

### Interviewee: Elizabeth Callister

Interviews conducted by Nicky Leap and Billie Hunter during research for the publication '*The Midwife's Tale: an Oral History from Handywoman to Professional Midwife*' (1993; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 2013)

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#### **Description:**

Transcript of an interview with Elizabeth Callister covering her experiences as a midwife, including her training as a general nurse at the Royal Lancaster Infirmary (1938), midwifery training in Bradford and Wakefield, hospital work in Grimsby, on the district in Battersea, social conditions, different attitudes on hospital births and fathers being present at the birth, existence of handywomen, sexual knowledge, methods of delivery, pain relief, health and diet, abortions and family planning, and the relationship between midwives and doctors.

Edith Callister was born in Eire in 1905 into a working-class background. She trained as a midwife in Bradford during the 1930s, following which she worked as a district midwife in Battersea for many years, known as 'Auntie Betty' throughout the district.

**Topics include:** Midwifery; Maternity Services; Childbirth; Abortion; Analgesia; Contraception

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# [START OF INTERVIEW]

- Interviewer How long have you been living here?
- Elizabeth Almost seven years. I first started seven or eight years. I couldn't do anything or lift anything, so they ((inaudible)) I was going to have a flat, but I was told ((inaudible)). I had a flat of my own before that.
- Interviewer Yes, it's difficult, isn't it, because you need people to keep an eye on you?
- Elizabeth It's quite a long time since I had a ((inaudible)) like this.
- Interviewer Do you mind if I ask you a few questions?
- Elizabeth No, it may be the best thing to do.
- Interviewer Jog your memory a bit.
- Elizabeth Yeah.
- Interviewer Did you enjoy the Christmas party?
- Elizabeth I did, yes. I always enjoy it.
- Interviewer Do you go every year?
- Elizabeth Oh, mostly, yes. If I'm... if I'm fit, you know, and here.
- Interviewer Did you know any of those midwives when you were working?
- Elizabeth No. All the ones that I knew are gone.
- Interviewer All new.
- Elizabeth Gone to glory.
- Interviewer Can I ask you what your first name is?
- Elizabeth Elizabeth. Elizabeth Margaret Callister.
- Interviewer What was your date of birth? Do you mind telling me that?
- Elizabeth Fourteenth of January 1907.
- Interviewer So you've just had a birthday?



Elizabeth	Yes.
Interviewer	Congratulations. I see your cards up there.
Elizabeth	Yes.
Interviewer	1907 - so that makes you
Elizabeth	Seventy-nine.
Interviewer	Seventy-nine. Well, you don't look it.
Elizabeth	Thank you.
Interviewer	You look well on it. Where were you born?
Elizabeth	In Dublin.
Interviewer	The accent. When did you come to England?
Elizabeth	1922, I think it was.

Interviewer Is that because your family moved here?

Elizabeth No, no. My mother died when I was child - a little child, you know, about four.
 And, ah... my father married again and the house was full of kids, so ((short laugh)) I came over to an uncle and aunt up in Cumbria. When I said, oh, I wanted to be a midwife, you see. My uncle it was ((short laugh)) who... you know, it was disdained in those days.

Interviewer Yeah. Why did you want to be a midwife?

Elizabeth Because I wanted to be a nurse. I always wanted to be a nurse, but midwifery was my, you know, first choice in the nursing profession. I trained as a general nurse at the Royal Lancaster Infirmary. Started 1938 just before the war broke out. I said to a friend -I said, oh, well I'm too old now; they won't have anyone my age. I was 31, I think. And, ah, she said, oh yes, they will. She described the hospital - she was a retired nurse. So she said, well, write to the matron of the Lancaster Royal and see what she says. She says, well, I haven't got a place now, but I can get you in at the Sheffield Royal. But, ah, she had - well, by the time came round and the war was - the war scare was before 1939. So she said, would I start immediately? I was over in Ireland at the time.



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Interviewer Were you doing any work before you started training to be a nurse?

- Elizabeth No. Just general, like, babysitting. Not long. I think I nursed an old lady for seven years. Mm. Yes, I nursed an old lady for seven years at ((inaudible)) She had to be fed and lifted.
- Interviewer It's a lot of work.

Elizabeth She died, so... I had to shift out and start ((inaudible))

Interviewer Going back to your early days, how many children were there in your family?

Elizabeth Eight.

Interviewer That's a big family. What work did your father do?

- Elizabeth School teacher. He was a school teacher in Dublin. We had a farm. My mother had a few farms in the, um... in the free... what is now the free state; it wasn't then; in part of Ireland. And, ah, of course, she was the only child, so she got the farms. My father had a, um, a nervous breakdown or a mental breakdown or something, and he had to retire early; well, earlier than normal.
- Interviewer Your friend's coming back. It's good to have some people to look out for you. You didn't ever marry yourself.
- Elizabeth No.
- Interviewer How about your midwifery training when did you do that?
- Elizabeth I did that in... 1941.
- Interviewer That was in Bradford, I think you told me.
- Elizabeth Bradford. I did part one in Bradford. We did it in two parts. You probably still do; I don't know.

Interviewer No, it's all combined nowadays.

Elizabeth We did part one and part two. I did part one in Bradford, which entitled you to do maternity nursing and not, um... not midwifery itself. And then I did part two at Wakefield.



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- Interviewer That was on the district mostly?
- Elizabeth On the district. Half on district and half in Wakefield maternity hospital; and half on the district.
- Interviewer So that must have been interesting.
- Elizabeth Oh, it was very, yeah. I found district very interesting, you know. You... felt I was doing something personal for a... a person that you knew, because you ante-natalled them, you looked after them; you knew all the family and all the family history. And you were sort of nearly one of the family. I know a lot of them even now.
- Interviewer Do you?
- Elizabeth And they bob and see me, or I... I used to bob and see them. I don't much now. They bob in and see me.

Interviewer That's lovely. You see them growing up.

- Elizabeth It's lovely, yes. See them growing up and see their children growing up. And some of them - their children. I have photos all over the place. There's a baby's photo on there somewhere; the last one born to his son. I delivered his baby. So he sent me a photo of his ((laughs)) baby.
- Interviewer So when you finished your training, where did you go and work then?
- Elizabeth I went to... well, I stayed at Wakefield. It was just after the war, and you had to stay put unless you were directed by the ministry to go somewhere. But anyway, I stayed at Wakefield, ah, for quite a bit. I must have done. I'd have to do a year, you see. I had to do a year then. And, ah, I did have problems - did my year and then I applied and I went to Grimsby. That's in Lincolnshire. And I did hospital... I got a hospital's sister's post. I did a year at a different... at Wakefield.

I stayed there... for nine months, but I promised a friend I'd come to London, you see. So ((inaudible)). I didn't intend coming to London you know. ((inaudible)) Surrey. ((inaudible)) London. So they asked if I could go to London. I came temporary and stayed. One day she's going to work... retired.



Interviewer So which part of London were you working in?

Elizabeth In Battersea, not far from here.

Interviewer I know Battersea, yeah.

Elizabeth You know Battersea.

Interviewer Is it a district midwife?

Elizabeth As a district midwife all round the district. I had 2,000 babies in Battersea.

Interviewer What sort of area was Battersea in those days?

Interviewer It was, ah... well, a mixture. You know, it was... people were much poorer of course than they are now. Even the poorest now are rich to what they were in those days. And, ah, they were very friendly type of people; very friendly to one another. They might be tearing one another's hair out today, but if somebody went into labour and she didn't have all she needed, like wools and buckets and any bedding and so forth, her next-door neighbour would go and fetch her it, you see. They were very, very good. Yes, super.

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Interviewer Did you find that happened quite a lot - people shared things?

Elizabeth Oh, they did. They always shared. Only you had maybe about one who said nobody ever did anything for her. Well, found out she never did anything for anybody else. ((inaudible)) doesn't it? Yes, they were very good.

((clock chimes))

Interviewer Three o'clock.

Elizabeth Are you getting on with your book or just collecting now?

Interviewer At the moment we're just collecting. We're doing all the different interviews with different midwives, and then we'll start to write it once we've got a few of the interviews.

Elizabeth Yes, that's a good idea.

Interviewer But many of the people we have got are not in London. It means we've got to go off and travel.



Elizabeth I see.

- Interviewer I've got about four midwives in Devon to go down and see, but that means quite an expedition down there for a few days.
- Elizabeth It'll take a couple of days... a couple of days to-
- Interviewer That's right. But it's fascinating talking to people about what it used to be like.
- Interviewer Yes, if you're interested in midwifery and what happens-
- Elizabeth Because it's so different nowadays, because most women have their babies in hospital.
- Interviewer Most of them have; whether they like it or not, they just have to do.
- Elizabeth I had my baby at home, my first baby. That was fine. It was lovely.
- Interviewer You nearly have to fight to have your baby at home. Before then you had to nearly fight to get into hospital, if you... just after the war. I had one young chap, he said he was blazing mad. He said, well, if I hadn't bothered getting married and just had a baby, my wife would have got into hospital... his girlfriend then. He said, she would have got into hospital without any effort at all. Just because I'm married. He had a reasonable home. Some of them hadn't much of a home. But they wouldn't go into hospital anyway. If they had a bed at all to sleep on... as best they could.

It was a matter of managing them, you see; doing what... finding out what they had in the house and what you could use, you see and do with what you had... Putting a baby in a drawer and ((laughs)) with a pillow for a bed.

- Interviewer What was the typical home like that you used to go into? Could you describe them?
- Elizabeth It was mixture. It was really sort of working class, you know. Father went out to... you know, to all sorts of homes. Homes where they looked for the clothes in the morning where the rats had taken them down under the floorboards. You know, you daren't go to the toilet for anything in the night-time, because there'd be rats in it. That was after the war, you see.



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Interviewer It's not that long ago, is it?

Elizabeth Pardon?

Interviewer It's not that long ago that things were like that.

Elizabeth It's not, no. It's not that long at all, yeah. Somebody once said, all the babies in London on district are delivered on the *News of the World*. I says, they are not. Anyway, the *News of the World* is sterile. Ink-printed paper is sterilised with the ink mixture.

Interviewer That's right.

Elizabeth You had maybe packing with newspaper and you had all these different things. If they hadn't got them, well you went out and found. Often you came home and took your sheets off ((laughingly)) Oh dear. I remember doing that.

Interviewer What sort of heating did people have in their houses?

Elizabeth Very bad. There were a fuel strike just after that. It was terribly - you didn't bath the babies perhaps for a week; not really bath them much because you daren't strip them. Anyway, you'd have nothing to heat the water, you know, to have it warm. So you might have bathed them once a week when born and once a week... but I don't think they bath them when they're born now.

Interviewer It varies I think from place to place. Different theories about it.

Elizabeth My friend was telling me they were watching a programme on the television and they said that all the... they're veering back now to the olden methods. They find that there's something in the olden methods. I think there's a lot in... in being a personal friend to the... to the person having the baby. You want a bit of sympathy and somebody you can talk to just then.

Interviewer That's right.

Elizabeth Some of them tell you, no, shut up; stop making a noise ((laughs)).

Interviewer That's the most important, isn't it?



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- Elizabeth I used to say, shout if you want to, dear. I won't take any notice. You sat up all night. You worked day and night nearly. You were only off for... a half day... a half day a week and you had a day a month. Your day off meant you got a half day to your... you got a morning to your half day.
- Interviewer It's a lot of work, isn't it?
- Elizabeth It's a lot of work. It was a lot of work.
- Interviewer How did people call you to the birth? Did somebody have to come and knock on your door?
- Elizabeth We were on the telephone. But of course people weren't on the telephone much in those days. They had to go to a public call box up on ((inaudible)). I could walk in those days.
- Interviewer I bet you did. Did you go round on foot?
- Elizabeth I went round for a bit I went on foot and then I had a bike; and then I had a car. You had all sorts of things to carry you see, then. But before, you rang the service and they sent the gas and air out; men - ambulance men. Then everybody had their own machine and you took out your own.
- Interviewer Did you find you used it quite a lot, the gas and air?
- Elizabeth Oh yes. Yes, we used gas and air. Yes, it's quite effective. I think it was a case more of having something to do than, ah... I don't know ((inaudible)) anaesthetics too. I expect it numbs things a little bit.
- Interviewer Takes the edge off things.
- Elizabeth It takes the edge off things, yes.
- Interviewer How did you used to prepare the room for the birth when the woman was... gone into labour?
- Interviewer We used to go round beforehand and see that the bed was in a reasonable place and the place was clean. We had one poor lassie who was having so much... she didn't



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have the room clean. She went into labour and she got out of the bed, cleaned the whole room and then lay down and had her baby.

Interviewer It's probably quite good for her being up and moving around.

Elizabeth Yes of course, yeah.

Interviewer Then you used to put newspaper down, did you?

Elizabeth We used to put it on the floor and had newspaper packets. Have you seen the newspaper packets the cleaners do? The special fold... made of newspaper. We used to have one of those with all the swabs and the things we'd used, and a bucket for the dirty water; hoping the father didn't come in to help you or something and fall into the bucket ((laughs)). It was fun afterwards, you know. It wasn't so funny at the time, but it was really funny afterwards.

Interviewer Did you find that the fathers were quite often there at the birth in those days?

Elizabeth No, not always. It was very rare, but they came in and out with anything you wanted, you see. No, fathers - early stages weren't in at the birth. They weren't, um... then it came that they wanted to be. Many of them didn't want to be, and their wives didn't want them to be.

Interviewer Did you have anybody else to help you when you were delivering the baby?

Elizabeth Oh yes, you always had a neighbour. Ah, well, at first I didn't have a pupil and then I had a pupil, you see, from... years after that. They were a good help. You went out with them for the first maybe 10 cases or so and then you sent them out on their own and they rang you and told you what was happening. You'd decide whether to go and see that everything's all right; ring me if you want me to do it. Proud moment when you deliver your first baby on your own.

Interviewer Yes, it is. You think you're the bee's knees, don't you?

Elizabeth You just think you're it. I trained with a nice, ah... a friend and I trained together. There were two of us on district. Um, midwife at Wakefield. She was a really homely



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body. She was very good to them all. She was a diabetic unfortunately. They had to grab a bit of cake or some sugar or something else to put into her in the middle of the delivery.

Interviewer That must have been strange.

- Elizabeth They phoned up, you see, in the night, and she hadn't had a... her insulin or her breakfast. Yes, it was. It was dreadful.
- Interviewer Did you find that the women often had somebody else with them, like another woman from the street they lived in or their mums?
- Elizabeth Oh yes, they did. They always had their mums or a neighbour or somebody. Yes, quite often they had a neighbour in. But there were sort of... Battersea was an area where families lived all as families. They didn't separate out and one go to Timbuktu and another to Honolulu or somewhere. They stayed home round their mam and dad, you know. ((inaudible)) family, but she's still living now in Battersea and Streatham but her family will be dead now. Only her own family... ancestry. All scattering out. And they helped one another, you know. A tight-knit community. Now they're not. They're more... everybody's more independent. And better off than you are.
- Interviewer It is different, isn't it?
- Elizabeth Well, to me it is; it's different. People are fundamentally the same, you know. Fight and quarrel ((inaudible)) the kids have fallen out. They went to the same school and they've fallen out over something or the other. And now they weren't speaking... they haven't spoken for ages and ages.

The day Mrs Pert went into labour, her next-door neighbour goes, I'll take your Marianne and look after while you're in bed. But I haven't finished with you yet ((laughs)). I always remember her. She had four beautiful flaxen-haired girls and she wanted a boy.

- Interviewer Did you ever come across any what they used to call 'handy women'; women who were delivering babies but they weren't actually trained?
- Elizabeth No. There were illegal then, you see. You had some who were very jealous of you're being there to do it, because they'd always done it, you see.



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Interviewer You did meet those ones then.

Elizabeth Yeah, you'd meet those ones; the ones that were really... upset, you know - than us.
They wouldn't give you any water hardly, you know. I remember our superintendent once saying, well, you haven't got much water, Miss Callister. I said, well, I can't get it;
I've tried everywhere. The father and all the people around are antagonistic. Father's mother or someone used to do it, you see. So I couldn't get any... anything out of them.
You just had the bare necessities out of them.

Interviewer Can you actually remember any of those women who did used to do it?

- Elizabeth No, I don't remember any of them, no. No, I don't remember who.
- Interviewer I suppose it must have been hard for them when they couldn't practice anymore.
- Elizabeth Well, it must have been, yes, because it was their livelihood; not that it was much of a livelihood. They didn't get much apparently, if they were dealing with farmers who people who had anything - they'd get some foodstuffs. They didn't get much, because people didn't have much anyway.
- Interviewer Were things very different when you were up in Wakefield than when you were down in Battersea?
- Elizabeth No, very much the same. It was a working class area. You had the few odd business people probably, professional people, but not many. We had a few down on on principle for years. They were quite nice ((inaudible)) working class anytime. Very kind to you.
- Interviewer Did any of the women you looked after work outside of the home? Did they have part-time jobs?
- Elizabeth Oh yeah, cleaning mostly. They went out in the mornings scrubbing and cleaning offices and that kind of thing. There wasn't much work otherwise.
- Interviewer Not that much money.

Elizabeth No.

Interviewer What sort of jobs did the men do? Have you got any idea what they did?



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- Elizabeth Everything, you know, like tram drivers, part-time conductors, policemen everything generally. Come in, dear.
- Sarah I'm just making a cup of tea. Would you like one?
- Elizabeth Lovely, I've left a tray there with two cups on, pet. Thank you. Did you get what you went for?
- Interviewer She's gone.
- Elizabeth She's our Sarah.
- Interviewer She's lovely.
- Elizabeth She's busy swatting for her mock O's. I was there I didn't deliver her. I was there when the she was born in the south ((inaudible)).
- Interviewer Oh is it-
- Elizabeth Waters broke in the afternoon and, ah... she rang the hospital and they said, you'd better come in. It was in the middle of the night this happened. The middle of the night. And she went in and she started labour about half past eight. ((clock chimes)) So we just finished dinner and we went up to see, and she was nearly ready to produce ((laughs)) but the hospital wouldn't believe her.
- Interviewer That's pretty quick.
- Elizabeth So she's was quick. I said, I nearly had to deliver you myself.
- Interviewer Was that when you were still practising?
- Elizabeth No.
- Interviewer You'd stopped by then.
- Elizabeth I had retired then, that's right. I retired in 1967.
- Interviewer I've just been hearing what a gorgeous baby you were ((all laugh)).
- Elizabeth There might be a biscuit in the barrel. Did you get what you wanted?
- Interviewer Were there many unmarried mothers? Do you remember?



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- Elizabeth Oh yes, round the war time.
- Interviewer What happened to them? Did they keep their babies?
- Elizabeth Yes, most of them did. I think they nearly all did. Working class areas do tend to do more than better class areas, I think. Yes, we had a lot.
- Interviewer Was there much stigma attached? No, it was just accepted.
- Elizabeth No, not in that area. ((inaudible))
- Interviewer Can you manage it there?
- Elizabeth Yeah. Would you like a biscuit? There's always something.
- Interviewer Did you want one?
- Elizabeth No, thank you.
- Interviewer Just tell me when you feel if you've had enough, because I can always come back another day. You're not far from me at all. I don't live too far away.
- Elizabeth Where do you live?
- Interviewer It's by London Bridge; up by Guy's Hospital. Not too far, really. And my friends are in Brixton, so I can drop the baby there, you see.
- Elizabeth That's handy, yes.
- Interviewer It's not too far. In the car it didn't take very long. How much do you think women knew in those days about their bodies, about the facts of life?
- Elizabeth Not a great lot, I don't think. You know, they asked a lot of questions. A lot of them didn't want to know. They pictured things 10 times worse than they were, you see. If they went and saw film, you see, of a child being born, they thought, oh. One lassie was in a panic. She saw this picture of a child being born, you see. She couldn't fathom a baby being able to get out.
- Interviewer You wouldn't if you didn't know much.



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- Elizabeth No, they didn't know anything about the process of it. No holding, stretching, etc. We had classes - more craft classes... childbirth, antenatal ((inaudible)). Not as intensely as they do now. They didn't have relaxation classes, but then of course, when you think of all the work they did, they had plenty of exercise and relaxation. Because they were scrubbing and cleaning and -
- Interviewer More physically fit, yeah.
- Elizabeth Up and down and then they were ((inaudible)) a baby fairly frequently.
- Interviewer Did you find that when women were labour did they tend to be up and about and doing things?
- Elizabeth Yes, and they were very last-minute, some of them. Mostly they Johnny's tea or getting the husband's tea ready.
- Interviewer Because nowadays they think that does seem to speed things up anyway; keep walking around rather than if you just lie on your back.
- Elizabeth Yes, I think it's better for them. But you don't want to drop your baby on the floor.
- Interviewer So what were you doing all the time they were walking around?
- Elizabeth Probably knitting or reading or something; keeping a close eye on them.
- Interviewer It was lovely for them to know that you were there in the corner.
- Elizabeth This is it, you see. They relaxed more. Some would just have their babies you know. You wouldn't have known they were having them.
- Interviewer And they had quite a few babies, I expect, did they?
- Elizabeth Yes, one had a family back then of seven kids. She just had them, you know. You just sat on edge of the bed, and then if she wanted to lie down then you just chatted away to her. When she was ready she just said, I'm going to have it now ((short laugh)). So that was that ((inaudible))
- Interviewer That's amazing. When women actually came to giving birth, were they always lying on the bed?



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- Elizabeth No. ((inaudible)) I think they do now.
- Interviewer Nowadays they encourage them to squat down or go on all fours, or whatever they feel like, really.
- Elizabeth Well, no, they didn't do that. They might have got out and sit on a chair a little bit. ((inaudible)) It's probably the more normal way. I don't know.
- Interviewer Which is the more normal way on the bed?
- Elizabeth No, off.
- Interviewer What, squatting?
- Elizabeth Squatting.
- Interviewer Well, they do in Africa.
- Elizabeth Yes.
- Interviewer I know when I had my baby, I walked around all the time. I gave birth on all fours in the end. I only lay down once to have an internal, and it was so painful lying on my back, I wanted to get up as quick as possible. That's one thing - did you used to do lots of vaginal examinations in those days?
- Elizabeth No, not a lot. But we did vaginal examinations for starters, and if they were a long time, you did one to...

Interviewer Just to check.

- Elizabeth To look at progress. But you didn't need to ((inaudible)) delighted ((short laugh)). A friend of mine, she used to come in and clean for us. She was there and she took this message from a friend. She said, 'Oh, she says to say, she's fully delighted.' But I knew what she meant.
- Interviewer I bet she was fully delighted if she was fully dilated.
- Elizabeth Yeah, delighted.
- Interviewer Did women use much pain relief?



- Elizabeth Yeah, ah... ((inaudible)) chlorohydrate and next we put them on pethidine.
- Interviewer What did you think of those? Did you think they were good?
- Elizabeth Yes ((inaudible))when some have their babies makes a lot of...
- Interviewer And you didn't have any problems with the babies' breathing?
- Elizabeth No, they didn't have...
- Interviewer How much would you give?
- Elizabeth I don't remember.
- Interviewer You probably can't remember now.
- Elizabeth It was beastly stuff to take.
- Interviewer They drank it, did they?
- Elizabeth Mmm.
- Interviewer They don't use that at all now.
- Elizabeth No. What do you give now?
- Interviewer Pethidine is still in there. And gas and air. And then epidurals, you see, a lot of them have nowadays.
- Elizabeth Of course, in those early stages they didn't have enough to ((inaudible)). You sent for medical aid if you wanted a doctor.
- Interviewer So you were the one responsible.
- Elizabeth That's right. You sent in a form to... to the medical officer. You had three forms one was for the medical officer, one was for the doctor and one was for somebody else. Everything was in triplicate ((laughingly)) In threes.
- Interviewer Lots of form-filling.
- Elizabeth Yeah.
- Interviewer How did you prepare the woman for the birth? Did you give her an enema or a shave?



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- Elizabeth Yeah, we gave her an enema and a shave. Not many of them had baths either. Got to get into a bath; give her a bath. She generally had bath.
- Interviewer Was she allowed to eat when she was in labour? Did you encourage her to eat and drink?
- Elizabeth Yeah and drink... after they wanted a cup of tea.
- Interviewer Yes, so did I. Big cup of tea.
- Elizabeth Cup of tea. Do you want another biscuit?
- Interviewer No, I'm fine, thanks. Did you do any unusual births? Did you have any breach births or twins?
- Elizabeth Yeah, I had breaches and twins ((inaudible))
- Interviewer You must have had some worrying moments, I expect.
- Elizabeth Mmm. But we were very fortunate. Everything was taken at a slow pace, you see, so you didn't lose... very, very rarely. It was heart-breaking if you lost a baby.
- Interviewer Did you ever have any babies that died?
- Elizabeth Mmm of course.
- Interviewer And how about... Did you have any maternal deaths at all? Did you know of any?

Elizabeth Some in hospitals.

Interviewer Not on the district.

Elizabeth Not on the district. You had a medical before hand. So some that should have been in hospital - but they wouldn't go in, so we just had to... The doctors said - well, we've got the doctor out; you can't do nothing. If they won't go in, they won't go in. ((inaudible)) We lost very few babies.

I had three sets of twins. One Sunday afternoon I had twin girls and the next street to me. Belly-aching that she hadn't got her husband a birthday present. I said, well, he'll have a baby daughter or son before very long. And then lo and behold, one arrived. I said, there's more than that one. She'd been in bed with flu and so forth, so we hadn't



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seen much of her. And, ah, lo and behold, there was another one. And he ran from the cot to the bed; from the bed to the cot. He couldn't believe - a girl; these two girls. Very nice.

I had a set of twins down the bottom end of Battersea. Two girls again... I said, oh, you'll have to go into hospital. The doctor sent her up for x-ray and so on. But you're having twins I told her. She says, I won't. I says, you might die at home. She says, if I'm going to die, I'll die at home. But she didn't. I'm sure she. .. just as normal as having ((clock chimes)) a bit more at risk of bleeding, but not that much... deftly handled.

Interviewer You sound so confident. It's lovely.

Elizabeth It is.

Interviewer You were so experienced.

- Elizabeth They felt you were. Whether you thought you were or not, you wouldn't let them know the... if you'd never had something before.
- Interviewer How about the breach births were they a problem? Did you manage those?
- Elizabeth Yeah, quite well...
- Interviewer Because that's one thing. Nowadays as a midwife, I've never delivered a breach baby. You just don't see them, because often they're caesarean sections nowadays.
- Elizabeth This is it, you see. There's so many caesareans.

Interviewer You just don't get the experience anymore.

Elizabeth You don't.

- Interviewer How would you deliver the breach baby? What did you do with the woman when she was pushing the baby out?
- Elizabeth You had to put her on her back, because you had to get her shoulder down, you see. You had her on her back. Sometimes it was difficult, because she ((inaudible)). You wouldn't be able to reach and you wouldn't be know if it was breeched you're prepared for a solid bed to ((inaudible))



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I had a... I didn't deliver it in the end, but I had a hand and a foot. The doctor wouldn't believe me. I examined this patient I said, well, we've got a hand - got a hand a foot here. He said, oh, you can't have. ((inaudible)) Then he decided to send her up to hospital. He said, a hand and a foot all right. They pushed one back and managed to ((inaudible)) Today they don't do that. They dash into a caesarean, you see...

Interviewer They're a bit keen on them, aren't they?

- Elizabeth They're very keen on them. Somebody was saying on the radio the other day, is it for the doctor's convenience or the patient's convenience? That they want to get it over and done with and, ah, know it's all safely over. But I think it must be more detrimental to the mother, I would imagine; unless it's an absolute must. And, ah, some of them ((inaudible)) they'll never deliver all right.
- Interviewer Do you believe in midwives' intuition?
- Elizabeth I do, yes. Oh, I do, yeah, very much. Yes, I... I had a fair quantity of that. I know what you mean. I always knew when I was wanted straightaway, you see.

Interviewer Did you?

- Elizabeth I can remember getting out of bed one morning and on the telephone. This wasn't my patient. It was somebody else's. They said to my friend, I think that baby's being born now. I got on my bike with my pants half off ((short laugh)). ((inaudible)) Lo and behold, it was coming all right. Nearest... my friend used to... if I said something was happening, she never dallied over it. And, ah, she'd be in and out when there was nothing much doing, and speak to us. And so this time they sent up again for her. I said, I would go, Anne. I would go. I wouldn't wait. And, um, left her breakfast then. Off she went, just in time to catch the infant. I don't know what it is. Just something or other that, ah, tells you what to do.
- Interviewer Did you ever have feelings about... when you were with the mothers, when you booked them did you ever think, she's going to be easy or she's going to be difficult?



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- Elizabeth Oh yes, you'd have that, because you'd know by then wouldn't you; more or less not quite intuition then and there. Beyond some big emergency you knew you were safe enough ((inaudible)) and so forth. You don't need x-ray things to tell you that.
- Interviewer Were the mothers in quite good health?
- Elizabeth The majority... the majority were in good health. During the war they had a diet... they probably wouldn't have had otherwise.
- Interviewer They had a better diet, didn't they?
- Elizabeth They had a better mixture of diet. They mightn't have too much of it, but they had a better mixture of it, selection, than they probably had at other times. Because people were healthier just after the war. They couldn't get any fancy foods, but they got foods generally...
- Interviewer Did the women take supplements and things as well?
- Elizabeth Yeah, they did, yes. If they got them, they took them.
- Interviewer What did they have?
- Elizabeth Iron and calcium... not cod liver oil but a derivative of cod liver oil.
- Interviewer Virol?
- Elizabeth Virol. If they had them at the clinic, you see. That was handy. They would take them; whereas they wouldn't naturally go and buy them. They would take them. My first thought was they had to pay... they paid for them initially. They were paid to have babies.
- Interviewer I was going to ask you about that.
- Elizabeth Yes, they paid I think it was two-fifty or two-ten per delivery. And you... every hospital had their own rules. Our hospital - we had to collect it... And you had to make sure they took their babies with them when they went out. More in hospital they disowned their babies. Not so much at home as they did in the hospital.
- Interviewer You found that happened then? They tried leave them -



- Elizabeth Oh yes, leave their babies behind once they had them out.
- Interviewer Why was that? Why do you think that happened?
- Elizabeth Well, they didn't want to take their babies home with them. Perhaps they unmarried mothers or they weren't too happy about it.
- Interviewer Or maybe they had too many at home.
- Elizabeth Yes, maybe too many at home. But you know, you had to watch them...
- Interviewer Did you ever come across any women who tried to get rid of their babies while they were pregnant?
- Elizabeth Yes.
- Interviewer That happened a lot.
- Elizabeth Knew what to watch for. Yes, they sent for you. They had a... brought on a miscarriage or had one brought on, and then they sent for you and they thought it would be cleared, but often it wasn't you see.
- Interviewer It must have been horrible.
- Elizabeth Yes awful. I hated doing it knowing the baby wasn't wanted. After they're born they're often wanted, but they don't want this

# [END OF FIRST AUDIO FILE] [START OF SECOND AUDIO FILE]

- Elizabeth She had her baby in a bucket. She wasn't going to tell anybody she had a baby, you see. She was just going to have the baby and let it die.
- Interviewer So what happened then when the baby was born? Did she accept it all right?
- Elizabeth Oh yes, she was all right. She looked after it. It was just the thought of having it, I think.
- Interviewer Was that because she was unmarried?
- Elizabeth No, she wasn't unmarried. She was, ah... a bit simple. She was quite simple.



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- Interviewer The women that tried to bring on a miscarriage when they were pregnant, what did they use? Do you know? What did they take? Tablets?
- Elizabeth They took ((inaudible)) I'm not sure... hot gin, I think.
- Interviewer Oh yes, gin. There were women practising obviously who helped them bring on a miscarriage as well. They could go to somebody.
- Elizabeth Oh yes, they could go to somebody and pay them. You cleaned up the mess, you see.
- Interviewer Was that a local woman that they went to?
- Elizabeth That was a local woman, yes. You never nursed them at home; you sent them into hospital for a miscarriage. You had to send them in because they might have an infection, and they're more clean...
- Interviewer That's right. It must have been difficult. Did you ever know who the woman was who was doing it?
- Elizabeth No, you weren't... you didn't enquire too far. You knew often, but you didn't enquire too far.
- Interviewer Because they would have got prosecuted.
- Elizabeth Because they would have got prosecuted
- Interviewer Yes. Because in those days there wasn't very much family planning available either, was there?
- Elizabeth No.
- Interviewer Did they ever ask you about anything like that?
- Elizabeth Oh yes, they did. How to prevent having babies. You sent them out after a safe period... They didn't have all the... pill.

Interviewer That's right.

Elizabeth They had, ah... condom.



Interviewer The cap, did they have the Dutch cap?

- Elizabeth Yes. Some of them used those.
- Interviewer Were there family planning clinics they could go to, to find out about...?
- Elizabeth No.
- Interviewer Did they go to their doctor?
- Elizabeth Went to their doctor. They did with the cap.

Interviewer Things are so different nowadays, aren't they, when people can plan their families?

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Elizabeth Yes, they can plan their family more. I mean, I say now when people, you know, have babies and ((inaudible)) - they didn't have to have them. Not like in the olden days when they had to have the babies whether they liked it or not. There was no way of preventing it. But, um... ((inaudible))

Interviewer Have you had enough? Shall we have a little pause for a minute?

- Elizabeth Yes, I think. Happily and very much wanted; more so than you do, ah... babies that weren't wanted. There's the odd one on the ((inaudible)) always crying. Some just didn't want it. ((inaudible)) Then you see they were having anybody's babies with their husbands gone. Just after the war.
- Interviewer That must have caused quite a lot of problems.
- Elizabeth It did. It was very sad. ((inaudible))
- Interviewer That's the sort of thing you don't hear about the reality of what it was like. You get told all this stuff -
- Elizabeth Yeah, not what happens, yeah.
- Interviewer But actually, yes, what it was really like when people came home from the war.
- Elizabeth Yes, it was very traumatic for some. But that's ((inaudible)) made other friends and husbands made friends abroad.
- Interviewer It must have been very hard for everybody.



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- Elizabeth One family they only had one son. ((clock chimes)) He was in the RAF. When the father came home from the war... they sent he was having a baby. They were having a baby. So he said, he... they had to leave. He made a great fuss of it. He said, oh, this is my big day. The baby ((inaudible))
- Interviewer Did you find when women were giving birth did you mostly have intact perineums?
- Elizabeth Mostly, yes. You didn't have to rush things, you see. Time was not of any... not of any great consequence. You were... you couldn't wait too long, but you didn't rush it. There wasn't any rush. Your time was your own. You might be up all night, but it was your time.
- Interviewer Yes. What did you do to try and keep the perineum intact?
- Elizabeth You tried to get them to relax the head and crawl out slowly; very, very slowly. You had odd skin nicks, but you didn't have a lot of what I call real torn perineums.
- Interviewer Were you delivering in the left lateral?
- Elizabeth Yes. I was born that way.
- Interviewer You were born that way.
- Elizabeth Rotunda.

Interviewer In the rotunda, yes.

- Elizabeth They used to always say, how do you deliver the rotunda? Some of the... Queen Charlotte's ((inaudible)) Oh, the rotunda. Well, you could support the patient's leg round your neck, you see ((laughs)) when you got... when you want the baby out.
- Interviewer You must have been quite strong.
- Elizabeth ((inaudible))
- Interviewer Have you got any tips for some of the problems that you get in labour, like a woman who's got a posterior position baby? Did you get any tips?



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Elizabeth I don't think there's any... it'll right itself, you know. If you give it the time. If you try to rush it on... you don't, you see. But it will rotate, if you, ah... if you give it time, very often. But wherever you try to manipulate it... you manipulate it if you have to, but if you try to, it's not so easy.

Interviewer Would you manipulate abdominally, you mean? How would you manipulate it?

- Elizabeth Yeah, you would do both. You would have your... you push your arm round on the tummy ((inaudible)) the head ((inaudible)) all right. When you examine them, you had a good idea of whether they had room enough there or not, unless you had some ((inaudible))
- Interviewer How about if a woman had an anterior lip?
- Elizabeth We used to push it up ((inaudible))

Interviewer That's right.

Elizabeth Gently. Just turned it up while the mother pushed. You had to guard against ((inaudible)) I only ever saw one, and that was in hospital; a retained... an inverted uterus.

Interviewer You saw one?

- Elizabeth Only one ever. Nobody in the hospital knew what it was, because they'd never seen one. I said, there's some tissue or something, you see. The doctor looked and said, oh, it's an inverted uterus.
- Interviewer Goodness. Was the woman all right?
- Elizabeth Yeah, in the end she was. She was very ill. But she wasn't bleeding ((inaudible)) I liked it there. I would have stayed there but I'd promised my friend I'd come up... district.

Interviewer To London?

Elizabeth Happy place. The matron had a lot of... whether a hospital was happy. The hospitals were smaller then. At least you had - I always dealt with smaller hospitals, because I think there were more of them than there are now.

Interviewer Yes, they're phasing out all the little ones, aren't they?



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Elizabeth Yes, they're phasing them all and ((inaudible)) patient and nurses.

- Interviewer It's not so personal, is it?
- Elizabeth No, it's not so personal. You're not there when they're born, half the time. You see, in my day, if you were called, it was your case. You booked so many cases when you were doing your training. You had so many cases. They were yours. They were given you to look after and so forth. And when they went into labour you were on the case. You were called, so whether it was day or night, you were there. You knew all about them. They were yours. A big and personal concern. You couldn't do that.
- Interviewer It's so important when you go into labour to know the person who's going to be looking after you.
- Elizabeth Absolutely, I'm sure it is. I've never had a baby, but I'm sure it's very comforting to have someone that you know and that knows you; sort of knows your temperament... someone who... knows your temperament and what you can take and what you can't do; whether you've got ((inaudible))
- Interviewer That's right.
- Elizabeth Who did you have with you when you had yours your husband?
- Interviewer Yes, he was there. And then the midwife that delivered him was actually a friend of mine. That was lovely, because she knew me well.

Elizabeth That was nice for you.

Interviewer She was smashing.

Elizabeth Lovely.

Interviewer The doctor was there as well, but she did... I didn't have any painkillers in the end, and it was only because she knew me. She saw me through it. Every time I thought I'm going to need something, she said, come on; you can do it; keep going a bit longer.

Elizabeth Yeah. This is it, you see. It's good... it's better for you than dope of some kind.

Interviewer That's right.



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- Elizabeth This is it, you see. It's as good... it's a normal thing, you see. I think myself that the system has a certain amount of... sedative in itself; that it releases at a time like that. I'm sure it has, because I've seen people that just looked as if they were half sozzled, and they didn't have anything. Just looked like somebody... gone, and, ah, they wouldn't have any dope.
- Interviewer That's very interesting, because that's something that people are beginning to say nowadays, that they think the body releases some kind of natural -
- Elizabeth I think the body releases something into the system.
- Interviewer I certainly felt like I was as high as a kite a lot of the time, and I hadn't had anything at all.
- Elizabeth This is it, you see. If it's not... interfered with by giving dope, you see, it will work. I think when you interfere with them, then it won't work then.
- Interviewer Yes, that's right. That's interesting.
- Elizabeth ((inaudible))
- Interviewer It's very safe that as well.
- Elizabeth It is, yes. You can have all your things under one ((inaudible)) I've known Peter since he was going to school. He used to live just opposite me. His mother and father, and he he had a brother. He's a doctor in Derby, and another elder brother lives in London. That one who's retired. And Peter. He used to go to school when I knew him first. I sort of kept an eye on his father and mother when they were old, you see. When his mother died, he asked me if I'd go and live with them. I said, if they had a flat, a little... not a lot of room, but, um... sitting room and a kitchen. That's when I got to the stage ((inaudible)) running down to where I was. That was the other end of Battersea near the baths. You know Battersea baths?
- Interviewer Yeah.
- Elizabeth Just behind the baths there. They used to come down ((inaudible)) Interviewer That's very nice, isn't it?



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Elizabeth It's very nice to have someone who really cares ((inaudible)) really cares.

Interviewer I know.

Elizabeth ((inaudible))

Interviewer If you ever had any women who were very overdue and they had to be induced at all, did you used to give them castor oil?

Elizabeth Yeah, you tried castor oil.

Interviewer To get them going.

Elizabeth Yeah, you tried castor oil. The simple things sort of first. Then you went to a doctor if you wanted to. But they never did any induction on... at home. The castor oil treatment. And I tell you, they tell you ((inaudible)). I said, well, I think they must have made some later arrangements than that, because it was May she had her baby.

You see, if you took their word all the time, if you didn't know, you'd have been bringing a premature baby into the world ((inaudible)) hospital... doctor that did it - induction and all sorts. The baby was dead, you see ((inaudible)) It started and came, and they took it down to the sluice room when it was born and was dead. Someone went down and it wasn't dead at all; it was breathing away. She wasn't due that early, you see, so that's the answer to that one.

Interviewer Did the baby live?

Elizabeth No, it didn't live. It was too premature to live. This is the trouble, you see. You got a lot of doctors who hadn't had any experience, so they didn't know.

Interviewer What was the relationship between you and the doctors like?

Elizabeth Very good, yes. The relationship was very good, but a lot of them didn't know sort of what they were doing. If you had to have a forceps, you'd put the forceps on for them.

Interviewer Really?

Elizabeth They didn't know sort of which end was which hardly, because they hadn't done it, you see. They depended on you.



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Interviewer Yes. Can't have given you much confidence.

- Elizabeth No, they didn't. They were there. They were responsible whatever cropped up, but, um... that didn't, ah, ease you to know that something could have been done that wasn't done. That didn't make it any easier for you. You didn't have to carry the can, though...
- Interviewer At the times were midwives and doctors seen as equals?
- Elizabeth Yes, you were very much... yeah. You went out and you rang the doctoer with what was happening. You went out. You might have rang the doctor to tell them so and so's rang in, you see, but he wouldn't go. He wouldn't go unless he sort of had to go. And ring you back... he'll bring them in ((inaudible)) It's up to them...

I suppose according to the women you had ((inaudible)) them in. They were supposed to be there, you see, at the delivery. But a lot of them never were, you see. As long as they went in sort of 12 hours before or afterwards they'd count it as a visit. Yes, there were some very good doctors. I hear from them now. One chap, 79-80. ((inaudible))

That's what keeps me - that's kept me in medicine. Keep meeting all the mothers and the babies. I used to go out a lot then, but I don't now, and meet all these mothers and babies; chatter to them, know how all the families are doing. If I couldn't remember their names or what they had, I'd say, how's the family? You generally cottoned on to who they were when you heard a few bits and pieces.

- Interviewer Because you delivered about 2,000 babies you said.
- Elizabeth I delivered about 2,000 in the Battersea area. A few hundred in hospital before that. Because it was raining babies after the war, you see. It was raining babies...
- Interviewer So it must have been good experience for you as a midwife.
- Elizabeth Oh, yes. Hard work but good experience.
- Interviewer How did the midwives get on with each other the other midwives that worked on the district?



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- Elizabeth Oh, mostly quite well. There was a few sort of you... had no affinity with. ((inaudible)) Some of them weren't very nice to their patients, weren't particularly like.
- Interviewer They were a bit hard on them, were they?
- Elizabeth Yeah, a bit hard on them.
- Interviewer Yeah. They always are. Yes, I don't know why they do midwifery.
- Elizabeth Whether it was jealousy with you having a baby and they're not. I don't know what it is. Don't make such a fuss if that doesn't ((inaudible)) if you want it to.
- Interviewer That's great. Because sometimes you need to. That's what I found. Sometimes I really wanted to make a big noise, and it was all right.
- Elizabeth Yeah, it's all right. It relaxed you. It lets all the tension out, doesn't it? I'm sure it does, if you can shout.
- Interviewer What do you think you need to be a good midwife? What qualities?
- Elizabeth Patience, tact. Not to say the wrong thing. ((Laughingly)) One pupil said, oh dear he's the picture of his father ((both laugh)). I was going, you're not allowed to say he's the picture of his father. ((inaudible)) Mother wasn't too pleased at hearing that.
- Interviewer I bet she wasn't.
- Elizabeth You want patience and tact and sympathy. If you're going to do it satisfactorily.
- Interviewer Do you feel it was a vocation for you?
- Elizabeth Oh, it was a vocation for me. I was in my element. People say, oh, you can't have done. I say, I enjoyed every minute of it. Even the - up at nights. You were doing something, you see. Once the fun began, you didn't feel tired.
- Interviewer That's right.
- Elizabeth You might come in, in the morning and just fall into bed.
- Interviewer Yes, you find energy from somewhere you didn't know -
- Elizabeth You found energy you didn't know you really had.



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- Interviewer Do you think the mothers and their families saw you more as a friend?
- Elizabeth I'm sure, yes, I'm sure they did. I don't think they thought I was just a midwife.
- Interviewer What did they call you?
- Elizabeth Most of the kids and that called me Aunty Betty. ((Short laugh)). Aunty Betty.
- Interviewer That's lovely. That shows what they thought of you, doesn't it, if they call you that.
- Elizabeth Yes. It sticks still.
- Interviewer They still write to you as Aunty Betty.
- Elizabeth Yeah. Adults ((inaudible)) Aunty Betty.
- Interviewer Was there ever a conflict between your advice and what their mothers had or granny knows best, that sort of -
- Elizabeth Oh yeah, sometimes. You had a job keeping granny out of the place, because you'd have the poor lass pushing down when she wasn't anything like ready. You generally had to manufacture things... send her out of the room to do ((inaudible)) Hot water some more hot water. ((inaudible))

When you got into a dirty house - they generally produced a cup of tea as soon as you got in. I can always remember this house. It was a very barren house. They were Irish too. And, ah, father arrived in with a cup of tea. He arrived in, you know, to ask mother where the tea towel was to dry the cups and stuff. And so he picked up the towel that I'd use to wash the patient's feet with. Here it is. I was slipping the tea into the bucket.

Interviewer You must have seen some sights.

Elizabeth Well, you did. It was amusing up to a point. But you did see some sights. Some of them had no idea of cleanliness. And others were so scrupulously clean that they worked themselves to a frazzle. I used to say, now, don't overdo it; take it easy; don't think everything has to be just as it was before you had your baby. And don't think your husband isn't going to get the attention. You've got to think of him as well as the baby. You've got two people to... to deal with. And if you're going to nose him out entirely, well,



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you're asking for trouble. This is what happened quite often. Separated and divorced. The husband ((inaudible))

Interviewer And then men get jealous.

Elizabeth They get jealous, yes. Sounds silly, but they do. They get jealous. But they were very loyal most of them to their husbands. One lassie, her husband - the only time he ever got drunk was on Saturday night. And he nearly always got one over the head on Saturday night. And of course she went into labour on Saturday night, and he... she had to go all the way across the main road in the cold and the snow to telephone the doctor to ring me.

And I got down there and nobody'd believe it. ((inaudible))drag him into the back room and pop him into bed after that. I'm awfully sorry nurse, but this is the only time - and she wasn't blaming him - this is the only time he drinks on a Saturday night. And she had to go across in the cold ((inaudible)) It was fun.

- Interviewer Did things change much after the National Health Service started? Did you notice any changes?
- Elizabeth Not a lot of change. You then paid to have babies, you see. But I think not much changed.
- Interviewer Your work didn't change really.
- Elizabeth My work didn't change, no. My work didn't change. One time I was down... county council took over from the London General ELC and they directed all of the health service. It changed quite a bit then. We had a day off a week, and a weekend a month. You had more liberty, but then you weren't... you lost a lot of your own people, you see, which, ah, if you were a dedicated midwife annoyed you ((inaudible))

Interviewer Did you?

Elizabeth The patient would say, you will be here? Ah yes. And you'll come to me every day. And you don't foresee that you mightn't be there. But you couldn't when you were ((inaudible)) she didn't want you; she wanted me ((clock chimes)) relationship with them.



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- Interviewer It's a difficult problem that, I think, because you do need to have your time off as a midwife, and yet you want that special relationship with the mothers.
- Elizabeth With the mothers, yes. I think when there was more a group midwifery... clinics and so forth, they got to know the other. You did your own ((inaudible)) I kept my antenatal work on district for a bit... so you did it on district.
- Interviewer So you went to do it at home.
- Elizabeth You went with your blood pressure, bloods and your urine testing at home. One little boy, he used to say, hello pet, how are you? I'd say, anybody needs me. Yes, Lady Petsby ((laughs)) ((inaudible))
- Interviewer So you never had the children in the room when you were delivering the baby? No. They used to go to neighbours?
- Elizabeth Some were in their own rooms or somebody was there looking after them. But you wanted them there the minute the baby was born to show off the baby to them.
- Interviewer It's lovely that bit.
- Elizabeth Introduce them. That's the loveliest part, isn't it? Introduce them to...
- Interviewer Did you have any problems in the antenatal period? Did you ever have women who had eclampsia, toxaemia?
- Interviewer High blood pressure. I used to say I never had any trouble with the lazy ones or the dirty ones. They wouldn't have high blood pressure ((inaudible)) You want to go home and ((inaudible)) in the bath this morning. Yes, but there's no water in it ((laughs))
- Interviewer Is that when you were up north?
- Elizabeth Yes, that's when I was up north.
- Interviewer Was your training good? Do you think it prepared you well?
- Elizabeth I think it did. The district... prepared you well for the rough and tumble and what you had to make do with, you see. No good in telling the people to get so and so if they



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haven't the money. They couldn't get it anyway, so there's no good in ordering this that and the other, because they couldn't afford to do it.

Interviewer You just had to improvise.

- Res You had to improvise on a lot of things, you see. Yes, you had to improvise in the borough and district. Take your own stuff out.
- Interviewer How about clothes for the baby? Did people have enough or did they have to borrow those?
- Elizabeth A lot of them had borrowed. Some of them had, you know, quite a reasonable supply. With coupons you could only get so much. I always kept a set of baby clothes. If I had an unexpected baby and I knew somebody who had decided she wasn't having a baby still had it. So I always had a set of clothes with me ((inaudible)) Of course you got a lot - there was more passing on of babies clothes then. I don't know what they do now.
- Interviewer I've done it with my friends. We all pass them around. But I don't think it's commonly done that much.

Elizabeth I don't think it's as common.

- Interviewer It's silly as well, because they don't wear them out.
- Elizabeth The poorer people are more proud about it. It's a matter of pride. They won't have anything second-hand for baby ((inaudible)) A lot of people didn't mind so much.

Interviewer It's funny that, isn't it?

- Elizabeth ((inaudible)) Yes, it is, it's funny how they just sort of... a feeling of... I don't know, superiority if they have all of them themselves. Everybody got knitting for the baby or babies.
- Interviewer I think that's probably enough for this time, don't you? I don't want you to tire yourself. Maybe there are some more things I can ask you about if I come again in a few weeks or something. Or if you think of anything any stories you remembered.

## [END OF SECOND AUDIO FILE, INTERVIEW AND TRANSCRIPT]