Racism and Private Assistance: The Support of West Indian and African Missions in Liverpool, England during the interwar years', *African Studies Review*, 35:2 (1992), pp. 55-76.

[18] For an introductory overview of the history of emotions, see: J. Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein and Peter Sterns', *History and Theory* 49:2 (2010), pp. 237-265. For important work by the interviewed authors, see: P. N. Stearns and C. Z. Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *American Historical Review* 90:4 (1985), pp. 813-836; B. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y: 2006); and W. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for a History of Emotions* (Cambridge: 2011).

connections between psychology and history when studying social events and problems.[19] Concepts including the 'emotive' and 'emotional suffering' proposed by Reddy, 'emotional community' put forward by Rosenwein, and 'emotionology' suggested by Sterns, can provide a framework for the analysis of charitable work.[20] An emotional history of voluntary action could help further untangle the experience of poverty and philanthropy in post-war Britain.

This thesis has sought to provide a detailed and unflinching account of the post-war history of the WSM to further historical understanding of the mixed economy of welfare. Analysing the experience of the WSM has illustrated a necessity to move past long-standing notions of 'kindness' and 'social control' as explanations of philanthropic drive, and a historical imperative to investigate charitable activity in terms of state agendas, voluntary sector associations, media interactions and working-class subcultures. This microhistory of the WSM has demonstrated that charitable activity is neither straightforwardly motivated nor implemented, but framed by intense governmental, financial and moral pressures. Most fundamentally, this microhistory of the WSM reveals that the history of post-war charitable work in Britain should not be written as a one-dimensional story of either success or failure, or even continuity or change, but rather treated as a complicated and fractious story.

[19] Plamper, 'The History of Emotions', p. 262.
[20] For a definition of the concepts of the 'emotive' and 'emotional suffering', see Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, pp. 104-106 and pp. 122-124. For 'emotional communities', see, Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 2. For 'emotionology', see: P. N. Stearns and C.Z. Stearns, 'Emotionology', p. 813.

Appendix 1

The Financial Position of the WSM

The following tables show the changes in the WSM's financial position between 1945 and 1990. Table 1 demonstrates that the WSM's expenditure consistently exceed income, with the exception of 1945. It also shows a trend of both rising income and expenditure, but with expenditure increasing at a much faster pace. Table 2 shows the level of the WSM's reserve funds. It illustrates the detrimental impact of inflation over the 1970s, and the financial security provided by the receipt of legacies and the sale of Birchfield Lodge Outdoor Pursuit Centre during the early 1980s.

Table 1: WSM Income and Expenditure (£)

Year	Income	Expenditure	Surplus/Loss
1945	4591	4258	333
1950	£7851	£9935	- £2084
1955	£9786	£12,709	- £2923
1960	£10,222	£17,808	- £7586
1965	£10,817	£20,013	- £9196
1971	£18,998	£24,470	- £5472
1975	£30,030	£43,828	- £13,798
1980	£74,985	£82,127	- £7142
1985	£60,297	£72,412	- £12,115
1990	£77,520	£101,098	- £23,578

Source: WSM/2/2, Annual Reports, 1945-1990.

Table 2: WSM Reserve Account (£)

Year	Reserve Account
1945	40,150
1950	41,269
1955	52,236
1960	62,331
1965	44,366
1971	63,315
1975	36,423
1980	30,457
1985	161,574

Source: WSM/2/2, Annual Reports, 1945-1985.
Note: The data for 1990 was not recorded in the annual report.

Appendix 2

Brief biographical details of interviewees

Note: Pseudonyms are used in all cases.

Lucy Cave

Born: Salford, 1941
Parents: Father, lorry driver; mother: shop assistant.
Education: Primary and secondary school to age 15, college to age 16.
Relationship to WSM: Staff (Administrator, 1988 -1998)
Contact: Through the WSM
Month and Year of Interview: July 2009

Sally Eremere

Born: Wakefield, 1923
Parents: Millworkers.
Education: School to age 14
Relationship to WSM: Staff (Welfare assistant, 1969 - 1989)
Contact: Through the WSM
Month and Year of Interview: July 2009.

Hayley Lawrence

Born: Radcliffe (Lancashire), 1939
Parents: Shopkeepers
Education: Primary and secondary school.
Relationship to WSM: Management, 1961-1988.
Contact: Through the WSM
Month and Year of Interview: July 2009.

Harold Palmer

Born: Southport, 1939
Parents: Father, university professor.
Education: King's School, Macclesfield, to age of 18; Bristol University
Relationship to WSM: Management, 1966-2010.
Contact: Through the WSM
Month and Year of Interview: July 2009.

Liz Shaw

Born: Manchester, 1953
Parents: Father, unemployed; Mother, factory worker.
Education: Primary and grammar school.
Relationship to WSM: Client (1950s)
Contact: Advertisement in *North and East Manchester Advertiser*
Month and Year of Interview: June 2011.

Andrew Smith

Born: Manchester, 1961
Parents: Father, factory worker; mother, housewife.
Education: Primary and secondary schools
Relationship to WSM: Client (1970s and 2004 onwards)
Contact: Through the WSM
Month and Year of Interview: July 2009.

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Web Resources

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Charity Commission, http://www.charitycommission.gov.uk/

Margaret Thatcher Foundation, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/

Royal College of Physicians, http://www.rcplondon.ac.uk/

Voluntary Action History Society, http://www.vahs.org.uk/