

**Christianity and Charitable Caregiving for Disabled Ex-Servicemen in
Interwar Britain, 1918-1939**

Bethany Sarah Rowley

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds

School of History

September 2020

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

The right of Bethany Sarah Rowley to be identified as Author of this work has been asserted by her in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

Acknowledgements

I would not have been able to write this thesis without the support, encouragement and kindness shown to me by many people throughout the process. I would like to thank my supervisors, all the staff at the various archives I visited, my fellow PhD students, and all those who provided feedback on my work, whether this be at a conference, a public engagement event, or through a blog post or an article. Your help and advice have been invaluable.

I would like to thank Dr Jessica Meyer. I will always be grateful for her belief in me and this project. Without it, I would never have been a part of the 'Men, Women and Care' research project and the many opportunities that this presented. Above all, without her support, I would not have received funding for my PhD through the European Research Council (Grant Number: 638694). It is this funding which made this research possible.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family, who never lost confidence in me, even when I lost confidence in myself. For this, I would like to dedicate this work to my mother (Judith Rowley), my twin sister (Hannah Rowley) and my grandparents (Reverend Frank Rowley and Mrs Dorothy Rowley). You have all taught me much more than you could ever imagine.

Abstract

The First World War did not end faith in Britain. Because Christianity affected charitable mission, method, and networks in interwar society, the thesis uses the ways in which charities engaged with other institutions and those they provided care for to argue that religion remained socially significant after 1918. A decline in church attendance figures after the war does not symbolise a decline in the social significance of religion. After 1918, religion remained important to charitable practice and to wider British society.

Yet, in histories examining care for disabled veterans, the link between religion and rehabilitation is underdeveloped. Accordingly, this thesis asks whether religious belief and practice influenced charitable aid for disabled veterans. To answer this question, care for veterans is analysed at the intersection of the histories of religion, charity, and disability. Five charitable case studies are used to argue that between 1918 and 1939, Christian – more specifically Anglican – belief and practice directly affected the care religious and medical charities provided for disabled veterans of the First World War.

The thesis reveals that regional specificity, locality, inter-institutional relations, and concerns over employment and domesticity help answer this question, because these factors affected the type of care charities gave to disabled veterans. This care was provided within, and was affected by, a complex and fluctuating network of relationships between disabled veterans, charities, the Church, and government departments. The thesis also reveals that charities which did not form specifically or exclusively to help rehabilitate disabled veterans made a significant contribution to their care.

A study on charitable care for disabled veterans is a study on the social construction and mobilisation of religion in post-war Britain. The thesis concludes that charity and religion remained important at a time when the state was becoming more involved with the welfare of disabled people.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	iv
List of Illustrations and Tables	ix
Abbreviations	x
Introduction	1
Religion	4
Charity and Welfare	10
Charity, Welfare and Religion	10
Charity, Welfare, and Disability	16
Disability	23
Gender	31
Methodology and Sources	38
Chapter Structure	43
Chapter One: Toc H and Disabled Ex-Servicemen of the First World War	50
Introduction	50
Origins and Self-portrayal	54
Toc H, Army Chaplains, and the Church	58
Membership	64
‘Handicap Policy’: A Divide Between Mental and Physical Disability	69
Disability: Mission and Method	73
Welfare Schemes	73
Welfare Schemes and Location	77
Local Case Studies: Youth and Disability	82
Employment	85
Conclusion	93
Chapter Two: The League of Women Helpers (LWH)	97
Introduction	97
Origins and Leadership	100
Membership	105
LWH Methods	111
1) Disabled Veterans	111
2) Care Practices	114

3) Care Settings.....	118
LWH Mission.....	123
LWH and the Toc H Family	127
Conclusion	134
Chapter Three: Sunday School Charities and Disabled Ex-Servicemen of the Great War.....	138
Introduction	138
History of the Sunday School in Britain.....	141
Impact of the First World War on NSSU	150
1) Mobilisation and Voluntarism	150
2) Fundraising	156
3) Women.....	160
4) Sunday School Classes	164
NSSU and Disability.....	166
During the War.....	166
After the War.....	171
Regional Case Study	183
‘A Division’ and Disabled Veterans	185
Conclusion	192
Chapter Four: Disability, Religion, and the British Limbless Ex- Servicemen’s Association (BLESMA).....	196
Introduction	196
BLESMA Aims	198
Origins of BLESMA	200
Religious Origins.....	205
BLESMA Versus the State?	206
1) Employment Concerns.....	206
2) BLESMA and KNRS.....	216
Political Rallies, Regionalism and Religion	221
Manchester	221
Preston.....	224
Blackpool.....	229
Ascot.....	231
Leeds Case Study.....	234
Women	239
Royal Patronage	246
Conclusion	250

Chapter Five: Religion, Rehabilitation, and the Ex-Services Welfare Society (ESWS)	255
Introduction	255
Chapter Structure	260
Role of Religion in Asylum Care Prior to 1914: WRAB Case Study	261
Mental After-Care Association	265
ESWS: Religious Networks and Female Networks as Forms of Care	272
Religion, Charity Networks, and Representation	272
Female Networks and Politics	279
Female Networks: The Ladies House Committee and Domesticity	281
The opening of ESWS Homes	285
Occupational Therapy: Relationship Between ESWS and the MOP	289
Occupational Therapy: Thermega and Royalty	297
Relationship Between ESWS, the MOP and MACA	301
Conclusion	303
Conclusion	308
Religion	310
Regionalism and Locality	315
Social Reintegration	318
Charity-State Relations	324
Bibliography	330

List of Illustrations and Tables

Figure 1.1:	1922 <i>Toc H Journal</i>	56
Figure 2.1:	LWH Membership Badge	108
Figure 3.1:	Denomination and Education Table	145
Figure 3.2:	Number of new Sunday schools affiliating with NSSU as reported by <i>The Chronicle</i>	151
Figure 4.1:	MOP Statistics for Limbless Men: 1931-1935	210
Figure 5.1:	Annual Number of MACA Cases: 1915-1922	269
Figure 5.2:	ESWS Propaganda Material	293

Abbreviations

BLESMA	British Limbless Ex-Servicemen's Organisation
CBRL	Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham
COPEC	Conference on Political, Economic, and Social Affairs
COS	Charity Organisation Society
CPS	Catholic Play Society
CSA	Combat Stress Archives
CWL	Catholic Women's League
ESWS	Ex-Services Welfare Society
ICF	International Christian Fellowship
IWM	Imperial War Museum
KNRS	Kings National Roll Scheme
LWH	League of Women Helpers
MACA	Mental After Care Association
MOL	Ministry of Labour
MOP	Ministry of Pensions
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
NSSU	National Sunday School Union
WL	Wellcome Library
WYAS	West Yorkshire Archive Service
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

Introduction

As a result of the First World War, approximately two million British men returned from military service with some form of disability.¹ For over three quarters of a million of these men, their disability was permanent.² The number of disabled men, and the types of impairments incurred, were hitherto unprecedented.³ The care needs of these veterans placed Britain's financial and medical resources under great strain. After its founding in 1917, the Ministry of Pensions, which co-ordinated the diagnosis and treatment of war disability, limited state obligations to disabled veterans to alleviate pressure on resources.⁴ Alongside the state, veterans relied on charitable organisations and the grateful public to provide care.⁵ This included medical care, such as hospital treatments and prosthetics, and social care, including financial and domestic assistance. By asking whether religious belief and practice influenced the medical and social care charities provided to disabled veterans, this thesis shows that between 1918 and 1939, religion remained important to charitable practice and wider British society, and that religion directly affected care provision for disabled veterans.

In analysing the role of Christianity within charitable institutions that helped the war disabled, this research examines the social construction of religion and

¹ The International Labour Office, 'Studies and Reports: The Compulsory Employment of Disabled Men', *International Labour Office*, 2 (1921), p.2.

² Meaghan Kowalsky, 'Enabling the Great War: Ex-Servicemen, the Mixed Economy of Welfare and the Social Construction of Disability, 1899-1930' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2007), p.1.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Jessica Meyer, *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p.99.

⁵ Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), p.4.

its mobilisation in post-war British society. To show that religion links together the histories of charities which provided care for veterans, the thesis compares charitable caregiving for disabled veterans by religious and secular philanthropic organisations. The first part of the thesis analyses the work of three Christian charities: The Society of Friends (Quakers), League of Women Helpers (LWH), and The National Sunday School Union (NSSU). The second part of the thesis examines the role of religion in two secular medical charities: The British Limbless Ex-Serviceman's Association (BLESMA) and The Ex-Services Welfare Society (ESWS). By considering how they mobilised religion, the interwar work of these charities reveals the importance of religion, particularly Anglicanism, as a social construct in the charities' efforts to rehabilitate disabled ex-servicemen.

Church attendance figures indicate that Anglicanism was a well-received denomination in British society immediately before and after the war.⁶ It was also popular in the army, as sixty per cent of the 5,000 clergymen (representing eleven denominations) in the Army Chaplain's Department in 1918 were Anglican, many of whom were involved in charitable activity after the conflict.⁷ However, research linking Anglicanism and disability – or Anglicanism and social welfare more broadly – in the interwar period is underdeveloped. This research adds insight into histories of religious social work by focusing on the welfare activities of five charities with links to Anglicanism.

⁶ Linda Parker, 'Shell-Shocked Prophets: The Influence of Former Anglican Army Chaplains on the Church of England and British Society in the Interwar Years' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 2013), p.10.

⁷ Michael Snape, 'Church of England Army Chaplains in the First World War: Goodbye to "Goodbye to all that"', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 62 (2) (2011), 318-345, pp.320-321. There are no known religious statistics on the number of Anglican disabled or able-bodied soldiers who returned to Britain because the army did not ask soldiers for their denomination when they were demobilised. Also, there was no religious census in Britain between 1851-2001.

Religion often shaped how, where, and when disabled veterans received charitable care, as well as who administered the care. Christian practice and belief also influenced social understandings of masculinity and disability for disabled ex-servicemen at an institutional and a personal level. By using Michael Roper's definition of identity as 'the normative codes or cultural scripts associated with what it means to be man or woman in a given time and place', this thesis argues that social understandings of gendered roles had religious undertones within charitable institutions in the interwar period.⁸ Gendered understandings of identity roles influenced how disabled men and charitable organisations viewed disability and charity, and they affected the type of charitable help given to veterans.

This thesis considers how the themes of religion, disability, charity, and gender overlap in the context of care for veterans. An analysis of this historiographical intersection provides a new perspective for our understanding of charity work after the war and for the informal health care provision before the birth of the welfare state. The connections between religion and charitable care for the war disabled emphasise how the war did not 'end faith' in British society and suggests that arguments to the contrary have been overstated.⁹

⁸ Michael Roper, 'Between the Psyche and the Social: Masculinity, Subjectivity and the First World War Veteran', *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 15 (3) (2008), 251-270, p.251.

⁹ Philip Jenkins, *The Great and Holy War: How World War I Became a Religious Crusade* (New York City: Harper Collins, 2014), p.191. He develops the work of Simon Green who argues that while the war may have affected people's confidence in God and justice, the British people 'did not cease to believe in God'. Simon J. D. Green, *The Passing of Protestant England: Secularisation and Social Change (c.1920-1960)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.61-62.

Religion

The First World War affected individual experiences of religion. Some soldiers and civilians found faith for the first time, some lost their faith, and for others, their belief in God did not waiver. Although the war caused a loss of faith for some, the war did not 'kill God' in wider British society, nor was it the Church of England's 'last crusade'.¹⁰ Because charities mobilised Christian belief and practice to help rehabilitate disabled ex-servicemen, this thesis shows that Christianity remained a vital aspect of British society after 1918.

In arguing for religious continuity, the thesis stands in conflict with interpretations that suggest the war had a 'catastrophic' impact on the Church of England and on religious life in Britain. In this historiographical debate revolving around change and continuity, two competing models of religion have dominated: religious revival and the modernist model.¹¹ National and individual religious experiences of the war, as well as the war itself, do not fit neatly into either model; instead they should be thought of as being placed on a spectrum.¹² Historians of the modernist model frame the war as a secularising event.¹³ Historians of the revivalist model argue that the war became an opportunity to spread the Christian message and that soldiers took solace in God because of their war experiences.¹⁴ Therefore, framing the war as an entirely secularizing event undermines the

¹⁰ Albert Marrin, *The Last Crusade: The Church of England and the First World War* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1974); Edward Ralph Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City* (London, Lutterworth Press, 1957), p.206.

¹¹ Rich Schweitzer, 'The Cross and the Trenches: Religious Faith and Doubt Among Some British Soldiers on the Western Front' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 1993), p.1.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.3.

¹³ Albert Marrin, *The Last Crusade*; Edward Ralph Wickham, p.206.

¹⁴ Dominic Erdozain 'The Twentieth Century: Secularisation and Revival.' Lecture at Kings College London, March 2008. <<https://www.kcl.ac.uk/aboutkings/principal/dean/akc/.../AKCSpring-Lecture9.doc>> [Accessed 23 April 2016].

continuing significance of religion, and by extension, Christian charity and the influence of Christianity within charitable institutions in interwar Britain.

An analysis of charity work for disabled veterans suggests that historians need to look beyond the institution of the Church to understand how religion continued to shape post-war society. Historians have used fluctuating church attendance figures to argue that the war 'gave rise to widespread cynicism hostile to religious faith' and that it was 'a watershed on the path toward secularisation'.¹⁵ Although this study does not try to answer when, or indeed if, secularisation happened, it argues that a decline in Church attendance figures is not representative of a decline in faith or a loss of religious significance in society.¹⁶ This is because these statistics do not take into account popular religion. The thesis argues that charity work is an expression of popular religion because the charities analysed practised religion and connected with the clergy outside of an orthodox setting. The war did not cause a sudden 'loss of faith' as the modernist model implies because religion remained important to charitable institutions and broader society.¹⁷ Church attendance statistics are helpful in tracing

¹⁵ Rich Schweitzer, p.3. Field uses statistics to show that more denominations recorded a decline in church membership during the conflict than an increase, although Free Church membership rose by one percent and Anglican communicants increased in 1918. For more information about different denominations and church attendance figures during and after the war, see Clive Field, *Historical Religious Statistics*, 2012. <http://www.brin.ac.uk/2012/some-historical-religious-statistics> [Accessed 6 January 2017].

¹⁶ Historians disagree about when secularisation happened and the role of the war in the process. Alan Gilbert argues that because religion was in decline throughout the twentieth century, religion would have continued to decline until it became a marginal aspect of British society irrespective of the war. Clive Field suggests churches were affected by social conditions over time (more so than by the war), but Callum Brown suggests secularisation happened in the 1960s. Robert Currie, Alan Gilbert and Lee Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles Since 1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp.128-95; Clive Field, 'Keeping the Spiritual Home Fires Burning: Religious Belonging in Britain during the First World War', *War and Society*, 33 (2014), 244-68; Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000* (London: Routledge, 2009).

¹⁷ Rich Schweitzer, pp.1-3; A. J. P Taylor, *The First World War, An Illustrated History* (New York City: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1970), p.165; Josef Altholz, 'The Warfare of

denominational trends and patterns over a given period, but they are not a complete measure of religious strength in a society at a particular time.

John Wolffe and Callum Brown show the importance of using data other than Church attendance statistics to measure religious belief after the war. Wolffe shows that a growing proportion of the population identified as Christian despite having no direct association with a Church.¹⁸ Callum Brown argues that in interwar Britain religious faith was expressed in family ceremonies such as marriage and baptism rather than church attendance.¹⁹ In her study of interwar Christianity within the London borough of Southwark, Sarah Williams argues that 'religious absence from church services was not a product of "unbelief." The assertion of a different set of criteria in which their ideal of the true believer and of a genuine religion remained independent of the authority of the Church as the arbiter of true morality'.²⁰ People thought that their local community would view them as religious based on their behaviour, such as by saying prayers, attending Sunday Schools or even by caring for and being honest to others.²¹ Charitable institutions made similar assumptions, and being kind and offering aid was enough to appear religious in their community. Religious charities were also arbiters of morality, as Christian morality influenced how they framed care for the disabled after the war. Thus, this thesis develops the work of Wolffe, Brown, and

Conscience with Theology', in *The Mind and Art of Victorian England*, ed. by Josef Altholz (Minneapolis-St Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), pp.58-77, pp.58-9; Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity 1900-2000* (London: SCM Press, 1991), p.670.

¹⁸ John Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life of Britain and Ireland, 1843-1945* (London: Routledge, 1994), p.9.

¹⁹ Callum Brown, p.187.

²⁰ Sarah Williams, *Religious Belief and Popular Culture in Southwark, c.1880-1939* (London: Clarendon Press, 1999), p.165.

²¹ *Ibid.*; Caitriona McCartney, 'British Sunday Schools in the Era of the First World War: 1900-1939' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 2018), p.14.

Williams by showing that charity work and charity networks are separate methods through which historians can assess the importance of religion to interwar society.

The work of the above historians show that religion did not necessarily mean orthodox practice to men and women after the war. Highlighting a degree of continuity, scholars analysing religious practices at the Front, such as Alan Wilkinson and Rich Schweitzer, have reached the same conclusion for the war years.²² Owen Davies argues that many soldiers turned to Christianity for the 'message of ritual, miracle and protection' against the unpredictability and fear caused by the theatre of war, not because they wanted to convert.²³ In doing so, he distinguishes between formal and vernacular faith. While 'faith' can mean both, this research focuses on formal faith and its mobilisation in post-war society. This is because it focuses on religion within charitable institutions, rather than individual experiences of faith. By analysing the importance of religion to secular charities the thesis shows that Davies' distinction between formal and vernacular faith can be applied to the wider British society and not only to those who fought in the war.

In addition to analyses of Church statistics, arguments about the religious practices at the Front have contributed to the idea that the war 'killed God'. They have also contributed to the revisionist myth that the British Tommy was irreligious.²⁴ In the same publication in which he argues religion was of little value, Schweitzer showed the importance of religion to the British soldier. He argues that 'soldiers communicated with God through reading the Old and New

²² Alan Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1976), pp.160-168, p.161; Rich Schweitzer, 'The Cross and the Trenches: Religious Faith and Doubt Among Some British Soldiers on the Western Front', *War and Society*, 16 (2) (1998), 33-57, p.34.

²³ Owen Davies, *A Supernatural War: Magic, Divination, and Faith during the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p.212.

²⁴ Caitriona McCartney, p.30.

Testaments, and [...] the Bible was the most widely read book among Great War soldiers'.²⁵ Helen McCartney introduces church magazines into this argument. She suggests they were popular at the Front because they allowed soldiers to take part in 'church life', while Williams used the importance of hymns to make the same point.²⁶ This thesis argues that after the war, just as during the conflict, involving oneself in and with a religious charity was an extension of 'church life'. In *God and the British Soldier*, Michael Snape also concludes that 'for the majority of soldiers during the war, Christianity remained dominant in shaping their moral and spiritual universe'.²⁷ In advocating for continuity, he creates a framework to understand the conflict and how soldiers understood and practised hope and control.²⁸ However, Snape uses personal religion for understanding institutional religious practice within the army and not within charities.

These historians show that religion has been interpreted as a subjective identity among soldiers in diverse ways. Yet, religious experiences during the war continued to affect charitable practice after the armistice. As Chapters One and Two highlight, many of the same men and women who served in the war were involved in post-war charity work. In its analysis of associations attached to Anglican chaplains, the thesis suggests that subjective experiences of religion during the conflict had the ability to affect the willingness of disabled veterans to approach religious charity after 1918. Personal subjectivity helps to explain Schweitzer's contradiction and his idea that religious responses and experiences encountered by contemporary British soldiers existed on a 'spectrum': no two

²⁵ Rich Schweitzer, *The Cross and the Trenches: Religious Faith and Doubt Among British and American Great War Soldiers* (London: Praeger, 2003), p.31.

²⁶ Helen McCartney, *Citizen Soldiers: The Liverpool Territorials in the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.99; Sarah Williams, pp.148-149.

²⁷ Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (London: Routledge, 2007), p.58.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.19-57 and pp.59-82.

soldiers understand religion in the same way. This fluidity in religious understanding applies to the leaders of Christian and secular charities after the war and is reflected in their policies. Hence, differing interpretations of religion amongst charitable leaders (even with the same denominational affiliation) benefited some disabled veterans in their ability to access charitable care, but hindered others.

The thesis develops Schweitzer's 'spectrum' model by showing that the religious responses of institutions to the war were varied, just like the religious responses of individuals. This brings into question dominant descriptions of the Great War as a 'secularising influence in relation to British public life'.²⁹ However, within secularisation debates – and within the modern and revivalist models of religion – the assumption persists that 'religion and modernity are antithetical'.³⁰ By showing the existence of a symbiotic rather than an antagonistic relationship between Christian and scientific - or more specifically medical - discourses to disability and disability care, the thesis challenges this assumption. Charities embraced medical advancements, for example Toc H and blood donations, and BLESMA and prosthetics, and many doctors and priests worked together within churches and charities to care for disabled veterans. Across the charities analysed, the role and relationship between medical science and religion was not uniform or static. Therefore, the 'spectrum model', with its range of religious

²⁹ Richard Schweitzer, 'The Cross and the Trenches: Religious Faith and Doubt Among Some British Soldiers on the Western Front', *War and Society*, 16 (2) (1998), 33-57, p.55; Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p.243.

³⁰ Laura Monica Ramsay, 'The Relation of the Sexes': Towards A Christian View of Sex and Citizenship in Interwar Britain, *Contemporary British History*, 34 (4) (2020), 555-579, p.556; Hugh McLeod, *Secularisation in Western Europe, 1848-1914* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), pp.5-9; and Jeffrey Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth, 1870-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp.9-20.

responses to war, is a useful way for historians to understand the complex role of religion in national and individual life after 1918.

Although historians have made the distinction between subjective religious belief and institutional religious practice, the latter has been studied less in comparison to the former, and the focus of these histories has not been on charities as institutions. Historians such as Snape have analysed the role of religion to soldiers and ex-service institutions (such as charities) but have seldom considered it in the interwar period.³¹ Because historians of the war and religious historians have not fully considered how charities helped mobilize religion in post war-society, this thesis bridges the gap by considering the influence religion had on the social and medical care provided by charities for disabled veterans.

Charity and Welfare

Charity, Welfare and Religion

Histories examining charity and welfare towards the disabled in twentieth-century Britain emphasise the continued influence of religion within society. There were 6,000 charities for war veterans and their dependants registered with the Charity Commissioners in 1918, and many of these were Christian.³²

³¹ Like Snape, most historians examining the impact of the war on Christianity restrict their analyses to the war years. They have looked at how Christian principles allowed and then defended total war, the role of army chaplains during the conflict, and the role of religious practice in the trenches. Within these themes, notable works include Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier* and Edward Madigan, *Faith Under Fire: Anglican Army Chaplains and the Great War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

³² Peter Grant <<http://www.vaahs.org.uk/2014/04/philanthropy-and-voluntary-action-in-the-firstworld-war>> [Accessed 19 April 2017]. Hence, one-third of the 18,000

Before 1914, most charitable endeavours had religious underpinnings with Evangelical Christians running three out of four voluntary societies.³³ All Christian charities, whether high church or low, Methodist, Baptist, Unitarian, Quaker or Catholic, 'competed for converts and custom through their respective societies'.³⁴ This competition created 'considerable institutional rivalry', which was a problem for those who looked to the government for solutions to social problems, including disability and poverty.³⁵

Prior to the war Christian charities (of any denomination) were the main care-providers for the disabled in Britain, despite the government extending its social responsibilities to the disabled with measures such as the 1911 National Insurance Act. However, the 'laissez-faire' liberal economy and 'self-help' principles, which characterised the Victorian and Edwardian eras, extended to charity work.³⁶ By emphasising the 'wickedness of idleness and the necessity of self-help' before the war, David Gerard argues that Christianity contributed to 'keeping the poor and disabled in their poverty'.³⁷ In this way, Christianity and Christian charities helped to influence social perceptions of disabled people and charity work prior to the outbreak of war.

charities created during the war were to care for the war injured. Deborah Cohen, pp.35-36.

³³ Frank Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.12.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.13.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Liberal Welfare Reforms between 1906 and 1914, which included school meals and old age pensions, best highlight state intervention.

³⁷ For Christian charity for the disabled prior to the war, see Carmen Mangion, 'Faith, Philanthropy and the Aged Poor', *European Review of History*, 19 (4) (2012), 515-530; Mark Freeman, 'Victorian Philanthropy and the Rowntrees: The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust', *Quaker Studies*, 7 (2) (2014), 193-213; and David Gerard, *Charities in Britain – Conservatism or Change?* (London: Bedford Square Press, 1983), p.52.

In Victorian and Edwardian Britain, different denominations had different charitable emphases. Anglicans favoured anti-slavery and Bible societies; Methodists pioneered district visiting; Unitarians and Quakers endorsed educational causes; and Baptists and Congregationalists were well represented in the temperance movement.³⁸ Denominational differences allowed religious organisations to have a considerable impact on pre-war society because 'most of the population was receptive to their religious language and sentiments'.³⁹ This is significant because 'churches played a vital role in the provision of social welfare'.⁴⁰ As Frank Prochaska claims, the origins of all government social services are in the British churches because they supplied schooling, medical care, and welfare visitors for countless families.⁴¹

Accessing religious charity for provisions such as those suggested by Prochaska was part of the daily life of able-bodied and disabled members of society. This is important because, 'to fully understand British society and culture at this time, it is imperative to recognise the significant role religion played in the daily life of the population'.⁴² The Salvation Army and Young Men's Christian Association are two examples of such charities. Jeffrey Reznik supports Gerard's critique of self-help by using these two charities as case studies to argue that Christian charities 'exploited the self-help mechanism of Edwardian and Victorian Britain'.⁴³ This was through their views of 'saving' the urban poor and destitute,

³⁸ Frank Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain*, p.12. The thesis suggests that Anglican charities focused less on anti-slavery and bible societies, favouring visits and education in the interwar period.

³⁹ John Wolfe, pp.18-19.

⁴⁰ Catriona McCartney, p.11.

⁴¹ Frank Prochaska, pp.1-27.

⁴² Catriona McCartney, p.11.

⁴³ Jeffrey Reznik, *Healing the Nation: The Culture of Caregiving in Britain during the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp.18-19.

'in their efforts to ameliorate the wartime weariness of ex-servicemen'.⁴⁴ Consequently, many scholars have described charities as agents of 'social control', suggesting those involved used their position to 'model their own morality' for those needing their help.⁴⁵

Charitable attempts at social control during and after the war were often religiously motivated. Michael Snape argues that the resources or budget available to a charity often decided who received charitable help more than religious belief and practice. Suggesting that religious underpinnings were key to interwar charitable practice, this was the other way around for some of the Anglican charities analysed. Snape also asserts that religious charities did not necessarily attempt to control or rationalize those they were helping and that humanitarianism motivated charity more than conversion. He proposes that, during the war, soldiers did not necessarily look to religious charities for spiritual aid.⁴⁶ To extend his argument beyond the war years would suggest that veterans went to church for medical and financial care but did not necessarily 'pay heed to the religious or moral tenants being proliferated', any more than they or their families did prior to or during the war.⁴⁷ Undoubtedly this was the case for some veterans, but by analysing religious charities in the interwar period and the specific prayers and church services for veterans, this thesis proposes that veterans were actively involved with, and benefited from, the 'religious aspects' of religious charity in the rehabilitative process.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ For an overview of 'social control' as a sociological term, see: Gareth Stedman Jones, 'Class Expression Versus Social Control? A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of Leisure', *History Workshop*, 4 (1) (1977), 162-170.

⁴⁶ Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, pp.205-7, p.217.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

The 'religious aspects' of charity work for disabled ex-servicemen further highlight how difficult it is to separate the disciplines of 'religion' and 'respectability' within interwar Britain. Often connected to Anglican teachings - and mirroring the aims of many Christian charities - economic independence, education, acts of service, orderliness, cleanliness, and fidelity in sexual relations are at the core of the 'respectability' concept. Thus, there is a level of 'hostility to excessive alcohol consumption, gambling, sexual unions outside of marriage, and lack of religious devotion' within this idea.⁴⁸ In distinguishing between these 'respectable' and 'rough' set of behaviours, divisions between Christian denominations, between the rich and the poor, employer and employee, and even between men and women, are overshadowed.⁴⁹ An adherence to a set of common moral values also blurs class divisions and distinctions.⁵⁰ This is significant because these moral values, just like the five main charitable case studies used in this thesis, are examples of popular religion. Hence, the 'religious aspects' of charity work show that within interwar Anglicanism, popular and institutionalised religion were intricately linked for all classes within society. For many charities, charity workers, and those accessing their services, religion meant more than a set of 'respectable' behaviours. Religion was grounded in Biblical teachings and understandings, which in turn influenced charity policies and constitutions. Paradoxically, in its analysis of secular medical charities, this

⁴⁸ David Goodhew, 'Working-Class Respectability: The Example of the Western Areas of Johannesburg, 1930-55', *The Journal of African History*, 41 (2) (2000), 241-266, p.241. To see how historians have utilised the concept of 'respectability' in diverse ways, see: Geoffrey Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-75* (London: Flamingo Books, 1971), pp.256-63; Brian Harrison, *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp.157-216, and Eric Hobsbawm, *Worlds of Labour: Further Studies in the History of Labour* (London: Littlehampton Book Services, 1984), pp.245-8

⁴⁹ David Goodhew, pp.241-242.

⁵⁰ Paul O'Leary, 'Networking Respectability: Class, Gender and Ethnicity among the Irish in South Wales, 1845-1914', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 23 (2-3) (2006), 255-275, p.259

thesis also shows that it was possible for a person and/or an institution to have 'good morals' despite not following the Bible or identifying as Christian.

The thesis questions historians, such as Paul O'Leary and David Goodhew, who polarise the 'respectable' and 'rough' ideals by examining class, gender, and notions of identity within interwar charities. For example, a man who worked as a qualified Sunday school teacher before the war – a respectable value as it emphasises his devotion to Christ and education – asks a charity for economic support, because of a war injury, on his return home – a rough characteristic because it highlights his inability to be self-sufficient. Therefore, approaching a religious or secular charity for aid could result in social judgements over the 'respectability' of the individual involved, potentially affecting the willingness of an individual to seek charitable support.⁵¹ This has particular significance for working class receptions of charity. As O' Leary explains, even if a working-class man tried to increase his 'respectable value' by embracing these 'moral' qualities, society would view him as less respectable than a middle or upper-class man because of socio-economic differences.⁵² Yet, it was these socio-economic differences that meant the working-class were more likely to need charitable help. Hence, the British class system had a role to play in limiting the influence religion – even if individuals or charities were members of or followed the teachings of the high church – had over notions of 'respectability' and class and charity after the war. The link between class, charity and identity is explored in more detail later in this introduction, but the link between morality, respectability, and religion, particularly within charities with strong ties to

⁵¹ For more information on charity as a test of respectability, see: Frank Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service*, p.21.

⁵² Paul O'Leary, pp.260-65.

Anglicanism, highlights the diffusive nature of Christianity across different factions of British society and its continued importance after 1918.

Charity, Welfare, and Disability

It was not just religious charities or charities for the disabled who cared for disabled ex-servicemen. They were cared for within a 'mixed economy of welfare'.⁵³ Jane Lewis describes this as a system in which 'the state, the voluntary sector, employers, and the family have played different parts at different points in time'.⁵⁴ Care was 'provided formally, by local authorities, volunteer organisations, and mutual aid societies, and informally, by families and local communities.'⁵⁵ Disabled veterans were often recipients of care from more than one group at the same time, groups which co-operated and competed with one another.⁵⁶

This research applies the 'mixed economy' concept and develops it by including the Church, clergymen, and doctors in discussions on issues surrounding care for disabled veterans. As a contrast to David Gerard's negative interpretation of religion and self-help, historians of disability have stressed the benefits of 'self-help' for the disabled.⁵⁷ The medical charities analysed often thought disabled ex-servicemen could and should be doing more to help themselves; a theme which is not evident in the analysis of religious charities. By helping themselves, disabled veterans were a part of the 'economy of welfare'

⁵³ Meaghan Kowalsky, p.2.

⁵⁴ Jane Lewis, 'The Voluntary Sector in the Mixed Economy of Welfare', in *Before Beveridge: Welfare Before the Welfare State*, ed. by David Gladstone (London: Civitas: Institute for the Study of Civil Society, 1999), pp.10-17, p.11.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Meaghan Kowalsky, p.5.

⁵⁷ David Gerard, p.52; Meaghan Kowalsky, p.7.

system, and, as will be examined, the question for responsibility of care led to tensions between charities, ex-servicemen, and the state.

Charities worked independently and with the state before the war as they did after it.⁵⁸ After forming in 1869, The Charity Organisation Society (COS) used an early form of social investigation based on Evangelical practice, and members visited homes and questioned the poor to link help to observable conditions. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, COS published a report extending 'personal responsibility to disabled people' which confined charitable aid to the 'deserving poor' who were pre-disposed towards self-help, leaving the Poor Law to deal with the 'undeserving'.⁵⁹ These pre-war social connotations surrounding the disabled and who deserved charitable care remained socially ingrained during and after the war.⁶⁰

The government had no statutory obligation to help disabled veterans specifically until 1917 when it formed the Ministry of Pensions. Previously, disabled veterans relied on the 'grateful public' and charities for social and medical help. As many historians have shown, this reliance remained and even increased after 1917.⁶¹ However, historians who provide a close reading of charitable assistance and welfare schemes dedicated to disabled ex-servicemen, such as Deborah Cohen and Fiona Reid, rarely include religion and the impact Christianity had upon state and private charitable care for the war disabled. Scholars focusing on religious charities, such as Linda Parker and Joan Clifford,

⁵⁸ Deborah Cohen, pp.35-36.

⁵⁹ Anne Borsay, 'Disciplining Disabled Bodies: The Development of Orthopaedic Medicine in Britain, c. 1800-1939', in *Social Histories of Disability and Deformity*, ed. by David Turner and Kevin Stagg (London: Routledge, 2006), pp.97-117, p.100.

⁶⁰ Meaghan Kowalsky, p.4; Ana Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body: Classicism, Modernism, and the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁶¹ Deborah Cohen, pp.1-12.

examine either their activities during the war and not in the interwar period, the story behind the founders of Christian organisations, or use an international scope which focuses less on the work of the charity in Britain.⁶² This research addresses the influence of Christianity in charitable work aimed at disabled ex-servicemen in Britain, which brings together the separate strands to argue that religion and religious charities made a significant contribution to the care of disabled veterans.

Literature which focuses on charitable care for veterans has also tended to analyse charities which were specifically created to help disabled veterans. An analysis of religious charities reveals that charities which did not form specifically to help rehabilitate disabled veterans made a significant contribution to their care. However, many of the 18,000 new charities formed during the conflict were Christian, and many focused on supporting disabled men and their families. These included St Dunstan's Homes for the Blind and The Star and Garter Homes for paralysed veterans.⁶³ In 1936, the MOP produced a directory naming more than 500 charities working on behalf of First World War ex-servicemen and their dependants: as time from the war increased, there were fewer charities offering help to disabled veterans.⁶⁴

As Martin Purdy shows in his analysis of the Westfield War Memorial Village in Lancaster, volunteers within these new charities 'came from all levels of society but were most commonly led by members of charitable networks, who

⁶² Linda Parker, 'A Living Memorial – The Toc H Movement and Talbot House as Living Memorials', (unpublished chapter, University of Birmingham, 2017); Joan Clifford, *A Good Uniform: The St John Story* (London: Robert Hale, 1967); Joan Clifford, *For the Service of Mankind: Furley, Lechmere and Duncan, St John Ambulance Founders* (London: Robert Hale, 1971).

⁶³ Statistics taken from article by Peter Grant: <<http://www.vaahs.org.uk/2014/04/philanthropy-and-voluntary-action-in-the-firstworld-war/> [Accessed 19 April 2017].

⁶⁴ Deborah Cohen, pp.35-36.

were often from more wealthy or privileged backgrounds'.⁶⁵ Historians have thus interpreted charitable care through the lens of paternalism, in which a 'do-gooding middle class sought to impose its values on those it perceived as being lower down the social ladder', including disabled veterans.⁶⁶ Purdy's work supports Cohen's assessment of the War Seals Mansions: 'ex-servicemen living within the walls of charitable institutions were subject to the "aspirations and discipline" of the volunteers responsible for their care'.⁶⁷ The thesis shows that this control was not exclusive to charity homes and that it applied to disabled ex-servicemen who did not 'live within a charitable institution', but who became members and/or received help from a charity.

Religion also motivated charitable 'aspirations and discipline' for the ex-servicemen and civilians whom the religious charities helped. Charities did not use religion to control ex-servicemen any differently than they did for civilians, but as Chapters One and Two show, in some cases, if men and women did not agree with the religious views of a charity committee, that charity did not provide them with care. Yet, practicalities, in addition to the social and religious beliefs of charity workers, affected which veterans a charity helped. The sheer number of disabled men often outstripped the human and financial resources of an individual charity: charities, like the state, could not help all disabled veterans who required their care.⁶⁸ This thesis considers religion within the factors of locality, class, finance, and type of disability which affected and controlled the type of help charities gave to disabled ex-servicemen.

⁶⁵ Martin Purdy, 'Westfield War Memorial Village: Disability, Paternalism, and Philanthropy, 1915-2015' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Lancaster, 2017), p.3.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Deborah Cohen, p.127.

⁶⁸ Meaghan Kowalsky, p.166.

This research uses religion and charitable endeavour to show that disabled men were not necessarily submissive to this charitable and social control, despite the historically prevalent view that disability weakened or effeminised men, and that accessing charity was an extension of this weakness.⁶⁹ The active involvement of disabled ex-servicemen in veteran groups and charities suggests that ex-servicemen were not necessarily weakened – in terms of social position, finances, or masculinity – by their war disability. It is proposed that charities supporting them were not necessarily created for work purposes or to give medical or domestic care as is predominantly implied by the historiography.⁷⁰

Deborah Cohen, Stephen Ward, David Swift, and Mike Hally demonstrate that the sheer number of soldiers returning disabled by war, coupled with governmental ambivalence towards them, prompted the birth of ex-servicemen's organisations and charities. The National Association of Discharged Soldiers and Sailors (NADSS) and the British Limbless Ex-Services Association (BLESMA) are prominent examples of such organisations.⁷¹ Many disabled veterans needed charitable assistance, but they were not passive recipients. Disabled veterans

⁶⁹ A. J. Withers, '(Re) constructing and (Re) habilitating the Disabled Body: World War One Era Disability Policy and its Enduring Ramifications', *Canadian Review of Social Policy*, 75 (2016), 30-58, p.42. For more on war disability and perceived social loss of identity, see Wendy Gagen, 'Remastering the Body, Renegotiating Gender: Physical Disability and Masculinity during the First World War, the Case of J. B. Middlebrook', *European Review of History*, 14 (4) (2007), 525-61, p.528.

⁷⁰ See for example Fiona Reid's assessment of the Ex-Servicemen's Welfare society in, 'Distinguishing between Shell-shocked Veterans and Pauper Lunatics: The Ex-Services' Welfare Society and Mentally Wounded Veterans after the Great War', *War in History*, 14 (3) (2007), 347-371, and Meaghan Kowalsky's analysis of KNRS in Meaghan Kowalsky, 'This Honourable Obligation: The King's National Roll Scheme for Disabled Ex-Servicemen 1915-1944', *European Review of History*, 14 (4) (2007), 567-84.

⁷¹ Stephen Ward, 'Intelligence Surveillance of British Ex-Servicemen, 1918-1920', *The Historical Journal*, xvi, (1973), 179-188, p.181; Mike Hally, 'The Deep Roots of the British Legion: The Emergence of First World War Veterans' Organisations', in *Veterans of the First World War: Ex-servicemen and Ex-servicewomen in Post-war Britain and Ireland*, ed. by David Swift and Oliver Wilkinson (London: Routledge, 2019), pp.17-33.

actively 'campaigned, complained and came together to fight for their rights and against social control implemented by charities and the state'.⁷² This action suggests that many veterans interpreted 'rights' and 'charity' as separate ideas. Because BLESMA and ESWS looked to the government to change conditions for disabled veterans, charitable activity influenced this 'active' behaviour. Because of disagreements that these two charities had with the government, the thesis also shows that the Church and clergymen supported disabled agency through the relationship between charities and the state.

The injuries disabled veterans acquired in war meant that many were not at peace with their bodies, society, and those aiding their recovery.⁷³ Yet, the active involvement of veterans in veterans' affairs did not lead to widespread unrest or political revolt as it did in Germany. Deborah Cohen argues that 'a desire for reform occurred within a conservative ex-servicemen's movement looking for signs the country cared', as the British state was not as actively involved in providing care for disabled veterans as in Germany: it was happy for charities to do this work for them.⁷⁴ British charities 'brokered a lasting social peace between this movement and a public eager to prove its gratitude to the soldiers who had fought to protect them'.⁷⁵

These expressions of gratitude were not uniform, nor did they remain a concern in different charities for the same amount of time. Charitable help may have served the public appreciation for the work of soldiers during the war, but this 'grateful' and 'active' understanding of ex-service organisations further

⁷² Martin Purdy, p.20.

⁷³ John R. Watson, 'Soldiers and Saints: The Fighting Man and the Christian Life', in, *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture*, ed. by Andrew Bradstock, Sean Gill, Anne Hogan and Sue Morgan (London: MacMillan Press, 2000), pp.10-27.

⁷⁴ Deborah Cohen, p.8.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

demonstrates that philanthropists often had their own agenda, such as politicising their cause, in helping the disabled other than providing care. In addition to political motivations, this agenda often had gendered undertones.⁷⁶ By considering the role of women at the end of the war and the links between religion and domesticity, and female charity workers and domesticity, this thesis suggests that helping the disabled was, for some women, a way into a profession in interwar Britain rather than a religious calling or an expression of gratitude for male war service.⁷⁷

Additionally, a divide between humanitarianism and business undercut charitable motivation and agendas in interwar Britain. As Kevin Rozario argues, charity officials 'eagerly experimented with ways to dramatize the suffering of the victims they most wanted to help to advance their own social prestige'.⁷⁸ Cohen agrees: 'charity administrators in this period abandoned Christian platitudes; they were more impressed by professionalization and scientific fundraising techniques on the charity industry'.⁷⁹ Both scenarios existed: charities and disabled ex-servicemen took advantage of the other for their own gain, separate from, as well as because of, humanitarian concerns. The thesis shows that care provision remained at the forefront of different religious charities and that religious and

⁷⁶ Charity work led to the 'professionalisation' of some women, which in turn opened up women to new experiences and changed their relationship with the state. Seth Koven, and Sonya Michel, eds. *Mothers of a new world: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp.1-43, p.4.

⁷⁷ For more on the concept of maternalism, charity, and the First World War, see: Angela Woollacott, 'From Moral to Professional Authority: Secularism, Social Work, and Middle-Class Women's Self-Construction in World War I Britain,' *Journal of Women's History*, 10 (2) (1998), 85-111; and, Sarah Hellawell, 'Antimilitarism, Citizenship and Motherhood: The Formation and Early Years of the Women's International League (WIL), 1915-1919', *Women's History Review*, 27(4) (2018), 551-564.

⁷⁸ Kevin Rozario, 'Delicious Horrors: Mass Culture, the Red Cross and the Appeal of Modern American Humanitarianism', *American Quarterly*, 55 (2003), 417-55, p.420.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.427.

secular charities did not 'abandon' Christian ideas, although they were more explicit in some than others.⁸⁰

Disability

This research also examines whether Christian beliefs and the established Church influenced perceptions of the disabled body and rehabilitation practices for charities. A conflict between eugenic constructions of disability and moral framing of soldiers as heroes emerged in British society during and after the war. Thus, differing ideas about what a disabled body represented meant that biology and/or society could explain the same disabled body. In pre-war and post-war Britain, not all disabilities were the same physically and socially, despite historians often analysing 'disabled veterans' without highlighting this difference.

Eugenic thought classified people and populations into two groups: the fit (white, straight, middle- or upper-class non-disabled people) and the unfit.⁸¹ Eugenicists believed social measures, such as sterilisation and family planning, would improve the health of the nation by encouraging the 'fit' to reproduce and by reducing the number of the 'unfit' in society; disabled bodies, like the bodies of soldiers, were linked to ideas of national strength or weakness. A person or population could be 'unfit' because they were weak physically and/or morally. This moral framing of disability is important to social perceptions of disabled people: eugenics taught that disabled people had a moral defect or deficit. This

⁸⁰ Meaghan Kowalsky, *Enabling the Great War*, p.4.

⁸¹ A. J. Withers, p.36; Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine, 'Eugenics in A Modern World' in Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine eds. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.1-27, p.5.

explains why many in pre-war society thought that disabled people were the cause of many social problems, such as crime and poverty.⁸²

Historians have questioned the dominance of eugenics in conceptualising disability and social degeneration, particularly as men with physical injuries were not perceived as morally unfit in the same way as those with a mental disability were: their disability had an obvious physical cause.⁸³ Those with disabilities which had an obvious explanation, such as war or an industrial accident, did not fit neatly into this eugenic division which centred around heredity traits passed down through generations. Thus, in pre-war British society, physical and psychological disability had different social constructs.⁸⁴ The war did not eradicate this division: charities after the war often approached psychological and physical disability differently.

After 1914, increasing numbers of men returned home from the war to Britain. This meant that the previously 'fit' male bodies became 'unfit' because of war experience and/or war induced disability.⁸⁵ As a concept, eugenics helps to

⁸² 'Societal issues such as crime, illness and poverty were believed to be caused by unfit people which legitimized existing social inequalities': David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder, 'Narrative Prothesis and the Materiality of Metaphor', in *The Disability Studies Reader*, ed. by Lennard J. Davies (London: Routledge, 2006), pp.205-217, p.205.

⁸³ For more on 'degenerative theory' and eugenics, see: Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birth-Rate in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: UNC Press Books, 2014); and Pauline Mazumdar, *Eugenics, Human Genetics and Human Failings: The Eugenics Society, its Sources and its Critics in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2005).

⁸⁴ In the historiography, the war is often seen as a catalyst for altering social perceptions of mental illness/injury. For a discussion on the impact of war on treatments and perceptions, see, Edgar Jones and Simon Wessely, 'A Paradigm Shift in the Conceptualization of Psychological Trauma in the 20th century', *Anxiety Disorder*, 21 (1) (2007), 164-75; Ben Shephard, *A War of Nerves, Soldiers, and Psychiatrists, 1914-1994* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003).

⁸⁵ Pieter Verstraete, Martina Salvante and Julie Anderson, 'Commemorating the Disabled Soldier: 1914-1940', *First World War Studies*, 6 (1) (2015), 1-7, pp.1-2; Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, pp. 37-38; A. J. Withers, p. 36; Daniel Pick, *The Faces of Degeneration – A European Disorder c.1848-c.1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.180; Daniel Pick, *War Machine: The*

explain how individuals and institutions (such as charities) approached caring for the bodies of disabled veterans, and more broadly, with its focus on morality and fertility, it connects the ideas of disability, gender, and religion. The Catholic Church saw sterilisation and population control of the 'unfit' as immoral because it ended the God-given gift of procreation, but the Anglican and Protestant churches were well represented within the British Eugenics Society from its infancy in the 1860s to at least the 1930s.⁸⁶ As William Inge, the Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, explained in 1909, 'there is nothing inconsistent with Christianity in imposing as well as enduring personal sacrifice where the highest welfare of the community is at stake'.⁸⁷ In 1930, twenty-one years later, the Bishop of Birmingham, William Ernest Barnes, delivered a sermon in which he argued that the Church 'regards measures to improve the quality of the race as a service to God'.⁸⁸ Not all Anglican clergymen or believers agreed with Inge or Barnes, but their opinions show that eugenic thought helped shape religious practice (including charitable provision) after the war.⁸⁹

Furthermore, David Gerard and Mark Freeman emphasise that religious institutions and the state encouraged the separation of disabled people from the rest of society. In the early twentieth century disabled people 'were largely kept hidden by their family or placed in state and/or religious institutions, as disability

Radicalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp.140-164.

⁸⁶ Patrick Merricks, 'God and the Gene': E.W., Barnes on Eugenics and Religion', *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 13 (3) (2012), 353-374, p.371.

⁸⁷ William Ralph Inge, 'Some Moral Aspects of Eugenics', *The Eugenics Review*, 1 (1) (1909), p.34; for more on Inge and eugenics, see Frederick Hale, 'Debating the New Religion of Eugenics: Catholic and Anglican Positions in Early Twentieth-Century Britain', *The Heythrop Journal*, 52 (3) (2011), 445-457.

⁸⁸ Patrick Merricks, p.353.

⁸⁹ For more information on the Anglican Church, religion, and eugenics, see John Macnicol, 'Eugenics and the Campaign for Voluntary Sterilization in Britain Between the Wars', *Social History of Medicine*, 2 (2) (1989), 147-169; and Christine Rosen, *Preaching Eugenics: Religious Leaders and the American Eugenics Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

was largely perceived as shameful, particularly when it was one of the mind'.⁹⁰ This view of civilian disability as shameful, when combined with the soldier hero concept, made it difficult for British society to conceptualise soldiers who suffered a psychological disability because of the war. Could a man suffering from a 'defect' (as previously believed) be a hero? To some, soldiers with a mental disability were less 'deserving' of charitable help and assistance. These differing ideas of disability affected the type of help offered by a charity and/or an individual.⁹¹

Historians have questioned whether Gerard and Freeman's idea, that disabled people were largely hidden from society, was applicable after the war.⁹² Seth Koven points out that not all disabled people were segregated in the early twentieth century. He suggests that men disabled by industrial accidents were not hidden to the same extent as other conditions because their disablement had an obvious physical cause.⁹³ Type and cause of disability carried social stigmas: disability alone was not necessarily the reason for isolation before or after the war. Alongside disability concepts, this thesis shows that Christian belief influenced charitable approaches to the often-differing care given to psychologically and physically disabled veterans. As shown in Chapter One, if an ex-serviceman could not understand God's will or intent, he could not agree to the terms set out by religious charities.

⁹⁰ David Gerard, p.54 and Mark Freeman, p.5. For more detail, see Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, *Mothers of A New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* (London: Routledge, 2013).

⁹¹ Mark Humphries, 'War's Long Shadow: Masculinity, Medicine, and the Gendered Politics of Trauma, 1914–1939', *Canadian Historical Review*, 91 (3) (2010), 503–531, p.508.

⁹² Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain: 'Soul of a Nation'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p.43.

⁹³ Seth Koven, 'Remembering and Dismemberment: Crippled Children, Wounded Soldiers, and the Great War in Great Britain', *The American Historical Review*, 99 (4) (1994), 1167–1202.

Hence, the thesis shows how some charities interpreted men with mental and physical disabilities differently and separated their care as a result, but others worked hard to include all veterans within broader society. Julie Anderson argues that ex-servicemen had a greater influence on public perceptions of disability than disabled people before 1914 because of the increased visibility of disability in society after the war.⁹⁴ Yet, Deborah Cohen argues that the visibility of disabled veterans after 1918 did not improve their position in society and they were still segregated from the 'fit' society after the war (as Freeman and Gerard argued for during the nineteenth century). Charities did 'not secure the reintegration of disabled veterans into society as they were excluded from victory parades, employed in segregated workshops and hidden in homes on the outskirts of towns. Disabled veterans lived literally as well as figuratively on the edges of society'.⁹⁵ Ena Elsy, Helen Bettinson and Michael Snape have shown that this exclusion was not necessarily the case. Some disabled veterans worked alongside non-disabled veterans and/or civilians and were active members of the local and church community.

Social perceptions of disability (as highlighted by eugenic thought) also influenced treatment in interwar Britain. Chris Chapman argues that rehabilitation discourse embodied the idea that 'worthless people could achieve worth by eliminating the part of them that was disabled'.⁹⁶ Charities which offered rehabilitation often perceived their role as taking a 'broken or unfit' man and making him 'fit' or 'whole again'. In some cases, this was achieved visually, for example by providing prosthesis, and in other cases charities provided men with

⁹⁴ Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation*, p.43.

⁹⁵ Deborah Cohen, p.10.

⁹⁶ Chris Chapman, 'Five Centuries' Material Reforms and Ethical Reformulations of Social Elimination' in *Disability Incarcerated*, ed. by Liat Ben-Moshe, Chris Chapman and Allison C. Carey (New York City: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp.25-44, p.36.

opportunities to learn new skills so they could re-take their place in society as workers and as men.

In Britain, the most successful state rehabilitation measures were the Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops and The King's National Roll Scheme (KNRS).⁹⁷ At the Memorial Workshops, disabled ex-servicemen were taught new skills such as woodwork. The Kings Roll was an initiative which encouraged employers to pledge at least five per cent of their work force as disabled ex-servicemen. Hence, the most common forms of state rehabilitation were physical activities to serve an economic motive. Julie Anderson suggests that this was because soldiers were perceived as a reflection of a nation's character: 'the pathetic remains of ex-servicemen (whether limbless, mad, dirty, or vagrant) begging on the streets were an horrific and embarrassing sight. What is more pleasant for a society faced with the fallen heroes in the gutter than the sight of the upright, rehabilitated, and hardworking disabled war veteran?'⁹⁸ The British state believed in rehabilitation schemes to 're-build men' as a way of 're-building the heroic nation after the loss and guilt caused by war'.⁹⁹ Religion added moral and emotional rehabilitation into this picture. This thesis examines less studied forms of rehabilitation, such as education and friendship schemes to combat loneliness, because moral and emotional rehabilitation applies to these categories. Thus, after the war, medical and moral approaches to disability co-existed within British society.

Local case studies show that individual churches provided rehabilitation and work schemes for disabled ex-servicemen. In some instances, a man with a

⁹⁷ Mike Mantin, 'Coalmining and the National Scheme for Disabled Ex-Servicemen after the First World War', *Social history*, 41 (2) (2016), 155-170, p.156.

⁹⁸ Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation*, p.43.

⁹⁹ Ibid.; Jeffrey S. Reznick, *John Galsworthy and Disabled Soldiers of the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

certain religion could find it easier to gain employment if the employer was of the same religion. This summarises the argument made by Max Weber in his 1905 book *Protestant Sects and Spirit of Capitalism* in which he suggests a connection between religious affiliation and capitalist achievement. John Porter, in *The Vertical Mosaic*, argued that 'strong ties existed between membership in Protestant sects, ethnicity, and entrepreneurial capitalism in early twentieth-century Canada, Britain, and Ireland'.¹⁰⁰ This thesis highlights the precarity of such a connection: having the same religion as a potential employer did not always mean a greater chance of employment for disabled veterans.

Some charities wanted to rehabilitate disabled veterans back into civilian life and to 're'-habilitate social communities to a more accepting and less segregationist view towards disabled people.¹⁰¹ In doing so, charities helped to displace the responsibility of and for the disabled onto society rather than the disabled individual.¹⁰² The shift in responsibility is in conflict with the medical model of disability. This argues that 'malfunctioning anatomy and/or biological process' caused disability.¹⁰³ The model does not fully consider that social conditions, such as war or poverty, could cause disability or make a person 'unfit'. Its physical understanding of disability ensured that 'administrators and doctors became the ultimate experts about disabled bodies, rather than disabled people'.¹⁰⁴ The domestic sphere is neglected in this model because these 'administrators' belonged to charities, the Church and the state. The social model

¹⁰⁰ Chris Minns and Marian Rizov, 'The Spirit of Capitalism? Ethnicity, Religion, and Self-Employment in Early 20th Century Canada', *Explorations in Economic History*, 42 (2) (2005), 259-281.

¹⁰¹ John Todd, 'The Meaning of Rehabilitation', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 80 (1918), 1-10, p.1.

¹⁰² Matthew J. Schuelka, 'A Faith in Humanness: Disability, Religion and Development', *Disability & Society*, 28 (4) (2013), 500-513, p.508.

¹⁰³ A. J. Withers, p.47.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.48.

emerged in the 1970s as a direct challenge to the medical model. The social model argues that social barriers prevent disabled people from immersing themselves in the community. Ana Carden-Coyne suggests that these barriers were 'gender, culture, and personal identity expectations'.¹⁰⁵ Religion is an additional social barrier because it simultaneously helped and hindered disabled ex-servicemen from accessing charitable care as well as influencing rehabilitation measures.

The foregrounding of social factors in understanding disability is why 'responsibility' is approached in this thesis in terms of who was responsible for the conditions ex-servicemen faced on their return to Britain, rather than the body as being responsible for disability as argued by the medical model. In analysing religious and medical charities, this thesis suggests that aspects of both models are needed when analysing charitable care for disabled ex-servicemen.

Because of the links between social understandings of disability and rehabilitation, the thesis considers the ways in which different charities used different methods to rehabilitate physically and psychologically disabled veterans. It highlights that religious charities did not alter their approach towards or the type of care given to a disabled 'war hero': he received the same treatment as a civilian suffering the same disability, even if a charity treated a psychologically and physically disabled veteran differently. This was not the case for the secular organisations analysed as these were created to care for disabled ex-servicemen with a specific disability, not for civilians with the same disability.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Ana Carden-Coyne, p.447.

¹⁰⁶ For more information on the relationship between civilian and war disabled within charities, see Michael Roper, 'Between the Psyche and the Social', pp.255-256.

Gender

An inability to provide economically challenged male identities. This meant that rehabilitation schemes were not just 'engaged in reviving the productive self but inseparably in restoring returned soldiers' masculinity'.¹⁰⁷ Authorities motivated the wounded and gave disabled veterans a sense of hope they could become 'positive agents once more in their own life', by encouraging a 'positive masculine identity'.¹⁰⁸ The gendered and religious masculine ideals behind the identity concepts of the 'soldier hero' and 'muscular Christianity' were not limited to the war years: they remained important in the rehabilitative treatment of disabled ex-servicemen in interwar Britain, despite disabilities challenging the attainability of such ideals.¹⁰⁹

By looking at religion, identity and rehabilitation, this thesis considers how social constructs of gender influenced charitable care for disabled ex-servicemen. It argues that religion is a useful lens for analysing gender and identity within interwar Britain. This is despite historians of the First World War, such as A. J. Withers and Joanna Bourke, seldom considering religion in their analyses of the connections between manliness, identity, and charity for disabled ex-servicemen.¹¹⁰ In making religion an explicit consideration, this thesis provides a different perspective to existing arguments by showing that Christian ideals and expectations underpinned social perceptions of masculinity and gendered roles before, during and after the war. Religion affected personal and institutional notions of masculinity and femininity because it influenced the welfare work of

¹⁰⁷ A. J. Withers, p.45.

¹⁰⁸ Marina Larsson, 'Restoring the Spirit: The Rehabilitation of Disabled Soldiers in Australia after the Great War', *Health and History*, 6 (2) (2004), 45-59, p.53.

¹⁰⁹ For more on the 'soldier hero' concept, see Jessica Meyer, *Men of War*, pp.5-7.

¹¹⁰ Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, pp.153-156; A. J. Withers, '(Re)constructing and (Re)habilitating the Disabled Body', p.42.

charities run by men and women. Because domestic relationships highlight how gender is constitutive of social relations, links between disabled ex-servicemen and notions of family are made throughout the thesis.¹¹¹

The Anglican concept of Muscular Christianity best highlights the link between masculine identity and religion. This can be traced back to the New Testament where St Paul used athletic metaphors to help describe the challenges of Christian life.¹¹² Blurring the distinctions between civic and religious obligations, it was popularised in the nineteenth century alongside the concept of the 'Soldier Hero'. Both embodied the merits of manhood, such as 'aggression, strength, courage, and endurance'.¹¹³ Donald Hall convincingly argues this version of assertive Christian masculinity taught in British private schools prepared middle class men for the war.¹¹⁴ The assumption is that the 'rank and file of the army' would not be able to perform this aspect of Christianity during the war, or indeed after, as they had not learnt it because they had not attended a private school. Yet, as John Springhall notes, 'Muscular Christianity' and the teachings of Christian manliness were communicated to 'the less privileged board school educated, working-class boys in urban areas' through channels such as

¹¹¹ Susan Kingsley-Kent, 'The Politics of Sexual Difference: World War I and the Demise of British Feminism', *Journal of British Studies*, 27 (3) (1988), 232-253, p.252; Joan Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review*, 91 (5) (1986), 1053-75.

¹¹² Bible passages mentioning this concept include: 1 Corinthians 6:19; 9:24-25; and 2 Timothy 4:7; Nick Watson, Stuart Weir, and Stephen Friend, 'The Development of Muscular Christianity in Victorian Britain and Beyond', *Journal of Religion and Society*, 7 (1) (2005), 1-21.

¹¹³ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994). Jessica Meyer in *Men of War* shows that Dawson's concept was not specific to the pre-war era – it remained prominent to men's masculine identity throughout the war. Meyer, pp.5-7; pp.74-96.

¹¹⁴ Donald E. Hall, 'On the Making and Unmasking of Monsters: Christian Socialism, Muscular Christianity, and the Metaphorization of Class Conflict', in *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*, ed. by Donald E. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp.46-65; Anne Bloomfield, 'Muscular Christian or Mystic? Charles Kingsley Reappraised', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 11 (2) (1994), 172-90.

the Boys Brigade and church services.¹¹⁵ Malcolm Dick also argues that Sunday schools were instrumental in teaching Christian manliness and that this helped prepare men of all classes for the war.¹¹⁶

Therefore, it was not only the middle classes who interpreted personal characteristics along religious lines. This is important because men of all classes went to war, were disabled by war, and engaged with charities on their return to Britain. Men of all classes understood identity characteristics through religious teachings. This is significant to this thesis because the Muscular Christianity concept remained socially prevalent after the armistice. For organisations helping disabled veterans, these religious understandings of identity which transcended class divisions were the lived experiences of many of the men they helped. Class also had an impact on men accessing charitable services because high charitable membership fees excluded the poorest (and likely working class) ex-servicemen who needed their services. Martin Purdy emphasises that charity exclusively for the disabled was often provided by members of the middle class, but this thesis includes charities created by members of the working class, such as BLESMA, as well as the middle class, to try and provide a more nuanced understanding of religion across a broader swathe of British society.

Some soldiers' experiences and conceptualisations of war disability in civilian life (as it often was during the war) was influenced by Christian practice and belief. Regardless of class, many disabled bodies could no longer perform these 'strong' and 'muscular' understandings of masculine identity because of the

¹¹⁵ John Springhall, 'Building Character in the British Boy: The Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to Working Class Adolescents, 1880-1914', in *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1940*, ed. by James Mangan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp.52-74, p.52.

¹¹⁶ Malcolm Dick, 'The Myth of the Working-Class Sunday School', *History of Education*, 9 (1) (1980), 27-41.

type of injury incurred. These intensified feelings of failure based on gender and/or identity in civilian life. Sabine Kienitz argues that a disabling wound in the First World War was perceived and experienced as more deeply emasculating than in earlier wars because it threatened the 'performance and the bodily experience of a masculine identity through Muscular Christianity'.¹¹⁷ Accessing charity was largely perceived as an 'emasculating' activity. The emphasis on independence and self-sufficiency in Victorian and Edwardian perceptions of masculine identity emphasised 'the prevalent social concern at the time: reliance on charity would breed dependency and laziness'.¹¹⁸ To access charity, religious or otherwise, would have been perceived by some disabled veterans as a failure of their character, masculine and Christian ideals.¹¹⁹ This social understanding is why war pensions were often constructed as a way of stabilising income, which soldiers deserved because of war service, rather than an act of charitable giving.¹²⁰

Mark Humphries, Judith Friedland and Mark Moss argue this 'social' rather than 'personal' understanding helps to explain the belief that any perceived loss of masculinity which accompanied disability could be retrieved through employment.¹²¹ Mark Humphries also argues that some disabilities were

¹¹⁷ Sabine Kienitz, 'Body Damage: War Disability and Constructions of Masculinity in Weimar Germany', in Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, eds. *Home/Front: The Military, War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002), pp.181-204, p.189.

¹¹⁸ A. J. Withers, p.42.

¹¹⁹ Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse – Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988); and Sue Morgan and Jacqueline de Vries, eds. *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800–1940* (New York City: Routledge, 2010), p.154.

¹²⁰ Susan Pedersen, 'Welfare, and Citizenship in Britain during the Great War', *The American Historical Review*, 95, 4 (1990), 983-1006.

¹²¹ Mark Humphries, 'War's Long Shadow'; Judith Friedland, *Restoring the Spirit: The Beginnings of Occupational Therapy in Canada, 1890-1930* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011); Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

perceived as more feminine and were associated with a greater loss of masculinity than others. For example, shellshock was often imagined as a form of feminized or female hysteria.¹²² This is important because feminine associations of disability ‘complicated understandings of masculinity and self-sufficiency because only those who demonstrated the drive to be self-supporting (engaged in rehabilitation schemes) were considered deserving of state aid’, even if a man’s disability meant he could not actively participate.¹²³ Humphries looked at these links between gender and state aid to disabled veterans. This thesis considers these links and whether gender played a role in who was ‘deserving’ of charitable rehabilitation rather than government care.

This thesis suggests that male identity characteristics (influencing understandings of disability and rehabilitation for the disabled), which historians explain through factors such as class and gender, were in part driven by religious interpretations and religious gendered expectations. These connections between religion and identity highlight the prevalence of religion to social ideas and illuminate the extent to which religion was embedded within post-war social structures. An analysis of religion further demonstrates that a disabled veteran’s social identity was not always the product of his interactions with the state.¹²⁴ For example, all denominations taught that as head of the family the male provided. This teaching mirrors the ‘traditional gender roles and the natural order of families: men in public roles, and women at home’.¹²⁵ In this gendered and

¹²² Mark Humphries, pp.503–531.

¹²³ A. J. Withers, p.45.

¹²⁴ David Gerber, ‘Disabled Veterans, the State and the Experience of Disability in Western Societies, 1914-1950’, *Journal of Social History*, 36 (4) (2003), 899-912, p.900.

¹²⁵ Joan Scott, ‘Rewriting History’, in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, ed. Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel, and Margaret Collins Weitz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp.21-29, p.28.

domesticated ideal, men returned to their place as head of the family and the provider after the war, and women returned to their place within the domestic sphere as wives and mothers.¹²⁶ Disabled ex-servicemen do not fit neatly into this ideal. Because of disablement, many men could not uphold this Christian and social expectation of 'breadwinner'. If they could work, disabled men often received a lower income than prior to the war, especially if they had occupied a 'skilled' position. Marjorie Levine-Clark highlights that this ideal affected employment opportunities, including those provided by the Church.¹²⁷ By gendering welfare, Levine-Clark's work follows that of Susan Pederson and Mary Daly, and as Matt Perry argues, would benefit from a 'more thorough investigation of religious ethnicity and its relation to the hierarchy of welfare' because of the importance of Christianity within British society.¹²⁸

Disability also altered the ability of veterans to achieve the domestic ideal.¹²⁹ Female relatives of disabled ex-servicemen were often expected to be nurses, care for the home and children, and to provide money.¹³⁰ Disability and the inability to economically provide made some men feel inferior to able-bodied men and, in terms of social power, women.¹³¹ This suggests that some women

¹²⁶ Ibid.; Randolph Higonnet, Margaret, and Patrice L. R Higonnet, 'The Double Helix', pp.31-48, p.35; Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

¹²⁷ Sandra Gilbert, 'Soldier's Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 8 (3) (1983), 422-450; Marjorie Levine-Clark, *Unemployment, Welfare, and Masculine Citizenship: So Much Honest Poverty in Britain, 1870-1930* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

¹²⁸ Matt Perry, 'Unemployment, Welfare, and Masculine Citizenship: So Much Honest Poverty in Britain, 1870-1930', *The American Historical Review*, 121 (2) (2016), 652-653, p.652.

¹²⁹ Jessica Meyer, "'Not Septimus Now": Wives of Disabled Veterans and Cultural Memory of the First World War in Britain', *Women's History Review*, 13 (1) (2004), 117-138.

¹³⁰ Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p.130.

¹³¹ Joanna Bourke, 'Love and Limblessness: Male Heterosexuality, Disability, and the Great War', *Journal of War & Culture Studies*, 9 (1) (2016), 3-19. p.5.

who cared for disabled veterans, whether this be in a personal or professional capacity, had more social power than the veterans. The relationship between women, religion, and domesticity in Chapters Two and Five suggests that this was not necessarily the case as women often needed the support of disabled veterans to create social change and better conditions for these veterans.

Additionally, the intimacy of the home 'made space for an atmosphere of spiritual fellowship in which the soul was bared, guidance sought, and reproof administered'.¹³² By adding a 'new spiritual dimension to their traditional role as guardians of the hearth', this practice of religion within the home enhanced women's status.¹³³ By analysing domesticity, John Tosh reinforces the perspective of gender historians Scott and Connell, that 'neither masculinity nor femininity is a meaningful construct without the other; each defines and is in turn defined by the other'.¹³⁴ This is why charities run by men and women are analysed from a gendered perspective in this thesis and why the impact of war disability on ex-servicemen and women as carers is considered examining charities as figurative homes for ex-servicemen and for those who provided care for veterans, this research examines the relationship between religion, charity, and domesticity in the interwar period. This relationship shows the importance of religious women in charitable care after the war and how women and family were interpreted by some as forms of care for veterans.¹³⁵

¹³² John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p.161.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p.104; Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York City: Columbia University Press, 1988); Robert William Connell and Raewyn Connell, *Masculinities* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005).

¹³⁵ The links between the two categories have been studied in depth for the pre-war period. Susie Steinbach, *Women in England, 1760-1914: A Social History* (London: Hachette UK, 2013), pp.1-30.

Methodology and Sources

The thesis presents a social history of the aftermath of the First World War and draws on the institutional archives of five charities to determine how different organisations mobilised religion and helped care for disabled veterans. It uses a similar approach to historians such as Fiona Reid, Julie Anderson, Rebecca Gill, and Graham Wootton, who have studied individual charity archives, which include official literature, private correspondence, and financial records, to place disabled ex-servicemen and charitable activity into the wider social context.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, it employs an alternative analytic lens to the one deployed in these earlier histories by analysing events at the intersection of histories of religion, charity, and disability. While Michael Snape has briefly analysed this intersection, he focuses on the war years and not the interwar period.

Each chapter focuses on a different charity and uses the private archive created by the individual charity. These archives hold minutes of committee meetings, financial records, literature written by charity workers, newspaper reports, policy documents, and files containing press releases published by the charity. Thus, the archives of individual charities tell the historian a considerable amount about the social role and influence of the charity. They centre upon the work and achievements of these charities, their social networks, including how they fundraised and with whom, and provide insights into the relationship

¹³⁶ Fiona Reid, 'Distinguishing Between Shell-shocked Veterans and Pauper Lunatics'; Julie Anderson, 'Stoics: Creating Identities at St Dunstan's 1914–1920' in *Men after War*, ed. by Stephen McVeigh and Nicola Cooper (London, Routledge, 2013), pp.87-99; Rebecca Gill, 'The Rational Administration of Compassion: The Origins of British Relief in War', *Le Mouvement Social*, 2 (2009), 9-26; Graham Wootton, *The Official History of the British Legion* (London: Macdonald & Evans, 1956). The British Legion is one of the most well-known and researched ex-service organisations. The thesis does not include it as its size and scope of work means that it does not lend itself to the comparative nature of this research. Also, it did not focus on a specific injury like BLESMA and ESWS.

between charity and the state. While this usefully allows for an analysis of individual charitable mission, method, and networks, by approaching all five archives through the same analytical lens of religion and care for disabled veterans, the thesis also highlights connections between these institutions. Accordingly, it uses charity archives to show that each 'individual' charity cared for veterans within a multi-institutional framework. These charity archives show that the institutional relationships cultivated between charities, government departments and the Church were multifaceted. This relationship shows that care for disabled veterans was provided within, and affected by, a complex and fluctuating network of relationships in interwar Britain.

To continue Snape's work, the main period for analysis falls from the end of the First World War in 1918 to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. This focus on the interwar period develops what is already known about British care provision for veterans between the war and the birth of the welfare state in 1945 – more specifically it extends what is already known about each of the charities analysed. This is because most scholarly attention about Toc H has centred around its efforts during the war. For the National Sunday School Union (NSSU), attention has been on its pre-war activities. For the Ex-Services Welfare Society (ESWS) it has been on the years following its creation in 1918, and scholars have focused on the British Limbless Ex-Services Association (BLEMSA) post Second World War. The League of Women Helpers (LWH) has received no specific scholarly attention to date.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ When appropriate, other Christian groups, such as the Catholic Women's League, are explored. The history, purpose and activities of these organisations remain outside the scope of this study, as does an assessment of the impact of the Great War on Christian denominations.

The first section of the thesis (Chapters One to Three) analyses the archives of three Christian charities, Toc H, LWH, and NSSU, to examine their approaches to disability. This reveals links between religious charities and how they cared for the war disabled. Historians have not previously worked with institutional archives to make connections between these charities and the welfare of veterans. The second section of the thesis (Chapters Four and Five) draws on the archives to reevaluate the work of two secular medical charities, BLESMA and ESWS, by looking at the specific links between these charities and religion in their approaches to care. Historians have not previously employed these archives to offer an analysis of the role of religion. The second section also looks at the relationship between the secular ESWS and the Christian charity The Mental After-Care Association (MACA) to highlight that the relationship charities maintained with the government was important for charities to change the conditions veterans faced, and that the strength of such a relationship was not necessarily based on social perceptions of physical and mental disability. Like LWH, MACA has received no specific scholarly attention to date.

Therefore, across the whole thesis a thematic re-reading of the charity archives shows that religious organisations did help care for the war wounded, and religion did influence medical charities in their approaches to care. To emphasise the significance of religion within broader society, the thesis uses parish archives and government correspondence to show that outside of the charities analysed, religion was prominent in secular spaces and disabled veterans were a concern in religious spaces. Parish archives show that local churches and small religious groups helped care for veterans, and correspondence between the six charities and the MOP, primarily shown through letters and reports of meetings held at the National Archives in Kew, reveal the

complex and long-lasting connections between a secular government department and the Church and clergymen. Hence, this thesis draws on institutional archives to argue that Christianity deserves a much larger space in the narratives of social reconstruction and welfare practices after the war than historians have awarded so far.

Included in each chapter are local and national newspaper reports, 'celebratory' pamphlets and journals created by the charity, membership and policy documents, various committee meeting minutes, and publications by the leaders of individual charities. When appropriate, quantitative detail is combined with these sources, such as statistics looking at the membership of Sunday schools by denomination and the number of limbless men treated by the MOP across several years. Throughout the chapters, the mix of qualitative and quantitative analysis reveals that locality, as a spatially and socially variable concept, forms an important theme across all the charities analysed. Because 'human behaviour and character is determined by the physical environment in which it exists', the location of a charity had an impact on the type of help offered to disabled veterans.¹³⁸ Charities offered different services to veterans because of the nature of specific disabilities and the space in which they and the veterans they helped were in.¹³⁹ Thus, the same type of source was evaluated in local and institutional archives to show that religion remained important to charity work at a local and a national level.

The local archives studied include the University of Leeds Special Collections, because of its documents on interwar BLESMA groups; and the West

¹³⁸ Keith Halfacree, 'Locality and Social Representation: Space, Discourse and Alternative Definitions of the Rural', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 9 (1) (1993), 23-37, p.25.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

Yorkshire Archive Service, as it holds charitable records for parishes across Leeds. The charities analysed were national institutions as they all had different branches throughout England, yet not all had a national or centralised response to the care of veterans. This meant that branches of the same charity, as well as different charities, approached care for veterans differently based on their location. Hence, local case studies are examined to try and provide a more balanced view of the type of care charities offered to disabled veterans.

While it was not possible to search every local archive due to time restrictions, the committee meeting notes from a local charity branch or details on the welfare activities of one parish, which can be found in local archives, provide a better insight into the voice of the disabled ex-serviceman, such as recollections from a limbless BLESMA member. These personal recollections were not always visible in the institutional archives. Although few sources or charitable collections emphasise the subjective voice, including it was important to show how charities interacted with disabled men as well as with other institutions. Disabled veterans, like charities, the Church, and government departments, were a part of the complex network of care for veterans after the war. Disabled men interacted with charities and some turned to religion after they were disabled in war, but personal narratives are not prominent in this thesis because it focuses on formal care and the mobilisation of formal faith in post-war society, rather than vernacular faith or feelings about the type of care received, which personal narratives, rather than institutional narratives, emphasise.

Chapter Structure

Chapter One examines the place of disabled ex-servicemen within Toc H, a Christian charity founded by two Anglican chaplains on the Western Front in 1917. Historians have predominantly focused on the lives of the founding priests, Neville Talbot and Philip Clayton, and the work of Toc H during the war. This chapter analyses how Christianity influenced the type of care the charity offered to help rehabilitate disabled ex-servicemen, who gave this care and when. It argues that religion helped and hindered men wanting charitable aid. Within Toc H, Christian beliefs often prevented disabled ex-servicemen from getting help – a reason the help offered to physically and mentally disabled veterans differed. The internal structure of the charity, and the fact it had many local branches which acted independently of one another, meant Toc H never had a national approach to care for the disabled. This structure emphasises locality as an important framework: a rural or urban location, and often not the specific nature of a disability, determined religious welfare activities. An analysis of care for disabled veterans emphasises how Christianity remained at the core of the organisation and influenced all acts of service. Concerns for disabled servicemen were subservient to its main aim of ‘Christianising society’. The ways in which Toc H helped disabled men altered over time and because of location, but its commitment to Christianity did not waiver.

In 1922 Toc H split into two: the male Toc H group and the female League of Women Helpers (LWH). LWH operated as a separate charity until it amalgamated with Toc H in 1971. Chapter Two analyses LWH to explore the significance of gender and Christianity on the type of care disabled ex-

servicemen received. It uses the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) alongside LWH to provide more detail about the approach adopted by Anglican women's charities to help disabled veterans and to determine whether LWH practice offers an anomaly or a norm. The comparison between LWH and YWCA suggests the war experience of LWH's founding nurses on the Western Front explains why LWH focused its care for disabled ex-servicemen in a hospital setting. Other religious women's groups which did not have their origins in the Great War, such as the YWCA, chose instead to focus their efforts towards disabled veterans when they returned home from the hospital. This approach stresses the value of women's experience as a category of historical enquiry, as suggested by Joan Scott as well as Alison Fell in her examination of women as war veterans.¹⁴⁰ Also, the YWCA, like LWH with Toc H, had a male counterpart: The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). A gendered divide across the four charities emphasises that a separation of men and women in Anglican charities was not unusual in post-war Britain.

Because men were the primary caregivers for disabled veterans in Toc H, comparing Toc H and LWH develops ideas around gendered care for disabled veterans. There were more Toc H schemes for disabled veterans than there were within LWH, contradicting the traditional view of women as caregivers. Although Toc H cared for men only, LWH could care for disabled men and women. This comparison between charities also reveals that charity work was not always a natural step outside of the domestic sphere for religious women. Their profession as nurses motivated the founding women of LWH more than charity work did.

¹⁴⁰ Joan Scott, 'Experience', in *Feminists Theorize the Political*, ed. by Judith Butler and Joan Scott (London: Routledge, 1992), pp.22-40; Alison Fell, *Women as Veterans in Britain and France after the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

Many LWH members also refused to accept Toc H and LWH as separate charities: they wanted to remain under the control of men. Looking at charitable motivation through a gendered lens highlights how links between religion and domesticity were important for shaping charitable care for disabled veterans in interwar Britain, a link which is developed in Chapter Three by looking at female Sunday school teachers, disability, and the teaching profession.

Chapter Three examines how the National Sunday School Union (NSSU), which formed in 1803, engaged with disabled men during and after the war. While the war encouraged a shift in the charitable and educational practice of Sunday schools, this shift was not one towards disability. This is despite vast numbers of men returning from the war disabled and the corresponding initial increase in charities forming to help disabled ex-servicemen. NSSU engaged with disabled veterans, but their care was implicit, and a secondary concern compared to helping the disadvantaged outside Britain and to disabled civilians. Not all charities ‘forgot’ or ‘overlooked’ the civilian disabled in their response to help the war disabled, as scholars such as Courtney Andree have suggested.¹⁴¹ NSSU did not treat veterans differently from civilians because of war service, which shows that war service did not guarantee preferential treatment by charities for veterans despite the prevalence of the ‘soldier hero’ concept in British society.

While disability came before rank or occupation in NSSU’s approach to those in need, like Toc H and LWH, religious mission came before care for disabled veterans. Thus, an analysis of NSSU develops existing arguments made by Williams and Brown about the importance of everyday religion after the war.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Courtney Andree, ‘Non-Combatants and Other Peace Activists: “Everyday” disability in a Time of War’, *Disability Studies Quarterly*, 34 (3) (2014), 1-32, p.1.

¹⁴² Sarah Williams, *Religious Belief and Popular Culture*; Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*.

It does this by examining a local case study which frames Sunday school activities as 'key identity-framing vehicles in the construction of religious place-based identities'.¹⁴³ The Anglican Sunday group at Leeds Parish Church, 'A Division', emphasises the importance of locality in analyses of charitable care, as suggested by an analysis of Toc H and LWH. 'AD' shows the potential of religious education in the rehabilitative process for veterans either as students or teachers. Education provides a different perspective as the historiography surrounding rehabilitation for disabled ex-servicemen primarily focuses on learning new practical skills for economic gain and/or as a way of restoring masculine identity. The interwar focus of this chapter is important because research on the significance of Sunday schools as charitable and educational centres is limited after 1914.

Chapters Four and Five represent Section Two of the thesis. By studying the medical charities, The British Limbless Ex-Services Association (BLESMA) and Ex-Services Welfare Society (ESWS), which formed in 1921 and 1919 respectively, the thesis deliberately divides the analysis into physical and mental disability. The division allows for a comparative analysis to determine whether social attitudes to care altered based on a specific disability in a secular setting, as the analysis of religious charities reveals religious care altered based on the specific type of impairment. These differences show that not all disabled people were treated the same. These chapters examine the response and impact of charities working with a specific disability in vast numbers, compared to charities working with multiple disabilities as previously discussed. By using non-religious charities, it allows for a comparison of the ways in which religion affected, both

¹⁴³ David Harvey, Catherine Brace and Adrian R. Bailey, 'Parading the Cornish Subject: Methodist Sunday Schools in West Cornwall, c.1830–1930', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 33 (1) (2007), 24-44, p.25.

positively and negatively, care in a religious and non-religious charitable setting, as well as the prominence of religion in disability rehabilitation schemes for ex-servicemen more generally.

Unlike the religious charities, ex-soldiers founded BLESMA to care specifically and exclusively for disabled veterans, and more explicitly, to care for men with a physical disability: a limb amputation. Although BLESMA was not a Christian charity, the Anglican faith and clergymen were instrumental in its decisions surrounding care. BLESMA's religious connections serve the broader argument of the thesis that Christianity, and specifically Anglicanism, remained significant within British society after the war. By demonstrating BLESMA's commitment to lobbying for better rights for war veterans, Chapter Four argues that disabled ex-servicemen were not passive recipients of charity. It explores religion as a link between care for the disabled and class politics in a charitable setting, because (unlike the religious charities) working-class veterans founded BLESMA.

ESWS is the subject of Chapter Five. It was the only charity specifically created to care for psychologically wounded veterans and their families after the war. Like BLESMA, it was not a Christian charity, but Christian beliefs influenced policies of care and helped motivate the founding women. Alongside ESWS, the chapter looks at how the Mental After Care Association (MACA) helped care for disabled veterans. MACA was an Anglican charity created by Reverend Henry Hawkins in 1879. Originally it aimed to supply an alternative to the workhouse for those discharged from mental asylums, and then offered help to mentally disabled veterans and their families. The activities of ESWS and MACA show that religion influenced the treatment of the psychologically disabled before and after the war, and that kinship, female carers, and equality of treatment to all ranks of

the British Army were important for the development of mental health charities and the response of British society to them.

The British state was simultaneously a resource and a problem for disabled veterans. Consequently, Section Two examines the ways in which BLESMA and ESWS interacted with the state and the role of the established Church in these interactions. The state was more involved with the activities of these secular medical charities than it was in the activities of the religious charities analysed. Chapters Four and Five assess the relationship between religion and the government. They also examine power in an institutional setting and the links between charity and the establishment by looking at the relationship between the monarchy and charitable activity. All six charities had Royal Patrons. This reinforces the argument that Anglicanism was important within the relationship between charities and the government because the King was head of both the state and the Church of England.

By examining the influence Christianity had, however implicit, on the type of help religious and medical charities offered to disabled ex-servicemen, the five chapters show that religion continued to affect charity work for disabled veterans in twentieth-century Britain. Thus, this research stands in opposition to the modernist model of religion and argues that Christianity influenced charitable approaches for disabled veterans between 1918 and 1939. It concludes that historians need to look beyond the institution of the established Church to other institutions, such as charities and the government, to understand the significance of religious continuity in Britain after the war, and that in the provision of medical

and social care, charities remained important at a time when the state was becoming increasingly involved with the welfare of disabled people.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ The period 1870-1940 is regarded as the time when central government engaged in dedicated efforts to help alleviate social problems. Government efforts included creating new government departments (for example the MOP), expanding the civil service, and increasing government shares in local revenue.

Chapter One: Toc H and Disabled Ex-Servicemen of the First World War

Introduction

At Sanctuary Wood in July 1915, Lieutenant Gilbert Talbot of the Rifle Brigade died at the Battle of Hooge.¹ Six months later, Reverend Neville Talbot, senior Chaplain to the Sixth Division of the British Expeditionary force, opened Talbot House in Poperinghe to honour the memory of his brother.² He did this alongside his friend from the same division, the Reverend Philip Clayton, who had been stationed at No.16 Base Hospital at Le Tréport since arriving on the Western Front in 1915.³ Christianity was at the heart of this 'home from home where friendships could be consecrated and sad hearts renewed and cheered', as the top floor was a chapel.⁴ This structure proved so popular for servicemen wanting respite from the front line that in 1917, a second Talbot House in Ypres opened. Because Neville wanted Gilbert to be remembered and Clayton did not want the 'happy friendly spirit and brotherhood of the trenches' to be forgotten in times of peace, they opened a 'Toc H' house in London for ex-servicemen in 1919.⁵ By

¹ CBRL: Toc H, section six, History/POW, *Toc H in the Countryside* (London: Toc H Publications, n. d), p.3.

² The name 'Talbot House' encapsulates Talbot and Clayton's idea that commemoration should include measures to redeem the lives lost in battle with actions that would improve British society in the post-war world. See: George F. Macleod, 'What is Toc H?' in *The Smoking Furnace and the Burning Lamp: Talks on Toc H*, ed. by Phillip B., Clayton (London: Longmans, 1927), pp.55-80, p.70; Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.263; Linda Parker, *A Living Memorial*, p.2; Tresham Lever, *Clayton of Toc H* (London: John Murray Publishers, 1971), pp.40-42.

³ Linda Parker, *A Living Memorial*, p.5.

⁴ Phillip B., Clayton, *Tales of Talbot House*, p.36; Tresham Lever, p.44; Phillip B., Clayton, *The Smoking Furnace*, p.73.

⁵ After the armistice, Clayton wrote to 4,000 men that Talbot House had helped during the war asking for their help in setting up a Toc H home in England. Toc H was the initial for Talbot House in the Army Signaller Code of the time. Linda Parker, *A Living Memorial*, p.1; Linda Parker, 'Shell-Shocked Prophets', p.112; Linda Parker, *A Fool for Thy Feast: The Life and Times of Tubby Clayton, 1885-1972* (Leeds: Helion, 2015), p.82.

the outbreak of the Second World War there were over 1,500 branches across the world. In 2020, Toc H continues to function as an international Christian charity.⁶

Toc H Homes became known as 'Memorial Houses' and the organisation 'a living memorial to the fallen'.⁷ In London, as in Belgium, the name of a fallen comrade was above the door of every room in the house except in the entrance hall. Here, 'All Rank Abandon Ye Who Enter Here. We got into our graves, so you might get out of your rut' was inscribed. In Talbot House, where 'the ranker officer met the non-commissioned nobleman with easy welcome', class was forgotten.⁸ Believing those who died in battle were happier in heaven where social divisions counted for less than on Earth, the name plaques above the doors served as a reminder of social unity to all those who entered the homes. Toc H houses and the activities within them remembered individuals, their bravery and sacrifice, and as Clayton described, 'a world that died with these individuals'.⁹ The world that 'died' because of the war was not a religious world as many social historians of the war have concluded.¹⁰ Toc H's attention to class equality and recreating the 'spirit of brotherhood' in the trenches suggests the armistice ended a temporary social cohesion amongst men in Talbot House, which was God's

⁶ CBRL: B.T.D., *The Story of Toc H* (London: Toc H Press, n. d), p.5.

⁷ CBRL: Toc H, section ten, B12, Toc H News Sheet, September 1921, 'Problems for Toc H', p.2.

⁸ The chapel alter was without a communion rail to emphasise the unity between ministrant and recipient. George Macleod, '*What is Toc H?*' p.73.

⁹ CBRL: Toc H, section two, SP1, Peace and Disarmament.

¹⁰ Josef Altholz, 'The Warfare of Conscience with Theology', pp.58-9; Julie-Marie Strange, Paul Johnson, and Francesca Carnevali, *Twentieth Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change* (London: Pearson Education, 2007) pp.323-338.

design by creating all as equals.¹¹ This strong egalitarian ethos was one of the most distinctive features of Toc H during and after the war.¹²

Historians of Toc H, most prominently Linda Parker and Marolyn Burgess, have focused on the lives of Clayton, Talbot, and the work of Talbot House during the war or in its early days in England.¹³ Consequently, Toc H policies and welfare work in interwar Britain have not been evaluated in any detail. Although historians often disagree on the decline of religion and its influence on the voluntary sector in this period, no direct link between this or the rehabilitative methods for British disabled ex-servicemen of the Great War and the position of Toc H has been made.¹⁴ By analysing how the organisation helped the disabled, particularly disabled ex-servicemen, through welfare schemes and how its Anglican and later non-denominational Christian values influenced these, the chapter makes this link.

No service catalogue has ever been produced by Toc H or by the press, making it difficult to trace examples of local and national rehabilitative measures for disabled ex-servicemen.¹⁵ This chapter aims to help fill this gap and expand our understanding of the role and work of Toc H, by evaluating sources from the Toc H Archive held at the Cadbury Library at the University of Birmingham. By

¹¹ Military positions reinforced trench hierarchies. Toc H gave a space to the 'spirit of brotherhood' in reaction to the division reinforced by the army.

¹² Tresham Lever, p.49; Michael Snape, *God and the British soldier*, p.217.

¹³ Linda Parker, *A Living Memorial*; Marolyn Burgess, 'A Study of the Origins, History, Essence and Legacy of Toc H, a Christian, Voluntary, Social Welfare Services Organisation in Twentieth-Century Britain' (unpublished masters by research thesis, University of Birmingham, 2017), title page.

¹⁴ Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier*; Bernice Martin, 'Secularisation in the Christian World. Essays in Honour of Hugh McLeod.' Edited by Callum Brown and Michael Snape, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 62 (4) (2011), 845-847; Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*; and Frank Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain*.

¹⁵ CBRL: Toc H, section six, History/POW, 'What Does Toc H Do? (London: Toc H Press, 1936), pp.18-19.

examining these sources, the chapter asks how Toc H deployed Christianity and interpreted Anglican ideas to help disabled ex-servicemen. First, the chapter evaluates the question asked by the first Scottish padre of Toc H, Reverend Macleod: 'What is Toc H?'¹⁶ It does this by analysing the origins of the organisation as a 'living memorial'. Then, the chapter examines the relationship between Toc H and the Church. It specifically focuses on army chaplains to evaluate how soldiers' war experience of Anglican chaplains influenced perceptions of Toc H priests, and the willingness of ex-servicemen to access Anglican aid after the armistice. Next, the chapter examines membership policies, Toc H's 'Handicap Policy', local disability welfare schemes, and then its approach to help alleviate unemployment amongst ex-servicemen. Men introduced these schemes and the chapter focuses on men as carers for the disabled as a result.

The chapter argues that Toc H never stopped being a Christian organisation in interwar Britain, despite historian Philip Douch asking at what point this happened.¹⁷ Christian ideas came first and practical help for others, including disabled ex-servicemen, came second. The chapter explores how Toc H's desire to be a 'Christianising movement' affected how they cared for disabled veterans in interwar Britain. In doing so, it emphasises the continuity of Anglican ideas in post-war charity work. Michael Ramsay, Horton Davies, and Alan Wilkinson have analysed Anglican theological trends after 1918.¹⁸ Yet, little research exists on Anglicanism and social reform in the interwar period, including for the disabled. An analysis of Toc H helps bridge this gap and develops the

¹⁶ Macleod, George, F., 'What is Toc H?' in *The Smoking Furnace and the Burning Lamp: Talks on Toc H*, ed. by Phillip B. Clayton (London: Longmans, 1927), pp.55-80.

¹⁷ Phillip Douch, *Toc H: A Model for Living* (London: Toc H Publishers, 1989), p.22.

¹⁸ Linda Parker, *Shell-Shocked Prophets*, p.10.

argument which frames this thesis, that religion remained socially significant after the war.

Origins and Self-portrayal

Alongside an egalitarian ethos, one of Clayton's main post-war themes was the idea of the younger brother taking on the challenge and having to 'bear double the burden'.¹⁹ Toc H wanted those who were too young to fight to understand the sacrifice that was made for them. The younger generation repaid their 'debt' by acting in ways to honour those who fought. This included helping the war injured through friendship and remembering the war dead in church services.²⁰ Reverence for the wartime origins of the movement with an emphasis on its post-war role came together through the cross-generational focus.²¹ This encapsulates the 'living memorial' concept as Toc H provided an 'unmonumental memorial': its acts of service and involvement of the young represent the 'altruistic ideals the dead were thought to have embodied'.²²

A 'debt' for the young is clear in The Royal Charter granted by King George V in 1922. This set out the aims of Toc H, which included, 'to preserve among men and to transmit to future generations the traditions of fellowship and service manifested by all ranks during the Great War, to encourage members to perform all kinds of social service for the benefit of all ranks of society, and, to mitigate by habit of mind and word and deed the evils of class consciousness and create a

¹⁹ 'Talbot House', *The Times*, 29 October 1920, p.15.

²⁰ Barclay Baron, *Birth of a Movement*, p.11; Linda Parker, *Shell-Shocked Prophets*, p.114.

²¹ Linda Parker, *Shell-Shocked Prophets*, p.135.

²² Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), p.2.

body of public opinion free of all social antagonisms'.²³ These aims formed the basis of The Four Points of Compass, instructions by which Toc H members should build their lives. The points remain the same today as in 1922: Friendship: to love widely; Service: to build bravely; Fair-mindedness: to think fairly; and The Kingdom of God: to witness humbly.²⁴ It was later suggested by Toc H members that the Fourth Point should include 'to spread the Gospel without preaching it'.²⁵ This was not included by the executive council for its lack of clarity, but it has instead become a motto of Toc H. It reminds members that Christianity is determined by actions and not words, and that the converted have a responsibility to evangelise the non-believers, as 'lives speak while words are only spoken'.²⁶

With these aims and instructions, Clayton believed Toc H would bring people closer to each other and thus closer to God. Non-committee members disagreed with Clayton and the committee, believing that the aims did not go far enough to incorporate Christian ideals. Noting members' concerns, the committee granted the 'Main Resolution' in 1923 to remind members that sacrifice 'made Christians'.²⁷ Historian Kenneth Prideaux-Brune argues that Toc H activities brought together people from various backgrounds to relate more closely to each other than with God as Clayton intended.²⁸ By highlighting the continued importance of religion to Toc H and its policies, this chapter argues that Toc H brought people closer together and brought people closer to God.

²³ University of Leeds Special Collections: C-50/ TOC. Toc H, *Toc H Defined: Some Brief Notes on the History, Aims and Methods of Toc H* (London: Toc H Publishers, 1948), p.6.

²⁴ Ibid., p.7.

²⁵ Melville Harcourt and Philip Clayton, *Tubby Clayton: A Personal Saga, etc.* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1953), pp.88-90.

²⁶ University of Leeds Special Collections: *Toc H Defined*, p.12.

²⁷ Ibid., pp.8-9; CBRL: Toc H, section four, Journals, 1926, p.7.

²⁸ Marolyn Burgess, p.22.

A simple answer to MacLeod's question 'What is Toc H?' would be to label Toc H as a charity as described by the 1922 Royal Charter. However, Clayton and Talbot were insistent that Toc H was only a charity by name and not by association: 'Toc H we repeat is not another recurrent charity. It is a wise way of helping to meet our debt of honour; it is a living and growing memorial, charged with the task of making reincarnate in the younger world the qualities which saved us'.²⁹ A visual depiction of Clayton's words and growth of the organisation can be found as early as the 1922 Journal:

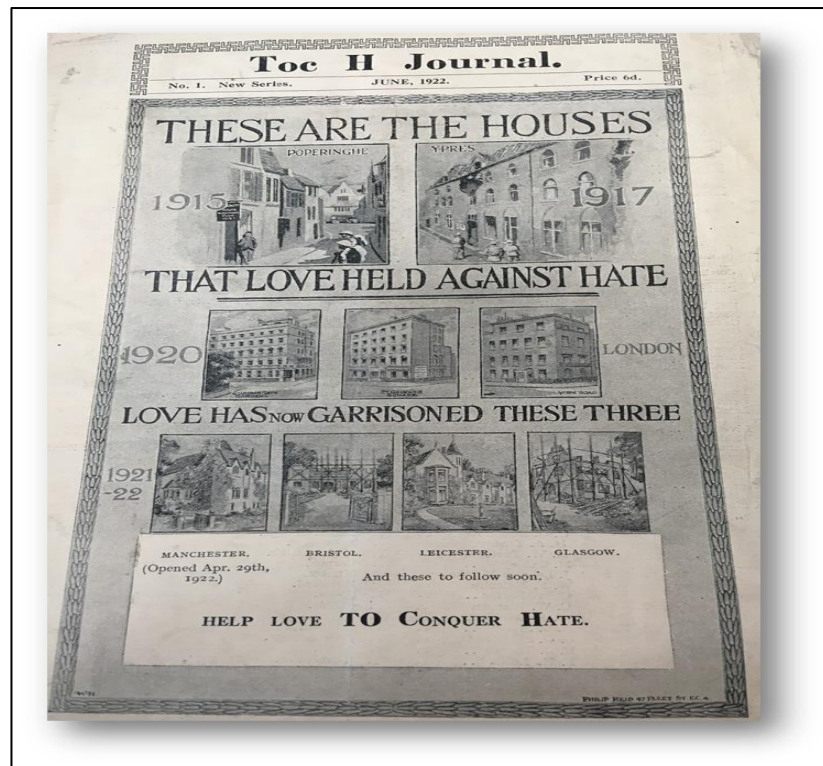


Figure 1.1: 1922 Toc H Journal ³⁰

By incorporating the name of the organisation in the slogan '**To Conquer Hate**' those reading would understand the core value: love and service overcome discontent. It presents a visual depiction of a living memorial as more houses

²⁹ CBRL: Toc H Collection, B3, Annuals 'The Gallant Adventure', A. A. Milne, 1928 / 'The Christmas Spirit', bound editions, 1920-1921, p.95.

³⁰ CBRL: Toc H Collection, Section 6, G5: Partnerships Between Toc H and Other Organisations, 1922.

were built. It shows the rapid success of the organisation and its reliance on the 'love' within people to give more to this service than the price of the Journal, because it does not explicitly ask for donations. This is significant in the context of the Greek word 'agape', which is 'charity' and 'love' in translations of the New Testament in various versions of the Bible.³¹ In the King James Bible, for example, the 1 Corinthians 13 passage where charity appears nine times was translated using 'love' in Tyndale's New Testament of 1526 – eighty-five years before the King James translation. 1 Corinthians 13:3 emphasises that the giving of funds to the poor is not Biblical charity.³² Charity specifically refers to the love we have toward other men, reinforcing Clayton's insistence on 'brotherhood' and acts of service rather than financial giving.³³ The insistence on service in Toc H, therefore, is the result of Clayton and Talbot's interpretation of the New Testament and how this was applied to war work.

Examining the origins and disagreements surrounding definitions used by Toc H helps to explain why it is difficult to answer Reverend Macleod's question 'What is Toc H?' in a single sentence as Burgess does, describing Toc H as a 'Christian, Voluntary, Social Welfare Services Organisation in twentieth-century Britain'.³⁴ Neville Talbot determined that the answer 'must be sought in the lives of men', making Clayton's idea of a 'living memorial' appear to be a juxtaposition.³⁵ The attention to service shows that Toc H was, and still is, a social

³¹ Agape is love that exists regardless of changing circumstances. For more on this relationship between love and charity, see Clive Lewis Staples, *The Four Loves* (London: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1991).

³² All twenty-nine forms of the word charity are in the New Testament. David Reagan. 'Charity or Love.' <<http://www.learnthebible.org/charity-or-love.html>> [Accessed 28 January 2019].

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Marolyn Burgess, p.1.

³⁵ CBRL: Toc H, section five, PC4: Press Cuttings. Clayton's Appeal to Remember Sacrifices of the Fallen and 'Build New Manhood, Replace War Losses', *Ottawa Journal*, 29 March 1922.

experiment driven by Christianity. Christian teachings and not 'political formulas or topical slogans' influenced all aspects of their work, including for the disabled.³⁶

Toc H, Army Chaplains, and the Church

Believing society needed to be 'radically reformed' if the sacrifices of war were to have meaning, many former Anglican war chaplains were prominent figures in interwar social reform work.³⁷ For example, formed in 1919, Reverend P. T. R. Kirk led The Industrial Christian Fellowship (ICF) which encouraged Christian faith to be shared outside of the clergy, while the conference on political, economic and social affairs (COPEC) in 1924 was organised by Reverend Charles Raven.³⁸ This conference was a call to the Christian Church by Christian men and women to bear a clearer and more effective witness on social questions.³⁹ Through Toc H, Clayton and Talbot continued the redemptive sacrifices of war by ensuring the fight for a fair and just society continued. Like the ICF and COPEC, Toc H advocated that the position of the Church after the war was one of social progression, seeing Christianity as 'a way of salvation for

³⁶ CBRL: Toc H, section six, History/POW: *For Your Information*, p.1.

³⁷ Seventy-five per cent of army chaplains were Anglican – many were involved with charity work after the war. Linda Parker, *A Living Memorial*, pp.1-2; Alison Brown, 'Army Chaplains in the First World War' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1996), p.225; Patrick Porter, 'Beyond Comfort, German and English Military Chaplains and the Memory of the Great War, 1919–1929', *Journal of Religious History*, 29 (3) (2005), 258–289.

³⁸ Patrick Porter, pp.258–289. In 1919 the Navy Mission combined with the Christian Social Union to form the ICF. The ICF's public declaration, 'Christ the Lord of all life', reflected their desire to 'help Christians relate the faith that they celebrated on Sunday to their everyday working lives in factories, shipyards, mines, railways and offices. It was a grassroots movement of ordinary Christians, recognising that sharing Christian faith is not simply the task of clergy'. For more on ICF see: <<http://www.icf-online.org/info.php?ident=history>>. [Accessed 19 December 2019].

³⁹ Henry Mess, "C.O.P.E.C."- A Landmark in Church History', *Dalhousie Review*, 4 (3) (1924), 271-280.

communities as well as for individuals'.⁴⁰ Within Toc H, help for disabled veterans was part of this wider Anglican commitment to religious social progression.

How soldiers viewed and approached the Church and army chaplains during the conflict affected perceptions of Toc H chaplains in civil life. This is clear from Talbot, Clayton, and MacLeod's writings. It affected the willingness of men to approach the charity. For example, the sign above the chapel at Talbot House (1915-1918) read: 'Come upstairs and risk meeting the Chaplain. Many men risked it and were glad'.⁴¹ Risk refers to the stigma some soldiers attached to the role of Anglican chaplain during the conflict. As examined by Michael Snape and Edward Madigan, Anglican chaplains were largely mistrusted during the war because they were not actively involved in the fighting, particularly when compared to Roman Catholic chaplains who were 'permitted to visit posts of danger... so they could give extreme unction to the dying'.⁴² Rachel Seddon, Edgar Jones and Neil Greenburg point out that this negative press remains a mostly literary perspective through diaries and memoirs of soldier poets, most prominently Siegfried Sassoon and Robert Graves. Graves wrote in 1929, 'Anglican chaplains did not show one-tenth of the bravery of regimental doctors'.⁴³ In Belgium, Talbot House was situated near the red-light district and 'chaplains stopped soldiers on their way to brothels, not only because they considered this immoral but knew soldiers with venereal diseases would be operationally ineffective'.⁴⁴ Medical and religious care intertwined under the Toc

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.272.

⁴¹ CBRL: G15, Toc H, section six: 'Something Constructive': A Series of Talks or Discussions by Group Officers of Toc H – Talk Two: 'The Padre or Padres'.

⁴² Robert Graves, *Goodbye to All That* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1929). Edward Madigan, *Faith Under Fire*; Michael Snape, *God and The Great War*.

⁴³ Robert Graves, *Goodbye to All That*; Siegfried Sassoon, *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* (London: Faber and Faber, 1930).

⁴⁴ Rachel Seddon, Edgar Jones and Neil Greenberg, 'The Role of Chaplains in Maintaining the Psychological Health of Military Personnel: An Historical and

H banner during the conflict. Here, Graves uses bravery to distinguish between doctors and Anglican priests, not medicine or religion. This suggests some soldiers viewed both professions as care for the war wounded. It did not matter to many that Toc H was not a medical charity: its religiosity qualified it to care for the war wounded during, and as this chapter argues, after the war.

However, many Anglican chaplains had their bravery rewarded. For example, G. A., Studdert-Kennedy won a Military Cross at Messines Ridge after running into no man's land to help the wounded during an attack on the German front line.⁴⁵ Ignoring military orders, Clayton also refused to close Talbot House during the unfolding German Spring Offensive in 1918. His 'remarkable defiant stand' was endorsed by a senior staff officer who stressed that closing the institution was harmful to the general morale of the troops in the Ypres sector.⁴⁶ Unlike Kennedy, Clayton's bravery was not awarded with a medal. The cases of both men show that not all Anglican chaplains were mistrusted. Not a front line chaplain, Clayton gained great respect and gratitude from soldiers. The vast numbers of men visiting and revisiting Toc H during the war reflects his popularity and the trust he forged with many soldiers because he, and those working at Talbot House, were concerned for soldiers' welfare.⁴⁷

Contemporary Perspective', *Military Medicine*, 176 (12) (2011), 1357-1361, p.1358; Melville Harcourt, *The Impudent Dreamer: The Story of 'Tubby' Clayton* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953).

⁴⁵ Kennedy was 'Woodbine Willie' because he gave cigarettes to the wounded and dying. Other examples of Anglican Reverends awarded for bravery include Theodore Bayley, Noel Miles, and WRF Addison, who were each awarded the Victoria Cross. John Smyth, *Leadership in Battle, 1914-18: Commanders in Action* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1975).

⁴⁶ Michael Snape, p.219; Tresham Lever, p.70.

⁴⁷ Clayton wrote to hundreds of men who had benefited from Talbot House during the war asking for their help in setting up Toc H in England. Without the active involvement of these men the Toc H movement would not have prospered. Linda Parker, *Shell-Shocked Prophets*, p.112.

Despite his bravery and popularity, Clayton was aware of the negative perception of Anglican chaplains and its implications on morale.⁴⁸ Many still felt uncomfortable approaching a padre in Talbot House during the war, or a Toc H branch in England.⁴⁹ 'Shy or afraid of meeting the wearer of a dog-collar, whether it is visible or left in the top drawer at home, a "slipped halo" is a barrier people have no wish to surmount', wrote Talbot in a regional newspaper.⁵⁰ Toc H members gave many reasons for not wanting to approach a clergyman in civil life other than worrying God or the priest would judge their behaviour. For example, a Toc H committee member suggested men avoided religious groups because of 'a deep-seated prejudice against an individual or against black-coated persons in general because of what they are or do or stand for'.⁵¹ This slogan and reasoning is found in 'Something Constructive', a series of talks between Toc H group leaders between 1925 and 1935. Talk two, 'Padre or Padres', supplies an insight into the role and responsibilities of a Toc H chaplain. Supporting the argument that Anglican chaplains were aware of notions of mistrust in their position, in this talk, Clayton remembers how he, along with lay leaders, tried to convince soldiers and civilians that there was no 'risk' in visiting a padre: 'a man should have less to fear in the welcoming atmosphere of a Toc H group than under most conditions'.⁵²

Hence, how a man disabled by war had viewed a military chaplain during the war could influence whether he wanted to take part in Toc H activities and welfare schemes, despite the acknowledgement of and efforts made by members of Toc H to overturn this concept of mistrust in clergymen within the army. It is

⁴⁸ CBRL: Toc H, section six, G15, Talk Two, 'The Padre or Padres'.

⁴⁹ CBRL: Toc H section five, PC4: Press Cuttings, 20 April 1921-9 December 1922.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

therefore too simplistic to argue that Christian ex-servicemen of the First World War approached Christian charities after the armistice because of their shared Christian beliefs. The fact that former Anglican army chaplains founded and ran Toc H could be a deterrent for a disabled ex-soldier of any or no Christian denomination who mistrusted an Anglican army chaplain during the war. Clayton and Talbot's efforts to overturn this perceived 'mistrust' would also have been less likely to be successful to a soldier who had not encountered Toc H during the war. Perceptions of denomination and wartime concepts of religion mattered to those who approached religious charities for help after 1918.

Additionally, and seemingly as a way of disassociating themselves from this perceived mistrust, 'Padre of Padres' revealed that Toc H chaplains could be of any denomination from the mid-1920s. Toc H did not expect men to disobey any rulings of their commission, and as a result, one Toc H branch often included men of different Christian backgrounds, and some groups had priests who were not Toc H padres. Hence, the title among other group officers in the singular, of the 'Padre of Padres'.⁵³ These ten constructive talks by committee members also included topics such as 'guidelines of how all leaders should approach men, youthfulness and publicity'.⁵⁴ The committee published these talks because they aimed to build the movement by clarifying its position and what it stood for using the Church as a base. A need for explanation shows the relationship between Toc H and the Church and the Church and Toc H padres was a complex one. Analysing the impact of this relationship on individual members of Toc H and the movement goes beyond the remit of this chapter, but an understanding of the

⁵³ CBRL: Toc H, section ten, B1 *The Toc H Padre* (London: Toc H Press, 1933), p.8; G 15: Toc H, section six: Talk Two: 'The Padre or Padres'.

⁵⁴ List of talks: 1. The Group Officer; 2 Padres; 3. The Job Master; 4. The Secretary; 5. The Treasurer; 6. Guidelines of How All Leaders Should Approach Men; 7. Missing from the Records; 8. Youthfulness; 9. Getting on in Years; 10. Publicity.

interdenominational position is essential when analysing the welfare activities of Toc H and those aimed at disabled ex-servicemen. This is because denominational unity applied to all members as well as the padres.

By mid-1920, Toc H was an interdenominational organisation. Despite the move away from the established Church, Parker and Burgess point out that Toc H never became 'embroiled in debates about unity and intercommunion'.⁵⁵ Its refusal to participate in such Anglican debates caused a long-term rift in the Toc H committee. George McLeod, the first Scottish padre, was disappointed by Toc H's refusal to celebrate intercommunion. He did not think Toc H should respect the disciplines of each church as this would hinder a spiritual renewal of Britain. Heavily outvoted, he left Toc H in 1925.⁵⁶ Padre B. Cunningham criticised the 'un-denominationalism of Toc H as a poor thin thing', in a speech to the Toc H staff conference in 1931.⁵⁷ A consensus on whether Toc H should be strictly Anglican or non-denominational was never reached. These arguments strengthen the idea that denomination mattered despite Clayton's insistence that all were equals.

For those seeking help from Toc H, including disabled veterans, un-denominationalism was not a 'poor thin' approach. Toc H provided fellowship to people from different Christian backgrounds within Britain, and not just those from the Church of England. The inclusion of people and members from all Christian backgrounds, and with it the social and political freeness this brought (no ties to one church or set of beliefs), helped to ensure the longevity of the organisation, particularly in the interwar years when so many other religious charities and

⁵⁵ Linda Parker, *Shell-Shocked Prophets*, p.111.

⁵⁶ Ron Ferguson, *Daily Readings with George MacLeod: Founder of the Iona Community* (Glasgow: Wild Goose Publications, 2001), pp.7-8.

⁵⁷ Toc H Association, *The Case for Toc H* (London: Toc H Press, 1958), p. 1. Toc H used Padre as an official title as it reflected their military origins as it refers to a Christian priest, especially one who works in the Armed Forces.

charities for the servicemen of the First World War disappeared. Highlighting the continued importance of Anglicanism in the community, Anglican practice remained a central component of Toc H despite this move towards inter-denominationalism.⁵⁸

Membership

Despite arguments to the contrary, Christianity remained central to the organisation in interwar Britain as it had during the war. Men of all social classes and political opinions could belong to Toc H if they signed a form agreeing to dedicate at least one evening a week to some form of community work and to agree with Toc H's version of Christianity. In doing so, men had to recognise the Christian standard as the only one.⁵⁹ Paying the annual membership of half a crown was expected, which almost certainly affected the class of membership as those with little money could not become a Toc H member and had less of a say in how the organisation was run. During the war, soldiers did not pay a membership fee and the fee undercut and made the egalitarian ethos harder to enforce in post-war society. A person also had to be over sixteen years of age and male to join. This was purposely less than the army joining age, so those too young to fight in the Great War could learn from those who had.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ For example, Toc H kept a strong (Anglican) sacramental emphasis with all its major celebrations, such as Holy Communion before its annual birthday celebrations. It had been important to Clayton and Talbot that men took Holy Communion at Talbot House in Poperinghe, despite knowing that for many of the men who did, it would be their first and last. They believed it would provide comfort in war, as Toc H members believed it would in the uncertain post-war society. Linda Parker, *Shell-Shocked Prophets*, p.111.

⁵⁹ CBRL: Toc H, section ten, B6. Journal, Volume One: MCMXXIII–June 1922, p.11; p.17.

⁶⁰ 'The Young Man In Alan's Room', *Cambridge Daily News*, October 1921.

The Christian standard affected which disabled ex-servicemen Toc H was willing to help in two main ways. First, Toc H actively sought out men with no religious affiliation to help 'Christianise society'. Second, Toc H was unwilling to give help or grant membership to men who followed the Old and not the New Testament. Since its conception in 1916, Jewish membership was a source of contention for Toc H. This included when Jewish charities, such as The Jewish Blind Society (established 1920), wrote asking why those they helped could not join Toc H, even though the Jewish Blind Society believed that, in doing so, the health and wellbeing of these individuals, including disabled ex-servicemen, would improve.⁶¹ In response, Toc H reminded The Blind Society that Toc H was a 'Christianising society', and that while Toc H would co-operate with Jewish men in meetings, Toc H believed Jewish men needed to 'become more loyal to their chosen faith'.⁶² Toc H denied some disabled veterans help because of their faith rather than their disability.

The Blind Society wanting to join with Toc H shows the value other charities placed on Toc H for its work with the disabled. St Dunstan's Homes, a secular charity for the war blind, is another example. The *St Dunstan's Review* magazine reported in 1920 that, 'Toc H is worthy of the courage and self-sacrifice of the 200,000 British soldiers who gave their lives in the Great War', because of its work with remaining veterans.⁶³ Until 1945, Toc H members regularly visited St Dunstan's Homes and included blinded ex-servicemen in charitable activities

⁶¹ CBRL: Toc H, section two, SP1, Jewish Membership. For more on Blind Charities, see Matthias Reiss, *Blind Workers Against Charity: The National League of the Blind of Great Britain and Ireland, 1893-1970* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Gordon Ashton Phillips, *The Blind in British Society: Charity, State, and Community, c. 1780-1930* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2004).

⁶² CBRL: Toc H, section two, SP 1, Jewish Membership.

⁶³ St Dunstan's Archive, Toc H Youth, *St Dunstan's Review*, 1920, p.16.

so the men would not feel so alone.⁶⁴ The 1920 *St Dunstan's Review* revealed 'a considerable number of St Dunstanners are Toc H members'.⁶⁵ Neither archive gives specific figures about this connection and, although it is likely there are more, the St Dunstan's archive suggests Dennis Pratt was the only man to hold an office position in both charities.⁶⁶ This highlights that some disabled veterans received help from a religious and secular charity at the same time and that blindness was not a barrier to Toc H membership.

Toc H's connection with another charity, let alone a charity for the disabled, is significant because there are few other archival references for Toc H collaborating with voluntary organisations. The Cavendish Association is another example: this grew from the Cavendish Club, founded in 1911 for men who had attended private school and wished 'to devote their leisure to service under the inspiration of Christianity'.⁶⁷ It became the Cavendish Association in 1913, and in July 1921 merged with Toc H.⁶⁸ The Association was founded by wealthy educated men who were interested in social service, and shunned politics and class divisions. To be a member you had to belong to any Christian church.⁶⁹ For these reasons, Toc H and the Cavendish Association were similar. However, the Association approached charity 'from the vantage point of privilege' and did not see disability as a great social concern, whereas Toc H worked with and for those it tried to help, by setting up schemes to help disabled veterans.⁷⁰ No information has been found about ex-Cavendish Association members after the merger. They

⁶⁴ CBRL: Toc H, section ten, B12, *Toc H News Sheet*.

⁶⁵ St Dunstan's Archive, 'Toc H and St Dunstanners', *St Dunstan's Review*, 1920, p.15.

⁶⁶ Pratt was Northampton Branch Chairman, followed by Northampton District chairman, with over thirteen years of service to both. St Dunstan's Archive, Letters to the Editor, *St Dunstan's Review*, 1933, p.3.

⁶⁷ Melville Harcourt, *Tubby Clayton. A Personal Saga*, p.89.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.90.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.89; Marolyn Burgess, pp.52-53.

⁷⁰ Marolyn Burgess, p.53.

‘were simply absorbed into Toc H’ as Toc H members.⁷¹ Mirroring Toc H’s membership fee, the wealth needed to become a Cavendish member meant neither organisation was representative across class lines.

Despite membership theoretically allowing men of any class, class thus influenced who administered help to disabled ex-servicemen because of who Toc H recruited as members. This is illuminated by the school welfare policy issued by Toc H’s CEC in 1925. Because of its focus on the ‘younger generation’, Clayton was instrumental in this initiative. The school policy did not help disabled veterans directly but had the potential to help their children and relatives, as well as disabled civilian children. A letter dated 31 March 1926 from the Board of Education to the inspectors within the Board of Education highlights this policy:

Toc H are in touch with most ‘Public Schools’ but with few on the grant list. They want to offer boys leaving school (or before) opportunities for doing social service and later to associate fully with Toc H. Unless the HM is interested nothing of value is expected. I would be glad if you could tell me which HMs if any in your area might be approached. At present the great towns are hardly represented on their list and it is here one would perhaps most hope to get something done. The thing to look for is not the biggest school, but the HM most likely to be sympathetic.⁷²

The reply does not include a list of schools or the name of the headmaster (HM). It is difficult to find where in the country schools most often aligned with Toc H and provide analysis on location, class, and whether Toc H approached a mix of religious and secular schools, or just focused on one of these. Emphasising the idea that locality and class influenced charitable work, Toc H chose the wealthiest children first by contacting private schools before the Board of Education for grant schools. While this could be because of the membership fee, it meant Toc H was recruiting the upper/middle classes of society to help ex-servicemen, despite

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² TNA: ED22/130: List of Schools That Could Have a Toc H Branch.

membership theoretically allowing men of any class. Class influenced who administrated help to disabled ex-servicemen. Working with schools and other charities also emphasises the importance of social networks to religious charitable work.

In addition to school membership, Christian beliefs and wanting to uphold Christian ethics were not enough for a man to become a Toc H member as both 'meant nothing without prayer'.⁷³ First published in the early 1920s, *A Pocket Full of Prayers* was a personal book of prayer given to men when they joined Toc H. The opening statement was: 'Prayer by Toc H for members of Toc H is vital... if we serve men, we must learn to pray for them and their needs'.⁷⁴ The book included prayers for the infirm and those caring for them, which meant prayers for Toc H members carrying out acts of service to the civilian and war disabled. For example

...for those who have lost health and strength that once was theirs, the peace and sense of God's presence may strengthen and uphold them. For those who have lost the kindly light of reason. For those who Minister to them. Remember in thy mercy those who are in bodily weakness or darkness of mind, they may find in thee their strength and stay; through Jesus Christ our Lord.⁷⁵

Toc H members prayed for all those in need and did not explicitly exclude members of other religions in their prayers as they did with membership to Toc H. Through prayer, Toc H members remembered those with mental and physical disabilities as God did. Many Toc H publications emphasised the relationship between prayer, disability, and healing throughout the interwar period.⁷⁶ Doctors

⁷³ CBRL: Toc H, section ten, B2, Author of book unknown, *A Pocket Full of Prayers for Toc H* (London: Toc H Press, 1946), preface.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p.14.

⁷⁶ CBRL: Toc H, section six, October 1924 Journal; Adrian Hastings, p.256.

and medical advisers within Toc H (as members or otherwise) had to have studied Christianity like the chaplains and the Cavendish members – it did not matter which denomination they affiliated with.⁷⁷ Any direct medical help (including by St Dunstan's) to the war disabled by Toc H was therefore bound in Christian ideology. The relationship between Toc H and the Church influenced Toc H's Christian understanding of medical care, disability policy and membership, while its connection with St Dunstan's implies that for Toc H, a physical disability was not a reason to prevent a man becoming a member.

'Handicap Policy': A Divide Between Mental and Physical Disability

Blinded ex-servicemen may have been members of their local Toc H branch, but this was not a central initiative. Showing a disconnect between local branches and central committee expectations, the Toc H Central Executive Committee (CEC) did not consider whether disabled men should become members until after both world wars. Disability was the topic of the 'Central Executive Weekend' on 18/19 October 1959. Over two days, the Toc H committee produced a 'Handicap Policy'. The allocation of such a brief time to the topic shows that disability was not a primary concern. When Toc H formed, religious and state institutions encouraged disabled people to stay out of public view and often they had little or no social standing.⁷⁸ By the 1950s, Toc H was worried about criticism for suggesting disabled people were not equal to able-bodied individuals, and that type of disability meant that some disabled men were not equal to other disabled

⁷⁷ CBRL: G15, Toc H, section six, Talk Two: 'The Padre or Padres', p.141.

⁷⁸ David Gerard, p.54; Mark Freeman, p.5.

men.⁷⁹ This is because their views on disability in this policy were 'not intended for quotation in any form as it might lead to misinterpretation and intemperate attack'.⁸⁰

In contrast to prayers members said for and with the sick, the report deliberately divided physical and psychological disabilities. While referencing those with disabilities, the report praised Toc H for 'meeting the needs of some men who otherwise might be lonely and tend to be cut off from normal social facilities' but, 'many of them were incapable of being more a giver than a getter, of being a host and not a guest'.⁸¹ Men had to be able to understand the Christian aims of Toc H to commit to them and become members. This was not the same for 'the physically handicapped man who is in full possession of his mental faculties. There are many such men who are splendid leaders and examples to us all'.⁸² For example, John Macdonald, the vice-president of Toc H Australia, was blind and paralysed, but he 'had a wonderful mind' and had 'special advantages' of time to think and pray about Toc H affairs: a 'leader of the highest order'.⁸³ Showing Christian selflessness, he placed Toc H above his own needs. He held Toc H meetings in his bedroom for over twenty years after he lost his eyesight, and when rheumatoid arthritis left him unable to move in 1935, Toc H gifted him a spiral telephone to widen his ministry.⁸⁴ The worry was that those with an injury or disease which affected mental ability were incapable of doing the same:

⁷⁹ Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home*, p.12; Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation*, pp.40-45.

⁸⁰ CBRL: Toc H section two, SP 1: Policy Regarding Handicaps.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ John Macdonald, *Compass Points: In Prose and Verse* (London: Toc H Publishers, date unknown), p.3.

Provided disability does not prevent expression of thought and feeling, physical incapacity is of far less consequence than mental. A more difficult problem arises in the case of men afflicted with some form of nervous or mental handicap. Personal service among them, not by invitation to Branch meetings, not by allowing the Branch to become a refuge will help. This may seem harsh and uncharitable, but the Branch is engaged in work that should not be held back or limited by discussion having to be geared down to be within the range of sub-normal mental capacity.⁸⁵

As the quote highlights, psychologically disabled men did not have the choice to attend their local branch, get involved in Toc H affairs or become a member like physically disabled men did.

The 'Handicap Policy' deliberately and formally divided mental and physical disability for membership, but this division had existed in Toc H practice for many years. As early as 1924, Toc H decided that disabled men would be put together in their own 'special groups'. Although they would not be members or mix with able-bodied men, it was to make the men feel they were part of the organisation. These groups were for the physically disabled. This segregation from able-bodied members is surprising considering the more favourable attitude towards the physically disabled than the mentally disabled in 1959. The blind, the deaf, and the 'handicapped man living in his own home who would benefit from Toc H in company with other men', were considered 'suitable' for the special groups. Toc H could not accept all physically disabled men because 'normal branches should not admit men to membership if by doing so they make it impossible for the branch to live a normal varied and active life, offering its members a variety of jobs and interests'.⁸⁶

'Normal' implies that Toc H viewed disabled groups of men as 'abnormal'. It was because of their 'abnormality' that special units were closed groups and

⁸⁵ CBRL: Toc H, section two, SP1: Policy Regarding Handicaps.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

not eligible for Toc H Branch status. Groups had to have non-disabled men amongst the disabled to qualify for Branch status, which provided a challenge as many of the 'special groups' were attached to institutions which housed the disabled. Toc H would only recognise these disabled groups as Branches if they opened their membership beyond the institution disabled men were living in. The Royal Hospital and Home for Incurables at Putney, the Denton Branch at the Searchlight Workshops near Eastbourne, the Chalfonts Branch meeting in an Epileptic Colony and Le Court Branch at the Cheshire Home in Hampshire, are examples of where this materialised.⁸⁷

The Toc H committee acknowledged some of the men who wanted the division between disabilities may be 'overly sensitive and have a dislike of physical failings or a fear of being asked to serve the sick or disabled', but it was more likely they were 'impatient of the consequent slowing down in expression and action'.⁸⁸ Enough members must have still felt this dislike to include it in the 1959 report. The report told Branch executives to be 'strong minded' when issuing memberships as the committee could not give out membership badges 'as consolation prizes'. As the number of 'closed groups' implies, the worry in 1959 was similar to that in 1924: if disabled men kept joining, Toc H would be 'unattractive to a high proportion of able-bodied men' who the committee deemed more useful to the growth of the charity.⁸⁹ The type of care a disabled ex-serviceman received from Toc H depended upon the type of disability he had. Some men, regardless of their religious beliefs, appeared 'too disabled' for Toc H to help as members and they were excluded from disabled and regular groups

⁸⁷ CBRL: *What Does Toc H Do?* (London: Toc H, 1936), p.30.

⁸⁸ CBRL: Toc H, section two, SP1: Policy Regarding Handicaps.

⁸⁹ CBRL: SP1: Letter to Toc H CEC. 'Handicapped Men and Their Eligibility for Membership', 8-10 May 1959.

of Toc H. Christian beliefs were not enough to guarantee that disabled men received help from a religious charity, and faith and disability affected charitable membership as a form of rehabilitation for disabled veterans.

Disability: Mission and Method

Welfare Schemes

Despite membership concerns for disabled men, Toc H had schemes to help the war disabled who wanted help from Toc H but who did not want, or could not be, members of the organisation. Members helped those in need but those in need did not have to be members of the charity to receive Toc H help. Toc H welfare schemes for the disabled differed by location. Locality as well as social perceptions of religion or disability affected care provision. In South-East England, for example, 'for men who would never regain their mental balance, and who could not go out without an escort, every Sunday Toc H supplied an escort for walks, car rides, or a tea party'; in doing so, Toc H members 'knew the debt they were trying to re-pay. It makes you mighty humble, said one member, to have these men thanking you for giving up an afternoon to them'.⁹⁰ This happened on a Sunday afternoon after Church services had ended, as many Toc H members and those they helped would have attended Church. In a Midland town there was a home for others whom 'the war left mentally alert but physically paralysed. The service needed was different: a breath of the outside world, a letter written, a cigarette rolled, a little shopping done. And those who do these tiny services come away deeply conscious of the horror that begat such things',

⁹⁰ CBRL: *What Does Toc H Do?* pp.4-5.

argued the branch leader, and they are 'amazed and humbled by the spirit of cheerfulness from these men who have nothing else to give'.⁹¹

In other homes where 'men are crippled but not so desperately' as the one in the Midlands, Toc H offered other services. Although 'many a wheeled chair goes to the park', a Toc H member argued, 'what men like best is to be taken to a real home to sit and smoke and talk by a real fire. Friendship grows this way and men share the life of the local Toc H group, being fetched to each meeting in their chairs'.⁹² With regular visits to groups and homes, men were given hope, which Toc H argued was the 'first step to recovery'.⁹³ The repetition of 'real' suggests Toc H members thought home comforts would aid recovery and make men feel comfortable in their presence and the activities conducted. This brought a 'sense of belonging' back into the life of a disabled veteran living in an institution, such as a hospital or disability home. Other examples of Toc H service included blind and deaf clubs, braille work, embossed maps made at sea by naval members for the blind and arranging through the Servers of the Blind for holidays and entertainment for blind men. All were comparatively widespread by the mid-1930s.

Therefore, the type of care offered by Toc H and other charities invariably altered based on the differing practical needs associated with specific disabilities and the resources available to every group based on their location. Yet, for the war veteran and carer of Toc H, care for the disabled was an embodiment of 'the living memorial'. It was a way to show these men that their sacrifices and the sacrifices of their 'fallen brothers' would never be forgotten in God's work. These

⁹¹ Ibid., p.5.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid., p.10.

activities started in 1920, but, by the 1959 'Handicap Report', this debt appeared less important. This suggests that as time from the war increased, remembering the actions of those who fought in the war by specifically helping those who returned injured became less of a concern to Toc H.

Toc H also encouraged sport for all members to induce a 'harmonious development of mind, body, and spirit'.⁹⁴ Toc H London Sports club had its genesis in the formation of an Association Football club in 1920. In 1922, the Rugby Football Section started. In 1923 the cricket and lawn tennis sections started, and a swimming club formed in 1928. Men paid a reduced membership fee when participating in sporting initiatives.⁹⁵ All Toc H members were told not to play sports on Toc H grounds on Sundays, mirroring the no service to disabled veterans on Sunday mornings as previously mentioned.⁹⁶ Religious beliefs and practices were at the forefront of the organisation and influenced when the disabled received care.

Sport as a form of rehabilitation was not unusual for organisations wanting to help ex-servicemen. St Dunstan's and the Star and Garter Home for paralysed servicemen encouraged walking and bowls.⁹⁷ These two institutions were not hospitals giving medical treatment. They 'provided an environment where social and medical restoration was practiced in the view of long-term success'.⁹⁸ All three charities mobilised sport to enforce 'normal standards of masculinity'.⁹⁹ Sport not only gave disabled ex- servicemen something to do, it 'acted as morale-boosting public spectacle', writes Mary Guyatt: 'Held up to wartime Britain as an

⁹⁴ Nick Watson, Stuart Weir and Stephen Friend, p.5.

⁹⁵ CBRL: Toc H, section two, London Development Committee Notes, 1929.

⁹⁶ CBRL: Toc H, section ten, B6. Journal, Volume One: MCMXXIII, June 1922, p.390.

⁹⁷ St Dunstan's Archive, 'Letters to the Editor', *St Dunstan's Review*, 1933, p.3.

⁹⁸ Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation*, p.43.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

example of national heroism, a sports day at Roehampton Hospital in 1917 promoted the idea disability could be fun'.¹⁰⁰ There was also a religious motivation for Toc H using sport as a rehabilitative measure. In the New Testament, St Paul and others used athletic metaphors to help describe the challenges of the Christian life. The concept was popularised in the mid nineteenth century as 'Muscular Christianity'.¹⁰¹ In this, 'a man's body was given to him to be trained and brought into subjection and then used for the protection of the weak; the advancement of all righteous causes'.¹⁰² Sport was a way of bringing men closer to God, both in terms of body and mind, which was why Toc H encouraged it amongst all members and those it helped, not just disabled ex-servicemen.

Toc H also provided hospital libraries and blood transfusions to help with the auxiliary needs of ex-service hospital inpatients. Blood transfusions and donor centres were a comparatively recent branch of medical work in the 1920s, when Toc H set up this scheme.¹⁰³ Local branches frequently took the initiative to start a panel of blood donors, and in some cases Toc H houses provided a central office open day and night, volunteers taking their turns of duty for emergency calls by the telephone. Across the country, Toc H branch committees made themselves aware of scientific advancements and worked out ways in which men with no scientific or medical background could use these developments to help the disabled. St John's hospital, Lewisham, particularly

¹⁰⁰ Mary Guyatt, 'Better Legs: Artificial Limbs for British Veterans of the First World War', *Journal of Design History*, 14 (4) (2001), 307-325.

¹⁰¹ 1 Corinthians 6:19; 9:24-25; and 2 Timothy. 4:7. The source of the idiom has been a point of debate amongst scholars. Nick Watson and Stuart Weir, pp.1-7.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp.1-3.

¹⁰³ For more information on the impact of the First World War on blood transfusions, see: Frank Boulton, and David Roberts, 'Blood Transfusion at the Time of the First World War—Practice and Promise at the Birth of Transfusion Medicine', *Transfusion Medicine*, 24 (6) (2014), 325-334. For the interwar period, see William Schneider, 'Blood Transfusion Between the Wars', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 58 (2) (2003), 187-224.

benefited from Toc H donors, leading one patient to declare in 1922, 'I have known hospitals and hospitals, but never one that deserved the gratitude of the faithful beyond the generosity of the charitable'.¹⁰⁴ By giving the 'gift of life' the living memorial was encapsulated by Toc H members who donated their blood.¹⁰⁵

Moreover, to promote Toc H as a charity which helped disabled ex-servicemen, Clayton included the National War Disabled Logo in a letterhead regardless of to whom he was writing until at least 1950. Other committee members, including McCleod, did not share his vision and decided against using the letterhead. To some members there were more prominent issues than the welfare of, and raising awareness for, disabled ex-servicemen. Internal letters reveal that these issues included housing, educating the young on Christianity, social service within schools, and encouraging members and children to attend church more regularly.¹⁰⁶ This highlights what local branches perceived the pressing concerns in their community to be, and how they decided on who deserved help and why.

Welfare Schemes and Location

The help offered by Toc H to the disabled in rural and urban areas differed. Drivers for night ambulances, conveyance of out-patients to the hospital, delivery of medicines to remote houses, night telephone work, and helping 'nurses to deal with delirious or violent patients in cottage hospitals', are all instances of the

¹⁰⁴ CBRL: Toc H, section ten, B6. Journal, Volume One, November 1922, p.89.

¹⁰⁵ The term, 'Gift of Life' described the benefits of blood donation in Jane Allyn Piliavin, 'Why Do They Give the Gift of Life? A Review of Research on Blood Donors Since 1977', *Transfusion*, 30 (5) (1990), 444-459.

¹⁰⁶ CBRL: Toc H, section ten, B6. Journal, Volume Two, June 1924.

service provided by Toc H to the rural disabled.¹⁰⁷ Comparatively, in towns the 'undertaking of individual aftercare, cinema entertainments, and an investigation to help hospital authorities to trace patients who had ceased treatment without reason' were some of the ways in which Toc H helped. A Toc H pillar box was an accustomed sight. In an East county town, one had a 'post of 47,343 books and magazines' by 1936. Toc H postmen collected and delivered to hospitals and institutions.¹⁰⁸ Need differed based on location, and the development of technology in interwar Britain affected who and how Toc H could help. Here, as with John McDonald, the telephone was of great importance.¹⁰⁹

Where a disabled man lived affected how much and what type of help he could receive from willing organisations such as Toc H. Recognising this division, some branches worked to close the gap. A north county town, for example, collected clothes and toys for a rural mining village in Durham (an occupation that suffered heavily from the loss of men and those who returned disabled after the war).¹¹⁰ Toc H members donated and went to offer their goods and friendship, converting 'distant charity into real neighbourliness' by visiting the village.¹¹¹

Neighbourliness constituted an important concept from the outset. Clayton and Talbot wanted Toc H to help combat loneliness felt by ex-soldiers who had become accustomed to the 'brotherhood' of trench life. Neighbourliness reflected the idea behind the University Settlement Movement. Established in 1883, it involved university graduates settling in poor urban areas for the purposes of

¹⁰⁷ CBRL: *What Does Toc H Do?* p.12.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ For the significance of telephones to those with disabilities, see Claude S. Fischer, *America Calling: A Social History of the Telephone to 1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); and Peter Scott, 'Still a Niche Communications Medium: The Diffusion and Uses of the Telephone System in Interwar Britain', *Business History*, 53 (6) (2011), 801-820.

¹¹⁰ Mike Martin, pp.155-170.

¹¹¹ CBRL: *Toc H In The Countryside*, p.4.

social work. Settlement houses acted as 'centres of cultural, social, and economic philanthropy for the local area'. The first establishments were Toynbee Hall and Oxford House in East London. The movement spread to Glasgow (1889), Manchester (1895), Cardiff (1901), Edinburgh (1905), Liverpool (1907), and Bristol (1911).¹¹² Marc Brodie and Barbara Caine note how nineteenth and early twentieth century philanthropic institutions were intent on 'befriending' the poor.¹¹³ The notion of cross-class friendship was central to the settlement movement and the Lad's Clubs within these cities, as it was to Toc H. People living in poorer areas of cities (such as Durham) compared to poorer areas of cities without a university, and villages on the outskirts of cities, had more access to help.¹¹⁴ Joanna Bourke suggests that villages in this analysis should refer to middle class villages, as she described the working class culture of neighbourliness: nearby neighbours would be relied upon for emotional and material assistance when needed.¹¹⁵ Working class districts were incorporated into this culture of neighbourly friendship, which through Toc H visiting the countryside was trying to encourage and bridge the gap of lower and middle class neighbourliness.¹¹⁶ The settlements scheme supports the locality divide as noted by an analysis of Toc H. Also, an analysis of the scheme reinforces the idea that for charities, a person's class, and the class of the area to which they belonged

¹¹² Lucinda Matthews-Jones, "'I Still Remain One of the Old Settlement Boys': Cross-class Friendship in the First World War Letters of Cardiff University Settlement Lads' Club', *Cultural and Social History*, 13 (2) (2006), 195-211, p.196.

¹¹³ Marc Brodie and Barbara Caine, 'Class, Sex and Friendship: The Long Nineteenth-Century' in *Friendship: A History*, ed. by Barbara Caine (London: Equinox, 2009), pp.223-277, p.224.

¹¹⁴ Lucinda Matthews-Jones, p.198.

¹¹⁵ Joanna Bourke, *Working Class Culture in Britain, 1890-1960* (London: Routledge, 1993), p.137.

¹¹⁶ Lucinda Matthews-Jones, p.197.

could and did affect the charitable care available to a person, disabled or otherwise.

Toc H did not have the human or financial resources to offer its services to every village in England. Many Settlement schemes also closed during or after the war because of a lack of funds.¹¹⁷ Talbot stated: 'nowhere in England is there so much vigorous goodwill lying dormant as in the farmsteads and cottages of the countryside. It may be easier to be a Christian in the countryside, but it is certainly a lot harder to be a useful and effective one'.¹¹⁸ On balance, with fewer people in country villages than cities, Christians did not have the same opportunities for service and mission, and people seeking such a mission had less access to it in country areas. This is despite most of these country areas being poorer and in more need of charitable help, which is what 'easier to be Christian' refers to. Several veterans' housing charities promoted the health benefits of clean and peaceful rural settings for disabled veterans and encouraged families to grow their own food. The Scottish Veterans' Garden City Association, founded in 1915, pioneered this approach, while other charities, such as The Eccentric Club, encouraged healthy food and outdoor activities for disabled ex-servicemen, most prominently garden parties which were held in the grounds of Roehampton Hospital.¹¹⁹ Toc H utilised the same approach with its Allotment Scheme set up in the early 1920s. The scheme encouraged ex-servicemen to gain new skills, and the allotments were typically in urban areas

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p.196.

¹¹⁸ CBRL: *Toc H In The Countryside*, p.5.

¹¹⁹ Rachel Hasted, 'The Untapped Stories of Disability and the First World War.' <<https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/news-features/untapped-stories-disability-and-first-world-war>> [Accessed 6 February 2017].

like Toc H Memorial Homes; people had less access to Toc H branches in the countryside.

Locality influenced the effect Christianity, as preached through Toc H, had on different communities in Britain. Here is the witness of two padres: one, writing of his village ministry said, 'in Toc H one is caught up by a growing life of real Christian affection, and withal there is ease and simplicity'. The other speaks of a large urban community:

This group has been the means of bringing about an entirely new spirit of friendliness and co-operation among all the different religious communities. Where, three years ago [1933], social antagonism and party spirit was rife, there is now complete understanding and harmony, and a strong sense of brotherhood, which to the best of my belief, has abolished many religious and political prejudices on all sides. I attribute this entirely to the influence of Toc H.¹²⁰

Religious charities helped bring people together on a personal level in rural and urban areas and, on a larger scale, united Christian factions.¹²¹ In both regions, neighbourliness, and the aim of combating loneliness, is clear. As the Vicar of Malpas, Reverend J. Rowland wrote in *The South Wales Paper* in 1932, 'One of the best ways to serve others was to encourage cheerfulness. True religion had nothing to do with dark clothing and gloomy faces'.¹²²

Reverend Rowland also wrote that 'it must be remembered in service for others there must be sincerity of motive'.¹²³ In Toc H, all help given to disabled ex-servicemen or disabled civilians had an inherently religious motive and aim: 'the Social Gospel', as termed by Linda Parker.¹²⁴ Emmeline Burdett questions this 'sincerity of motive'. She argues an activity which was less successful than

¹²⁰ CBRL: *What Does Toc H Do?* p.23.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p.24.

¹²² CBRL: Toc H, section five, PC 6, Book three, Press Cuttings, 1932-1935.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Linda Parker, *Shell-Shocked Prophets*, p.136.

clubs and holidays was the practice of allowing upper-class civilians to take wounded soldiers out for the day. A St Dunstan's memoir by a visually impaired ex-serviceman, V. M. Duché, highlights Burdett's case: 'many soldiers consider waiting to be picked by do-gooders a depressing, humiliating experience, with their benefactors less interested in the men themselves than in picking one – preferably smartly dressed and sporting a medal or two whom they would be happy to show off to their friends'.¹²⁵ Not all disabled veterans wanted charitable help, regardless of their location, despite the willingness of charities such as St Dunstan's and Toc H to help such men.

Local Case Studies: Youth and Disability

Toc H combined medical and social care for disabled children as it did for ex-servicemen.¹²⁶ In Cheltenham, for example, the Toc H branch was particularly interested in the work of St Dunstan's as its location meant there was a St Dunstan's home nearby.¹²⁷ The 1921 Toc H editorial highlights this connection:

Every time we meet some of the blind boys [children] come around as our guests and we look forward to meeting them. Charlie is a favourite – besides being totally blind he is deaf and only has one leg which is useless. We are trying to assist a partially blinded soldier with a microscopic pension, whom we found singing in the streets.¹²⁸

An article in the *Streatham News* on 9 November 1930, entitled 'True Christian Spirit', reiterates the 1921 Toc H editorial message:

¹²⁵ Emmeline Burdett, 'Comment from the Field: Disability History: Voices and Sources, London Metropolitan Archives', *Journal of Literary & Cultural Disability Studies*, 8 (1) (2014), 97-103, pp.102-103.

¹²⁶ Seth Koven, 'Remembering and Dismemberment', p.1169.

¹²⁷ The Cheltenham branch of St Dunstan's opened in July 1920 and closed in or soon after February 1923.

¹²⁸ CBRL: Toc H, section ten, B12, Toc H News Sheet: May 1921-May 1922/ No IV, October 1921, Editorial.

Every Monday night a band of crippled children gather. They are physically handicapped but here they forget their troubles and pains. They play games and are taught useful hobbies, while a trained masseur who prefers to remain anonymous, massages their crippled limbs [...] The true Christian spirit helps these unfortunate people who are barred from many of the ordinary pleasures of everyday life.¹²⁹

The masseurs' decision to remain anonymous is interesting, but it is unclear whether they did not want their connection with Toc H or disabled children to be exposed. However, youth disability work was not unusual in Toc H. The first National Survey of Toc H activities was carried out in 1938. It found that forty per cent of its members were taking part in youth work.¹³⁰ The next survey in 1960 showed the focus had changed: its highest category of activity was working with the elderly at twenty-six per cent.¹³¹ Its work with disabled children and adults suggests Toc H viewed disability not as a 'purely medically defined problem but a population-based issue that must be addressed through policy and programmes that go beyond the realm of the clinician'.¹³² The Allotment scheme, for example, provided disabled men with new skills, but it also provided them with food which would likely have a positive impact on the health of a man and his family who struggled to afford necessities.

The Cheltenham and Streatham examples also show that Toc H helped those suffering from a limb amputation or from a loss of limb functionality. This is significant as masseurs trained at St Dunstan's for blinded servicemen performed physiotherapy for such injuries. Julie Anderson notes how blindness and limb loss

¹²⁹ CBRL: Toc H, section five, PC6. Book two, Press Cuttings 1930-1932.

¹³⁰ Kenneth Prideaux-Brune, p.19; pp.50-51.

¹³¹ Ibid., pp.50-51.

¹³² Nora Ellen Groce, *From Charity to Disability Rights: Global Initiatives of Rehabilitation International 1922-2002* (The University of Michigan: Rehabilitation International, 2002), pp.14-15. For more information on the medical model of disability see Julie Anderson and Ana Carden-Coyne, 'Enabling the Past: New Perspectives in Disability Studies', *European Review of History*, 14 (4) (2007), 447-457, p.447.

were similar in terms of re-training. Like the blind veterans from St Dunstan's who 'learnt to be blind', the amputee had to undergo retraining of their stumps. This often meant learning to walk or work in an altered fashion as they had to learn 'how this new altered body worked in tandem with the prosthesis fitted to the stump'.¹³³ Anderson argues that disability cannot be seen in cultural isolation but only in reference to the majority of the able bodied: 'It is these people, the broad society, who judge the ways in which disabled bodies are useful'.¹³⁴ Toc H believed both bodies were useful as they helped blind and amputee children and adults through fellowship and welfare schemes.

Toc H did not consider the bodies of mentally wounded veterans (and there is no specific evidence suggesting Toc H helped mentally disabled children) to be as useful, either to them or to society, as highlighted by its 'Handicap Policy' and issues surrounding disabled men as members. This is an important distinction as it suggests that Toc H thought the blind and limbless could be helped and retrained for 'work' so that they could be socially and economically 'useful' in a way that the division between mental and physical disability, and the care offered, suggests that Toc H did not think it was the same for the mentally disabled. For Toc H as an organisation, however, it was its members and not those they helped who were most 'useful' in its mission to Christianise society. Supporting Anderson's conclusion, it was able-bodied Christian men who made decisions surrounding membership, such as age and ability to understand God's will, which as shown, affected the role of disabled men in the organisation. Thus, alongside economic, or domestic potential, which has been widely discussed in

¹³³ Julie Anderson, "Jumpy Stump": Amputation and Trauma in the First World War', *First World War Studies*, 6 (1) (2015), 9-19, p.14.

¹³⁴ Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation*, p.42.

the historiography, Christian beliefs also influenced perceptions of what constituted a 'useful' disabled body in British society.¹³⁵

Employment

There was no specific or national programme designed by Toc H to help ex-servicemen find employment in civilian life. However, the Toc H committee and many local branches looked to employment as a form of rehabilitation for the physically disabled from the late 1920s.¹³⁶ The committee knew industries had been a great help sending items of need during the war, such as soap, to men at the Front and to their families suffering from economic hardship because of active service. For example, A National Relief Fund was set up with Edward, Prince of Wales, to help the families of serving men and those suffering from 'industrial distress' in 1916.¹³⁷ As a Staff Officer of the 14th Corps, the Prince visited Talbot House in Poperinghe in 1916. In 1921, he became the first patron.¹³⁸ This was when the non-denominational Christian, Dr Macnamara from the Ministry of Labour, gave the first 'industry address' to the Toc H committee.¹³⁹ These talks were organised by The General Committee which wanted to understand the

¹³⁵For a discussion on economic and domestic utility, see Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, pp.168-170.

¹³⁶ For more on employment, politics, and rehabilitation, see Helen Bettinson, 'Lost Souls in the House of Restoration'; Michael Robinson, 'Definitely Wrong? The Ministry of Pensions' Treatment of Mentally Ill Great War Veterans in Interwar British and Irish Society', *War in History*, (2019), 1-22.

¹³⁷ Carol Harris, '1914-1918: How Charities Helped to Win WW1' (27 June 2014). <<http://www.thirdsector.co.uk/1914-1918-charities-helpedwinww1/volunteering>> [Accessed 17 October 2016].

¹³⁸ CBRL: Toc H, section five, PC4: Press Cuttings (April 1921-December 1922), *Halifax Guardian*, 22 July 1921.

¹³⁹ Dr Macnamara gave more than one address on this topic to different audiences. He worked for the Ministry of Labour from 1920-1922 after working with the Navy as Financial Secretary to the Admiralty. TNA: MAF 33/77, Training of Disabled Ex-Service Officers. For more on his work and Christian upbringing, see: Robin Betts, *Dr Macnamara, 1861-1931* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999).

position of ex-servicemen in business before deciding upon initiatives to help disabled ex-servicemen gain employment.

Macnamara opened his address at Toc H House, London, on 23 March 1921, with: 'I look to the spirit of Whitleyism to see us safely through the troubled waters which follow in the wake of the great gale of 1914-1918'.¹⁴⁰ The English Civil Service established Whitleyism in 1919. It was a system of permanent voluntary boards in English industries in which both management and workers settled matters of wages, hours and so forth together. Yet, despite the supposed fairness Whitleyism brought to a workplace, disabled ex-veterans rarely sat on or were invited to the system of permanent voluntary boards in English industries in which both management and workers settled employment matters.¹⁴¹ Hence disabled veterans lacked representation under this system, but it is another example which highlights that Toc H considered religion a higher priority than disabled veterans. For Toc H, Whitleyism was a way of promoting religion in industry. Many Toc H members believed a decline in industry and economic prosperity was because of a lack of religion and religious beliefs in industry following the war. By inviting men of industry to speak to their members, the Toc H executive committee wanted to learn and to educate the speakers about what they believed to be the influence of religion in the economic market. Committee member Mr Sydney Pascal believed the

persistent application of Christian principles to industry would gradually transform it into something different to what it is now: opposed to the practice of Christian Religion. It will bring about a gradual change, working through the minds of men and women towards something far finer than anything we are told to hope for or expect. If by joining together we can

¹⁴⁰ A.J.T. Day, 'The Principles of Whitleyism', *Public Administration*, 26 (4) (1948), 234-249, p.234; Definition of 'Whitleyism' <<https://www.thefreedictionary.com/Whitleyism>> [Accessed 3 February 2019].

¹⁴¹ A.J.T Day, p.234.

bring about a change in the way people look at these things we will have done something in this world worth doing.¹⁴²

The focus on unemployment and business allowed Toc H to carry out its main aim, 'the Christianising of society', by encouraging Christian practice and belief in industry.

Toc H had asked Macnamara to speak about how members could aid the Ministry of Labour (MOL) in its desire to help disabled veterans gain employment. He did not fulfil this brief. Instead, he detailed some of the achievements of the Ministry. These included: 40,000 disabled ex-servicemen completing their industrial training under the Industrial Grants Scheme, with a further 48,500 ex-officers and men offered training. 600 ex-officers and other ranks were matched with employers under the Business training scheme, which had only been introduced in the autumn of 1920.¹⁴³ The appointments department had found 'situations' for 50,000 ex-officers and men, and a further 20,000 men had completed their apprenticeships under the Interrupted Apprenticeship Scheme. 'Over 100,000 grants totalling £3 million were available to help re-establish ex-servicemen in civilian life and there were 24,500 firms with KNRS which employed 265,000 men'.¹⁴⁴ Historians Ena Elsy and Meaghan Kowalsky support these figures and timeline. Agreeing with Macnamara and with each other, they argue that 'the government had fought an expensive war and despite a lack of resources, it attempted to provide men with assistance; embarking on a policy which in the end turned out to be fraught with difficulties'.¹⁴⁵ This included KNRS

¹⁴² CBRL: Toc H, section ten, B6. Journal, Volume One: MCMXXIII–June 1922, p.137.

¹⁴³ Ibid.; *The Daily Chronicle*, 24 March 1921.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ena Elsy, 'The Rehabilitation and Employment of Disabled Ex-Servicemen after the Two World Wars' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Teesside, 1997), chapters one and six; Ena Elsy, 'Disabled Ex-Servicemen's Experiences of Rehabilitation and Employment after The First World War', *Oral History*, 25 (2) (1997), 49-58, p.53.

and the Apprenticeship Scheme to which Macnamara's speech refers. These schemes 'provided jobs at a time when prevention and relief of unemployment was not regarded as major governmental duty'.¹⁴⁶ KNRS, for example, provided on average '300, 000 jobs for ex-servicemen' each year.¹⁴⁷

Macnamara does not exaggerate the figures, but he does not contextualise them. He does not mention that approximately two million British men returned from military service with some form of disability, with 750,000 suffering a permanent disability, or that the figures he quoted included able-bodied as well as disabled ex-servicemen.¹⁴⁸ His figures do not seem so impressive when these statistics are considered. As Michael Robinson calculated, eight to eleven per cent of disabled ex-servicemen were unemployed during the interwar period, a significantly lower figure when compared to the non-disabled ex-servicemen population and there were fewer disabled than able-bodied men who returned.¹⁴⁹

Macnamara also divides his analysis, as the industrial schemes did, by the class structure of the army: 'officer and other rank'. He had not served in the army nor was he a member of Toc H, emphasising how class divisions had permeated in a wider social and industrial setting. His suggestion that employers often use class within the recruitment process (for able-bodied and disabled men) reinforces the need for Toc H's class equality ethos.¹⁵⁰ His speech and the

¹⁴⁶ Meaghan Kowalsky, 'Enabling The Great War: Ex-Servicemen, the Mixed Economy of Welfare and the Social Construction of Disability, 1899-1930' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2007), p.127.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p.15.

¹⁴⁸ The International Labour Office, 'Studies and Reports: The Compulsory Employment of Disabled Men', *The International Labour Office*, 2 (June 1921), p.2; Meaghan Kowalsky, p.1.

¹⁴⁹ Michael Robinson, p.7.

¹⁵⁰ Membership fees emphasise that 'equality' was not always easy to implement in practice.

initiatives it references, however, demonstrate the pulling together of charity and business for the help of ex-servicemen. Veterans did not rely entirely on 'the grateful public' for welfare support: they (and unemployment) were not the problem of one group.¹⁵¹

Alongside viewing industry as a platform to promote Christian ideals, Toc H relied on businesses to offer ex-servicemen paid jobs. As a charity, Toc H could offer few men paid work. Toc H actively sought employment opportunities for disabled and/or able-bodied veterans along similar lines to the Voluntary Labour Scheme. Aside from word of mouth, Toc H members could place advertisements in the *Toc H Journal* under the section '*A Problem for Toc H*':

September 1921: Will any member of Toc H who has a job to offer get in touch with George Walsh of Green Croft Lawn Avenue, Stourbridge. Walsh has been on the unemployed list for over twelve months and is desperately in need of a job of any description; he is at his wits end to provide the wherewithal to feed his wife and two kiddies. We shall be grateful if anybody can put him in touch with some work. ¹⁵²

Walsh's war service is not given as a reason for why he deserved employment, but for his inability to support his family. By making no reference to his rank or disability, the author of the advertisement obscures the fact that he was receiving a disability pension from the army. It is possible that people would be less likely to give men employment, or at least meet them to see if men were suitable candidates, if potential employers knew men already had an income (pension) or a disability. Yet, as Cohen argues, 'pensions assessments carried out by the MOP physicians were based solely on the degree of physical disfigurement or

¹⁵¹ Deborah Cohen, p.29.

¹⁵² CBRL: Toc H, section ten, B12, Toc H News Sheet Journal, No IV, October 1921. For more information, see: PIN 26/15224: Private George Alfred Walsh, Royal Army Service Corps. Regiment No: 45605. The nature of his disability was varicose veins.

illness and did not consider the man's capacity to return to work', and even those 'seriously disabled' received pensions below the minimum needed for survival.¹⁵³

Walsh's appeal was followed by a letter from Clayton: 'Toc H believes those who did not live to come home would like to see work go forward among their younger brothers than the unveiling of many monuments in their memory'.¹⁵⁴ Reiterating the concept of 'A Living Memorial', this letter suggests that finding work for 'fellow brothers' was a more apt way of remembering those who died than building a physical memorial. Clayton argues in 1922 that efforts such as this, however little, have 'restored faith and hope...the result has been an understanding and a sense of urgency which have gone far to move public opinion'.¹⁵⁵ Clayton gives the example of a country branch which regularly worked on an allotment and sent the produce to Toc H to be distributed in a city with high levels of unemployment and ex-servicemen.¹⁵⁶ Food or a lack of food for ex-servicemen out of work was a worry for Toc H as this worry was the motivation behind the Allotment schemes, which were a national act of service. This remained a concern for Toc H even after 30 September 1920, when the MOL stated that no disabled ex-servicemen should be accepted for training in agriculture thereafter.¹⁵⁷ The Ministry was only prepared to train officers in this skill, but Toc H did not differentiate on rank/class, reiterating the importance of its 'non recognition of class' ethos to disabled veterans.

Another way Toc H tackled unemployment amongst ex-servicemen was by encouraging veterans to re-join the army. Statistics of ex-servicemen of the

¹⁵³ Deborah Cohen, p.4.

¹⁵⁴ CBRL: Toc H, section ten, B12, Toc H News Sheet Journal, No IV, October 1921.

¹⁵⁵ CBRL: *What Does Toc H Do?* p.17.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.17.

¹⁵⁷ TNA: MAF 33/77, Training of Disabled Ex-Service Officers.

First World War going back into the army as an occupation in interwar Britain are difficult to come by. How unusual a suggestion this was, particularly from an organisation formed during the war, is difficult to say. A letter by Lt General Sir R. S. May, K. C. B to the secretary of the London branch of Toc H on 8 February 1937, shows re-joining as a solution:

what made me indignant was Maclachlan [local reporter] drawing a picture of young men unable to get work and longing for it and being ashamed of living on the dole and on their families. It is perfectly obvious that if they wished to relieve the situation, enlistment in the army was open to them and it would have done them and their country a lot of good.¹⁵⁸

He is suggesting that having more men in work would be economically beneficial to an individual and the nation, and that with more men in the army, Britain would be in a stronger position militarily. However, by 1937 many of the younger members of Toc H would not have fought in the Great War. Separate from economic concerns, men who returned to the army would also be helping the younger generation and the nation through leading by example. He thinks that the local press should report on the opportunities available to ex-servicemen rather than portraying them as desperate for work. As with the Toc H editorials, he is positioning the press as another industry which had a responsibility to help veterans in interwar Britain. May is assuming that ex-servicemen who sought employment were able-bodied because of the physicality involved in active service. He is also assuming that by not having a job men were a disappointment to their family and British society, as the onus of getting a job was on them and no other (including groups such as Toc H) and that simply having a job, whether violent or not, would help a man in interwar Britain. This stands in opposition to the position of Toc H: employment of a war veteran was the problem of society,

¹⁵⁸ CBRL: Toc H, section two SP1, Peace and Disarmament.

not the individual, and the emphasis on an able-bodied veteran reinforces Macnamara's notion that the able-bodied and not the disabled had fewer options open to them. The emphasis is on economic, not spiritual, or medical rehabilitation. Religious and economic 'improvement' existed side by side within Toc H.

The internal structure and running of Toc H compromised who the organisation could help, as unemployed veterans would have been less likely to afford the membership fee. Toc H historian Tom Gulliver disagrees. He argues that those who could not afford membership still gave what they could to Toc H as part of their Christian sacrament of sacrifice. He says that many a 'young ex-officer, who sorely battered by the war and out of employment, drew his wound gratuity and gave it all as a thank offering for one communion in the Old House... invisible hosts encircled the movement with their chariots and horses of fire'.¹⁵⁹ This biblical metaphor relates to 'Elijah regarding how the Lord teaches us by His Word, and enables us to understand all things relating to Himself and the Word'.¹⁶⁰ He argues that a man's belief in Christ allowed him to fight the battle faced by unemployment and disability. Gulliver emphasises how disabled men helped build Toc H even when the movement could not provide employment for them. The continued gratitude soldiers felt towards Talbot House in Belgium and all that they did for them remained after the war had ended.

Involving themselves with industry and economic affairs (primarily unemployment) was a method for Toc H to realise its social equality aim: it wanted to bring men together in 'a country where men are divided by education, industry,

¹⁵⁹ Tom Gulliver, *The Way of Friendship: A Toc H Anthology* (London: Toc H Press, 1980), pp.25-26.

¹⁶⁰ 'Leading Thought: Horses and Chariots of Fire' <<http://www.swedenborgdigitalibrary.org/sower/jj12/2kings2tn.htm>> [Accessed 20 February 2020].

and often religion'.¹⁶¹ Toc H wanted to teach its members a 'lesson in comradeship' through the ways in which they connected with other industries to tackle unemployment.¹⁶² Macnamara's speech, and the initiatives it references, demonstrates the 'pulling together' of charity and business for the help of ex-servicemen. Looking to the army as a source of employment shows the pulling together of charity and other institutions for the help of veterans. Veterans did not rely entirely on 'the grateful public' for welfare support: they (and unemployment) were not the problem of one group. Toc H also highlights that, for religious charities, creating networks which could help veterans find employment was not motivated wholly by a desire to rehabilitate an individual, but as a way of promoting Christianity in industry. The needs of ex-servicemen became a means to a larger end: Toc H viewed charity work as a means of religious social reform. Historians have discussed how charitable help for ex-servicemen was often a practical way for charities to implement their own principles, such as women's suffrage with The Star and Garter Homes or a revival of rural industry with the Enham Homes, but Toc H shows that religious principles were also a motivator.¹⁶³

Conclusion

Toc H historians have traditionally focused on the lives of Philip Clayton, Neville Talbot, and the work of Talbot House during the First World War. Subsequently, the history and impact of the organisation in interwar Britain is under-researched. This includes the vast array of local and national welfare work undertaken by the

¹⁶¹ CBRL: Toc H, section ten, B6. Journal, Volume One: MCMXXIII–June 1922 Annual.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Deborah Cohen, p.117.

organisation to help those in need. An analysis of these initiatives suggests that Toc H should be viewed as a form of religious care in histories of British welfare and histories of charitable aid to disabled ex-servicemen after the war. Anglican beliefs influenced these acts of service, and, although Toc H moved away from the established Church and was interdenominational by the mid-1920s, Christian practice continued to influence the type of help Toc H was able to give to the disabled, who gave this care, and when it was administered.

The chapter argued that prayer was a form of care for the disabled and that disabled veterans may not have approached religious charities because of wartime perceptions of, and relationships with, Anglican army chaplains. Religion helped and hindered care for disabled soldiers at the same time, as highlighted by Toc H's approach to multi-faith membership and the internal problems this created. The ability to practise religion also divided disability: the physically disabled could become members but the mentally disabled could not, because they were unable to understand God's will. This presents charitable membership as a form of care, but within Toc H, this did not apply to all disabled veterans who agreed with the charity's interpretation of Christianity, because of the type of disability they had. Interpretations of capacity due to particular understandings of biblical theology prevented disabled ex-servicemen getting help from a religious charity.

Historians argue that men did not approach charity because dependence on others made them seem weak or effeminate, but this analysis suggests that men did not, or could not, approach charity because of their religious as well as masculine identity.¹⁶⁴ Toc H never had a centralised approach to care for the

¹⁶⁴ For dependence on others, see: Marc Durflinger, *Veterans with a Vision: Canada's War Blinded in Peace and War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010) p.5.

disabled as it did for religion. Toc H often looked outwards for a solution to help disabled men, such as through its connections with St Dunstan's and use of sport and gardening as rehabilitative measures, instead of creating its own policy and agenda. It is not that Toc H was uninterested or naïve about the problems many disabled ex-servicemen and their families faced, as the concern about unemployment and the varied efforts to help veterans shows, but this concern was subservient to the CEC's main aim of 'Christianising society'. Historian Philip Douch asked whether this aim meant Toc H was a Christianising movement, encouraging people towards Christian belief, or whether it expressed Christianity through the values set out in the terms of the forum it offered.¹⁶⁵ An analysis of Toc H's welfare work to the disabled shows that Toc H did both. The ways in which Toc H helped disabled men may have altered over time, but its commitment to Christianity did not waiver.

The local structure of the organisation shaped its approach to caring for the disabled. The Toc H General committee acted separately from individual Toc H branches, which in turn acted differently whether in a rural or urban region. As the actions of Philip Clayton have demonstrated, not all Toc H padres or lay members agreed with one another in the same branch, let alone across branches, meaning that some groups focused more on caring for disabled ex-servicemen than others, and that different branches had different welfare schemes based on the needs of their local community. In turn this differed based on factors such as poverty, Church membership, and employment. The onus on caring for the disabled was on individuals within a branch rather than Toc H as an organisation. Depending upon where in Britain a man lived, the sympathies of the local padre,

¹⁶⁵ Phillip Douch, p.22.

or whether he had a mental or physical disability, there was an element of luck as to whether he received help from Toc H.

The female Toc H counterpart, The League of Women Helpers, is the primary case study in Chapter Two. This develops the relationship between meanings of family, disability, and religion touched upon in this chapter. It examines the link between Toc H and women as carers to determine differences and similarities deployed by an Anglican charity in the rehabilitation of disabled ex-servicemen when women rather than men are the caregivers.

Chapter Two: The League of Women Helpers (LWH)

Introduction

Philip Clayton and Neville Talbot created Toc H with the help of six nurses who Clayton had worked alongside at No.16 base hospital in Ypres: Rose Stapleton, Dorothy Allen, Ethel Webb Johnston, Sister Kate Luard, Alison Macfie, and M. D. Allan.¹ Of these, only Alison Macfie held a seat on the Toc H Central Executive Committee (CEC) until the Royal Charter in 1922. The Charter ended female membership of Toc H, and so Macfie created her own Anglican charity to continue the work she had started with Toc H: The League of Women Helpers (LWH). The League allowed her to become instrumental in policy decisions throughout the interwar period, and particularly with regard to the care of disabled ex-servicemen and the promotion of equal opportunities for women. LWH was a women's organisation formed because of the war and, along with Toc H, was testament to the importance of the relationships moulded between religious and medical professionals serving on the front line.

The LWH's own literature credits all six nurses as founding members of Toc H and emphasises Clayton's position as the only male LWH committee member. By contrast, Toc H publications do not acknowledge either fact. Toc H deliberately hid the links between these men and women from the early 1920s onwards.² To suggest reasons for the silence, this chapter explores the influence of Christianity on shaping women's identities after the war. The study of the experience of the founding nurses as charity workers also allows for an

¹ Alison Macfie, *The Curious History of Toc H Women's Association: The First Phase 1917-1928* (London: Toc H Women's Association Press, 1956), pp.7-8.

² CBRL: Toc H, section ten, B7, Journals.

examination of how war experience was mobilised in post-war Britain and how female charity work tried to heal social wounds through notions of shared suffering.³ The chapter further explores the influence of Christianity and gender on the type of care disabled ex-servicemen received in LWH (and Toc H more broadly). By examining constructions of female identity and female care for the war disabled, the chapter argues that both religion and war experience had a role to play in the separation of medical and domestic charitable care after 1918.

Women's religious charities, however, are largely absent in the historiography of the British women's movement.⁴ To place LWH, including how it cared for disabled ex-servicemen, in a wider context of women's religious organisations, this chapter also compares LWH and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). LWH and YWCA were Anglican organisations with female leadership and an unwavering commitment to Christianity.⁵ Both were also non-political, which distances them from feminist organisations such as The Women's Co-operative Guild.⁶ This is because feminism in the 1920s and 1930s was 'often thought of as a radical political ideology that threatened traditional family life'.⁷ The feminist movement and the women's movement are often assumed to be one and the same, including in the works of historians looking at women's organisations not traditionally associated with feminism.

³ For a detailed analysis of the experience of female veterans in the post-war world, see Alison S. Fell, *Women as Veterans in Britain and France after the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

⁴ Martin Pugh, *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000). Caitríona Beaumont, 'Fighting for 'Privileges of Citizenship': Young Women's Christian Association, Feminism and the Women's Movement, 1928–1945', *Women's History Review*, 23 (3) (2014), 463-479, p.467.

⁵ Eve Colpus, 'Women, Service and Self-Actualization in Interwar Britain', *Past and Present*, 238 (1) (2018), 197-232.

⁶ Gillian Scott, *Feminism, Femininity and the Politics of Working Women: The Women's Co-Operative Guild, 1880s to the Second World War* (London: Routledge, 2005).

⁷ Caitríona Beaumont, p.464.

These include Maggie Andrews's analysis of the Women's Institute and Cordelia Moyse's work on the history of the Mothers' Union.⁸ Beaumont studies YWCA, as this chapter draws on LWH, to argue that a female charity could be part of the interwar women's movement and not the feminist movement.⁹

Historians, such as Christine Hallett and Alison Fell, have analysed female care for war veterans. They have particularly looked at nurses caring for wounded soldiers in hospitals near the front line, and to a lesser extent, in hospitals and institutions where disabled men lived when they returned home.¹⁰ Jessica Meyer has also analysed the implications that caring for a wounded serviceman had on female carers in a domestic setting.¹¹ Less research exists on approaches wielded by women's organisations and charities, especially female religious groups, to care for disabled veterans in Britain. This chapter aims to help fill this gap, while also evaluating the broader significance of LWH from its creation in 1922 to the outbreak of the Second World War by looking at how it aimed to improve social conditions for women and help disabled veterans.

To make these assessments, the chapter first studies the origins of the LWH and how religious beliefs, age, and disability affected LWH membership. Next, it examines the LWH methods (activities and events LWH was involved with) and focuses on specific care practices for disabled ex-servicemen and care settings. Because LWH cared for disabled veterans in hospital and YWCA cared

⁸ Maggie Andrews, *The Acceptable Face of Feminism: The Women's Institute As A Social Movement* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1997); Cordelia Moyse, *A History of the Mothers' Union: Women, Anglicanism and Globalisation, 1876-2008* (Lancaster: Boydell & Brewer, 2009).

⁹ For a link between female veterans of the First World War and feminism, see Lucy Noakes, 'Demobilising the Military Woman: Constructions of Class and Gender in Britain after the First World War', *Gender & History*, 19 (1) (2007), 143–162.

¹⁰ Alison S. Fell, and Christine E. Hallett, eds. *First World War Nursing: New Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2013).

¹¹ Jessica Meyer 'Not Septimus Now', pp.117-138.

for disabled veterans at home, the chapter argues that care for the war disabled reflected and helped shape women's professional and religious identities. The chapter then assesses LWH mission (what it wanted to achieve and its motivations) to show how LWH aimed to 'rehabilitate' women in addition to disabled ex-servicemen by teaching them new skills. Finally, the chapter explores the construction of 'family' in Toc H and LWH from a gendered perspective, including analysing the charities as forms of 'fictive' and 'adoptive' kin in British society. This structure helps us to better understand the role of gender and experience in Christian charitable care by emphasising the similarities and differences after the war in male and female charity membership policies, acts of service, and approaches to family and care for disabled ex-servicemen.

Origins and Leadership

Before the split between Toc H and LWH, Philip Clayton made an address to Toc H members in 1922, saying: 'with many differences in age, education, work, religion, politics and pastimes, men and women have something in common in Toc H which creates a family feeling'.¹² He envisioned an organisation which united men and women. The aims of LWH, as published in its 1922 constitution, reiterated his wish: 'to help Toc H further its ideals – thinking fairly, loving widely, witnessing humbly, building bravely'.¹³ However, the bylaws of the constitution undermined Clayton's desire and created a distance between the two organisations. The bylaws emphasised that LWH membership would be influenced by Toc H: 'no symbol or ritual of Toc H and no badges embodying

¹² CBRL: Toc H, section four, WA1, Festival Minutes/Festival Programmes.

¹³ Ibid., Toc H Incorporated, LWH Constitution 1922.

such symbols worn by this Association (LWH) or its members shall be used without the sanction first obtained by the Toc H Central Executive Council' (CEC).¹⁴ Toc H wanted LWH to build on Toc H's ideas but not to act independently. The aims of LWH were based around those of the male charity.

Written by the all-male Toc H CEC, the 1922 LWH constitution dictated that, 'every member shall know something of the history of Toc H and what it stands for, shall accept the constitutional aims of LWH and accept the religious agreement with Toc H'.¹⁵ This suggests that Toc H predicted the close bond between LWH and Toc H could cause problems for some women, as by making them sign a formal agreement of acceptance, women chose the close bond with men. It also suggests Toc H wanted to keep a careful eye on LWH activities. In short, Toc H members did not have to sign an agreement accepting the connection with LWH. LWH relied on Toc H for decisions, but Toc H could act independently from LWH.

As with the constitution, the Toc H CEC drafted LWH's membership form and placed Toc H ideals before those of LWH. In the two-page, four-section form, male nouns are used three times: 'to preserve amongst men and to transmit to future generations the traditions of fellowship and service manifested by all ranks in the Great War', and 'to promote among all people a wide human interest in the lives and needs of their fellows and to foster in every man a sense of responsibility for the well-being of his fellow man'.¹⁶ Here, 'all people' is being substituted for males and not mankind. Wording on the LWH membership form highlights the lack of willingness amongst men of the CEC to allow women to become members

¹⁴ Ibid., Royal Charter and Byelaws, 14 December 1922, reamended 31 January 1929, p.3.

¹⁵ CBRL: Toc H, section four, WA1, Women's Section, Constitution 1922.

¹⁶ Ibid., Form of Application for Membership.

of Toc H. This includes Canon Partridge and Lt. Col. Bates, who argued in the Central Council meeting on 24 April 1924 that the admission of female members would lead to a 'decline' in the growth of Toc H.¹⁷ Not all men on the committee shared this opinion, nor had wanted the charity to split in 1922 on gender lines. Amongst others, this was true of Clayton as his opening address shows, and of the Leeds Toc H padre, padre Knock, who described such inequality as 'sub-Christian'.¹⁸

Despite the male hold over the organisation, LWH did not challenge the control of the Toc H CEC and in practice the relationship between the male and female committees proved overwhelmingly positive. Leaders, Macfie, Clayton, and Talbot often worked side by side and formed a close bond.¹⁹ Like Clayton with Toc H, Macfie 'associated herself closely with All Hallows by the Tower, the Guild Church of Toc H from 1922 onwards'.²⁰ As with Toc H, religious belief guided LWH's 'vision' and approach to acts of service, including those for the disabled. Leaders of both charities were close, in terms of religious belief and friendship, and LWH care practices often modelled Toc H practice. For example, Macfie was first general secretary of LWH, and, during the Second World War, she became warden and auxiliary nurse of the Pilgrim House of Toc H in Orkney, Scotland. This was a rest home for Royal and Merchant Navy. It was 'a home from home amongst neighbourly folk'.²¹ She deploys the exact phrase Clayton used to describe the Old House in Belgium during the First World War, 'a home

¹⁷ CBRL: Toc H, section four, WA2: Joint Advisory Committee (Joint Units) 1924-1951.

¹⁸ CBRL: Toc H, section four, WA9: Bound Volumes of '*The Log*' 1935-1939, 1935.

¹⁹ This closeness is emphasised by 'Tubby's [Clayton's nickname] Travelling Circus'. This was a 'party which, by way of a short summer holiday, made an expedition around England, visiting all Toc H and LWH branches in turn for a night'. Men and women including Clayton and Macfie were involved in the scheme which ran from 1924-1938. Alison Macfie, *Curious History*, p.30; p.57.

²⁰ CBRL: WA3. Toc H Women's Association Annual Report 1963.

²¹ Alison Macfie, *Tower Hill People* (London: Toc H Press, 1942), p.3.

from home'. The houses also show a commitment to injured ex-servicemen by Toc H and LWH during times of war.²²

The friendship formed amongst these servicemen and servicewomen during the war explains why Clayton and Talbot, above any other committee member, championed the equality of Toc H and LWH as organisations in the 1920s. Clayton and Talbot had worked closely with these nurses in Belgium and they wanted the work, bravery, and determination of these women to be upheld in times of peace. Clayton's desire to remember these women and their war service was despite all six giving up their professional full-time careers as nurses at the end of the war or not long after the armistice to help with charity work or as teachers of nursing.²³ For Macfie, charity work was a profession as it was something she had to learn. Between 1920 and 1921, to 'make amends for her ignorance' in social work, Macfie 'gave up hospital work to live and work part-time in a South London Mission settlement'.²⁴ Charity work was not her natural profession, which would explain why after the war she worked at the West End Hospital for Nervous Diseases and during the Second World War she reverted back to nursing in Orkney.²⁵ For her nursing, Macfie became an Associate of the Royal Red Cross in the 1944 New Year's Honours.²⁶ Nursing, not charity, was

²² Ibid., p.1.

²³ For a discussion on the 'professionalisation' of nursing before the war and for tensions between medical philanthropy and professions, see Jessica Meyer, *An Equal Burden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 22-52. Christine Hallet looks at the professionalisation of nursing and differences between trained and volunteer nurses, in Christine Hallett, *Containing Trauma: Nursing Work in the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp.6-9.

²⁴ Alison Macfie, *Curious History*, p.21.

²⁵ Ibid., p.13.

²⁶ In June 1918, Sister Luard, a founding member of LWH, received the first class Royal Red Cross medal for her wartime service to nursing. Imperial War Museum. Lives of The First World War: 'Sister in Charge No. 32 Casualty Clearing Station.' <<https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/lifestory/5386864>> [Accessed 22 September 2018]. For more on Luard's war experiences see: John and Caroline Stevens, and Kate Luard, *Unknown Warriors –The Letters of Kate Luard RRC and BAR, Nursing Sister in France 1914-1918* (London: The History Press, 2002).

Macfie's 'first step out of the house' in arguments suggesting charity and professionalisation were natural extensions of the domestic sphere.²⁷ Comparatively, Clayton and Talbot continued and combined their professions as priests with charity work in the interwar period.

Anglicanism influenced the gendered structure of Toc H and LWH from the start. Women could not hold religious positions within the Church of England. As other branches of Christianity allowed female church leadership, the Anglican background of LWH ensured that men remained within LWH.²⁸ Like the Toc H branches, LWH branches nominated a padre who was a qualified priest or minister of the Christian religion as defined by Toc H. Any man chosen as an LWH padre served in this position for at least two years and it was up to each LWH branch to decide whether they would pay the padre for his services.²⁹ Clayton was a priest and head of the Toc H Church, positions Macfie could not hold because of her gender and Anglican beliefs. LWH, despite being an 'independent' women's charity after 1922, remained tied to male power structures because of the gendered structure of the Church of England, as replicated by LWH and Toc H. The continued dominance of men in religious and charity hierarchies complicates narratives of the war as a catalyst for the liberation of women.³⁰ It also demonstrates that an analysis of charity structures can be used

²⁷ Dorice Williams Elliott, *The Angel Out of The House: Philanthropy and Gender in Nineteenth-Century England* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002), p.6.

²⁸ The Bible Christian Church (a Wesleyan denomination) for example was distinctive as a group which admitted men and women in almost equal numbers as local and itinerant preachers. Eve Colpus, 'Preaching Religion, Family and Memory in Nineteenth-Century England', *Gender & History*, 22 (1) (2010), 38–54, pp.38-39.

²⁹ CBRL: Toc H, section four, WA1, Women's Section, Constitution 1948. Constitution of the Toc H LWH 1st edition 1922, and the constitutional by-laws, pp.15-16; 1922 Charter, p.10.

³⁰ Jessica Meyer, *An Equal Burden*, p.10.

to show that popular religion was connected to institutionalised religion in interwar Britain.

Membership

Nurses founded LWH, but a woman did not need to be a medically trained nurse to become a member. Instead, to become a member a woman had to be selected and seconded by members of the LWH Association or 'by one member of LWH and one member of the Toc H board': a rule which gave male sponsors considerable influence.³¹ Thus, men could deny LWH membership to female applicants even if they matched the constitutional criteria. Theoretically the Toc H election process was simpler: if you fulfilled the criteria, applicants simply needed to sign a membership form and pay the subscription fee. That said, women, unlike men, could only become 'full members' after a probationary period.³² This rule continued until 1939 and stemmed from a feeling among most of the Toc H committee that women required more time than men to prove their commitment to service. This was because, above any other commitment, women were expected to care for their families at home.³³ These powerful men on the Toc H CEC believed women were more likely to change their minds about membership than their Toc H counterparts because of their domestic duties, role, and/or their emotional disposition.³⁴ For these reasons it was assumed that

³¹ Ibid.

³² CBRL: Toc H, section four, Toc H Incorporated: Royal Charter and Byelaws, 14 December 1922, p.14.

³³ 'Should Women Become Members of Toc H?' *The Torch* (1 January 1952), p.7; Joan Scott, 'Rewriting History', p.28; Susan Kingsley Kent, p.247.

³⁴ Elaine Showalter examines the widely held social view that women were weaker both physically and mentally than men during and after the war, in Elaine Showalter, *The female malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830-1980* (New York City: Pantheon Books, 1985).

women would be less consistent in attending Toc H meetings than men. This inconsistency explains Bates' comment made in 1924 that Toc H would 'decline' if it allowed female members.

Therefore, traditional notions of female emotional weakness in comparison to the male stoic 'strength' helps to explain the structure of the charity. This also made women more dependent on decisions taken by the male committee. Thus, the institutionally gendered division between Toc H and LWH reflects the social, and in this case male, understanding of female characteristics and women's roles in the domestic and religious sphere.³⁵ Because LWH women and Toc H men agreed to Toc H's 'Christian standard' before they became members, the decision to separate men and women was not a comment by the charity that religion was more important to one sex in comparison to another.

Women's organisations, particularly suffrage organisations, responded critically to male efforts to undermine them in the interwar period.³⁶ However, LWH did not try to challenge the probationary period. Instead, the LWH committee made access to membership more restrictive. They extended the probation in April 1930 to make the minimum one year and increased the threshold for joining the organisation from seventeen to 'women of nineteen years

³⁵ Eve Colpus, 'Women, Service and Self-Actualization in Interwar Britain', pp.197-207.

³⁶ This definition applies to many post-war women's groups such as the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship (NUSEC) and the Women's Freedom League (WFL). Both identified with political feminist ideas throughout the interwar period. LWH did not follow the same pattern. The positive working relationship between Macfie, Clayton and Talbot reflects this peaceful, non-political response by LWH to the separation of men and women by Toc H in 1922. LWH emphasises how feminist ideas and political activism were not necessarily synonymous, as is often assumed in histories of interwar women's groups including the NUSEC and WFL. Krista Cowman, *Women in British Politics, 1689-1979* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p.158; Cheryl Law, *Suffrage and Power: The Women's Movement, 1918-1928* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997); Johanna Alberti, *Beyond Suffrage: Feminists in War and Peace 1914-1928* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1989).

and upwards, except in the case of girls coming from Toc H families'.³⁷ The language used is telling: LWH wanted 'women' and not 'girls', with the LWH committee believing 'girls' were too young to cope with the emotional commitment to service, including tending to men with war injuries.³⁸ Seemingly, nineteen was the year of maturity for LWH girls, yet boys of the same age were classed as 'men' in Toc H literature as men could become members at sixteen. Toc H approved but did not initiate LWH's age stipulation for members: it was a deliberate effort to separate women by women and not by men.

Disability further affected who could become an LWH member. Following Toc H policy, mentally disabled women, including ex-servicewomen, could not become members on the grounds that their disability prevented them from understanding their commitment to God.³⁹ On the other hand, there is no evidence suggesting women with a physical disability could not become members. Like Toc H, LWH could help the physically and mentally disabled, including ex-servicemen and women, but it did not include all disabled people within their 'family' as members. Therefore, after 1922, disability created a barrier preventing membership in both charities.⁴⁰

Women were issued with a membership badge at the end of their probation:

³⁷ CBRL: Toc H, G15 section six /C1 - Central Council - Minutes, 1923-1950.

³⁸ For more on philanthropy as part of female life cycles see, Elizabeth Harvey, "Liminal Figures": The Role of Female Employees Within Charities in Birmingham and Sydney, 1860-1914', *Midland History*, 37 (2012), 45-62.

³⁹ CBRL: Toc H, section, two, SP1, Papers relating to policy on 'people with disabilities and handicaps in Toc H'.

⁴⁰ For more information on Toc H, disability, and membership, see: Chapter One, pp.64-73.



Figure 2.1: LWH Membership Badge ⁴¹

Women's badges differed from men's – a gold identity disc worn on the wrist. The Toc H badge included the member's name, the date of his membership, and the club monogram. When placing an order for a membership badge, men were asked to give the date on which they first entered the old house in Poperinghe or Ypres – a visual depiction of whether they served at the Front.⁴² As can be seen in Figure 2.1, these details were omitted in the women's version, even for those who served in the war (such as the six nurses alongside Clayton and Talbot). It was male and not female efforts in the First World War which the Toc H committee thought worth remembering. This point is supported by the fact these nurses are largely written out of Toc H history and, by the focus of Toc H on the 'younger brother', remembering the sacrifice made for him by his 'brothers' who died during the war. The focus on the war led officials to order men to wear a Toc H badge, although women were left free to don the badge or not. All this meant that the Toc H and LWH membership badges became physical symbols

⁴¹ This blazer badge belonged to Sybil Millward, who joined the Harrow Branch of LWH in 1929. Sybil died 28 September 1994. CBRL: Toc H, section four, LWH, WA24, Embroidered blazer badge, 1929.

⁴² CBRL: Toc H, section ten, B12, *Toc H News Sheet*, No IV, October 1921, Editorial.

of men and women's different combat experiences and how the charities helped bolster memory of these differences.

Alongside different religious experiences, the different combat experiences of men and women also influenced the gendered structure of LWH and Toc H. At the creation of LWH in 1922, women could not be soldiers in the British Army. Through occupation, descriptions of Toc H as an 'ex-soldier organisation' excluded British servicewomen and civilians as members of Toc H. Male war experience helps to explain why women did not become members of Toc H in the three years between the establishment of Toc H in England in 1919, and the Royal Charter which made LWH a charity in 1922. During these three years the CEC suggested to women that Toc H was a place where their husbands, brothers and fathers went to show their gratitude for service, friendship and to seek comfort like they would in the 'Old House' in Poperinghe during the conflict.⁴³ This gendered division also comes across as no servicewomen, as far as the evidence suggests, sought comfort in Toc H in Belgium or in the early days in England, aside from the six nurses who helped set up Talbot House (and it is unclear how long they stayed there for). Hence, the 1922 division should not be described as 'sub-Christian' – rather we should recognise that the creation of a female charity allowed women to be involved with Toc H on a much wider scale.

Although the LWH founding members had a shared 'female veteran identity' as war nurses, charitable publications did not project this identity into the mainstream.⁴⁴ Even those written by Macfie promoted Clayton and Talbot's religious war service rather than their own medical work or experience of Talbot House during the war. Of the six nurses, only Sister Kate Luard was frequently

⁴³ CBRL: Toc H, section six, C1- Central Council Minutes, 1923-1950, volume one.

⁴⁴ Alison S. Fell, *Women as Veterans*, p.i.

referred to by her professional name in publications. As Alison Fell argues, between 1915 and 1933, ex-nurses and servicewomen 'appropriated the cultural identity of female war veteran to have greater access to public life and a voice in a political climate in which women were rarely heard on the public stage'.⁴⁵ LWH provided these nurses with such a platform, but Macfie, Luard, Allen, and LWH as an organisation did not 'actively promote and underscore their identities as veterans'.⁴⁶ If they had, these servicewomen would have 'helped to promote a model of female identity not based upon the dominant domestic and maternal ideal, but on notions of public service and sacrifice in the war years and which differentiated them from other civilians, both women and men'.⁴⁷

Thus, analysing LWH's origins and membership and comparing the leadership of Toc H and LWH shows that religion should be included in discussions on gender, domesticity, and professionalisation at the end of the war. The war nurses of LWH and the army chaplains of Toc H formed part of the same 'war generation' but their war roles and experiences separated them in this charitable institution. LWH's founders identified as charity workers or as nurses rather than service women who were nurses during the war. War experience, not just gender, further explains why the Toc H committee believed women could not develop the organisation when it was in its infancy. Women could not understand the problems faced by men returning to civilian life the same way that the men who experienced combat could.⁴⁸ As will now be examined, the war experience of LWH's founding women and their profession as nurses influenced LWH's care initiatives for disabled ex-servicemen throughout the interwar period.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.91.

⁴⁸ CBRL: Toc H, section four, WA1 Women's Section.

LWH Methods

1) Disabled Veterans

LWH's two main forms of care for disabled veterans occurred in a hospital setting. LWH's library and gardening initiatives developed Toc H ideas for their work with the disabled. Toc H largely deployed these initiatives in the wider community rather than specifically in a hospital as LWH did.

In 1930 LWH produced a booklet entitled *Information For New Friends*. This outlined the LWH hospital library scheme in London. Beginning with a small collection of books, the branch gradually gathered together 1,500 volumes. By 1931 they had a regular supply of periodicals. One member acted as chief librarian and was 'helped by other members and friends each week'.⁴⁹ Women could be associated with LWH and LWH disability work if they were not members as highlighted by the separation of 'friends' and 'members' in the booklet. The library served nine wards and a private hospital block. Disabled veterans could borrow three books at once and LWH did not charge them. The library included a special nurses' section and 'once a week a librarian was on duty in the nurses' sitting room'.⁵⁰ This work helped members connect with patients, staff and others connected to the hospital, and many LWH women and Toc H men served on 'Friends of the Hospital' committees.⁵¹ By 1938 a hospital 'trolley shop' had developed alongside the hospital library scheme.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ CBRL: Toc H, section four, Royal Albert Hall, Festival of Toc H Women's Section, 30 October 1948.

⁵¹ Ibid.; CBRL: The Eleventh Festival of the Toc H Women's Association, 1956, p.2.

The emphasis on nurses alongside charity workers caring for disabled ex-servicemen in a hospital is significant. It highlights LWH's interest in the professionalisation of nurses outside of the domestic sphere. Also in 1930, the LWH journal, *The Log*, reported that 'a scheme has been set to link the nursing profession with LWH'.⁵² LWH offered 'friendship and hospitality' to overseas nurses and student nurses working in British hospitals from 1930. Toc H might have wanted to forget the founding LWH nurses, but LWH did not: it supported women as professional nurses until at least the end of the Second World War. Helping the disabled and sick was one way that LWH showed its interest and involvement in the 'growth' of women in this period, regarding individual skills and professionalisation.

As a First World War nurse who had served on the Western Front, Macfie also knew that for many men 'the horrors of industrialised battlefields of the Great War served to stimulate idealistic attitudes towards nostalgic naturalism and ruralism'.⁵³ This is why she started gardening as a form of care for the disabled.

In the 1940s, '3,500 men wounded in the war found health and happiness' at the LWH hospital in Woodwick.⁵⁴ The hospital lay surrounded by sprawling gardens and Macfie ensured that there was a greenhouse where nurses and patients could grow flowers and vegetables. Macfie wrote in her article, *Birds, Bombs and Greenhouses*, that

with much encouragement, not altogether disinterested from various Medical officers of the Naval Air Arm, tomatoes planted in orange boxes which were still obtainable in the grocer's shops at the end of the first

⁵² CBRL: Bound Volumes of The Log 1926-1934, 1929: Girl Guiding booklet, p.4.

⁵³ Laura Hemmingway, *Disabled People and Housing: Choices, Opportunities and Barriers* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2011), p.1; Lewis Stempel, *Where Poppies Blow: The British Soldier, Nature, The Great War* (London: W and N Books, 2017).

⁵⁴ Macfie founded this with funding from The Pilgrim Trust, which was set up in 1931 to help with 'Britain's most urgent needs.' The Pilgrim Trust: <<https://www.thepilgrimtrust.org.uk/about-us/history/>> [Accessed 12 July 2019].

summer. The net result of all our care and attention was some good chutney.⁵⁵

This project was similar to the Allotment scheme introduced by Toc H as therapy for Great War servicemen, except that it included staff. It also reflected her belief in improving the quality of life for patients.⁵⁶

In a 1938 edition of a Toc H Festival booklet, Macfie was quoted as saying: 'caring for people as persons, attempting to bring enrichment of life and a sense of purpose has possibly been the most valuable albeit unspectacular part of the Toc H contribution'.⁵⁷ LWH viewed its caring responsibilities as a way of giving men a sense of purpose rather than simply tending to the health needs of the patients struck down by war injury. The LWH certainly offered patients a sense of purpose by encouraging veterans to take up reading through their hospital visits in the 1930s, and then by teaching veterans the skill of gardening in the 1940s. The scheme also helped many veterans come to terms with their injuries. Historians analysing female philanthropy have often suggested that women were motivated to undertake charity work because of the sense of purpose it provided.⁵⁸ This is also true for LWH and Toc H's work with and for the disabled, particularly the focus on learning and finding employment for men. The example set by the two organisations highlights that for both men and women charity work provided a purpose for receiving as well as those providing charity.

⁵⁵ Alison Macfie, *Tower Hill People*, p.12.

⁵⁶ Chapter One, pp.80-81.

⁵⁷ CBRL: The Eleventh Festival of the Toc H Women's Association, p.8.

⁵⁸ See, for example: Frank Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); and Armine Ishkanian and Simon Szreter, *The Big Society Debate: A New Agenda For Social Policy?* (Cambridge: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2012).

2) Care Practices

Care for disabled ex-servicemen was more generalised in LWH, but it had a specific place in the work of Toc H. This is because, from 1920 until 1939, Toc H divided voluntary service into two streams. First, the 'stretcher-bearing work': work for the 'sick, the disabled, the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the lonely, the down and out, the crippled or neglected child and the boy or man in prison or just released from it'. The second stream was 'sheep-dog' work: 'work towards girls/boys and younger men/women – in clubs, classes, scouts etc'.⁵⁹ However, the LWH committee did not differentiate between the two types of service in any of its publications, saying in 1924: 'ways of carrying out service are as many as one could wish, from bringing up Toc H babies and building homes worthy of the name to shepherding young delinquents or giving voluntary secretarial help'.⁶⁰

These service descriptions reference the religious metaphor of the shepherd: by completing acts of service, men and women followed in the example of Christ and embodied his work by shepherding others to God.⁶¹ In this Christian understanding, care must be seen as the 'job' of men and women, despite this being at odds with the social understanding of women as carers in a domestic and charitable context and men as the workers and 'breadwinners'.⁶² The jobs in both streams largely conform to social understandings of gender roles, with

⁵⁹ CBRL: Toc H, section four, WA21, Cardiff committee book, 1929-1930.

⁶⁰ Ibid.; WA23, Volume relating to the beginnings of the association: 'Out of the Ancient Ruins'.

⁶¹ In the Bible, see 'shepherd', or 'shepherding': Genesis. 4:2, Genesis. 13:7, 13:8, 26:20, 29:3, 37:2, 46:32, 46:34, 47:3, 48:15; Exodus. 2:17, 2:19, Leviticus. 27:32, Numbers. 14:33. For how this metaphor is applied to church leadership, see Quentin P. Kinnison, 'Shepherd or one of the Sheep: Revisiting the Biblical Metaphor of the Pastorate', *Journal of Religious Leadership*, 9 (1) (2010), 59-91.

⁶² Eric J. Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat & Identity in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Susan Kingsley-Kent, p.234; Joan Scott, p.27; A. J. Withers, '(Re)constructing and (Re)habilitating the Disabled Body', p.44.

women caring for children and the home and men placed in 'tougher' emotional roles such as helping rehabilitate criminals after their release.⁶³

LWH never specified the gender of recipients, while Toc H as an 'ex-soldier' organisation was expected to care for men only. Unusually, as women were perceived to be more nurturing, there are fewer examples of LWH caring for the sick and disabled than there are for Toc H. The focus on men caring for disabled ex-servicemen allowed women to carry out their caring responsibilities within their own homes and families.⁶⁴ This contrast also supports the view of Michael Roper, who argues that the war drew men into care relationships that had traditionally belonged to the woman's domain.⁶⁵ The work of ex-servicemen and women for the disabled in Toc H and LWH suggests this carried on after the war ended. Toc H seems more unusual in its emphasis upon male caregivers at a time when many in British society thought that women (and not men) owed a duty of care to disabled veterans. This was because men had fought to protect Belgian women so that English women could be safe. The *Daily Mail* emphasised this 'Salute of Gratitude' to returning disabled servicemen.⁶⁶ YWCA committee member Miss Nina Boyle disagreed and argued that care for the disabled did not represent a burden or a 'duty' for women. Instead, it stood out as a 'privilege', as women were important to post-war work and to the care of *all* men.⁶⁷

Like Toc H, LWH had local branches which acted independently from one another. Consequently, neither organisation had a national scheme to help the

⁶³ Joan Scott, 'Rewriting History', p.28; Susan Kingsley-Kent, p.247.

⁶⁴ Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *No Man's Land* (USA: Yale University Press, 1996).

⁶⁵ Michael Roper, 'Between the Psyche and the Social', p.251.

⁶⁶ 'The Salute of Gratitude' in the *Daily Mirror*, 12 November 1918, p.6; Joanna Bourke. 'Love and Limblessness', pp.8-10; and Susan Kingsley-Kent, pp.238-39.

⁶⁷ CBRL: YMCA Women's National Auxiliary, G9. Minutes of quarterly, biannual, annual minutes, July 1918 - December 1924, December 1918.

civilian or military disabled; the acts of service across branches varied.⁶⁸ In Darlington, LWH helped the Red Cross cadets by making toys for 'mentally handicapped children' at the annual Christmas party. In Scotland, a branch largely made up of Church of England members helped and had a special interest in a 'Home for Spastics' run by the Roman Catholic Church.⁶⁹ In Norwich, LWH encouraged those with epilepsy to form their own LWH branch. In Exmouth and Bideford LWH supported the blind and the Belra (later Lepra) community by visiting residential homes and undertaking a range of tasks, from washing up to taking Sunday services, and in London many branches supported a club for 'mentally handicapped teenagers'.⁷⁰ These initiatives for the disabled differed by branch and were not national LWH schemes. Hence, the local structure complicates finding examples of help for the disabled. Irrespective of location, these examples show that the majority of LWH care for the disabled in the community was targeted at the civilian and not the war disabled.

The focus on disabled civilians as opposed to veterans was not unusual for women in religious charities: the YWCA followed the same pattern. Of the hundreds of regional branches in interwar Britain, only one specifically concerned itself with care for disabled veterans – Nottingham YWCA. Its leader Mrs Charles Birkin prioritised after-care for shell-shocked soldiers when they returned to their homes. In 1919 she reported that:

there are 400 of these men. The work is in connection with the Pensions office in Nottingham under Captain Newham and Charity Organisation Society under Miss Dutton. The ladies of the committee visited these men and I have arranged that they should be honorary members of the men's clubs. 100 have already been invited. I can hardly say what a boon this is to the men who are finding new friends and interests and to their families

⁶⁸ Like Toc H and LWH, YMCA and YWCA had branches which acted independently to one another and did not have a national approach to care for the disabled.

⁶⁹ CBRL: Toc H: 1956 Festival Booklet, p.8.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p.9.

as it naturally diverts their thoughts and interests from their sometimes very sad condition.⁷¹

This suggests that YWCA did not care for the disabled man in isolation and reiterates the importance of friendship for rehabilitating ex-servicemen. Based on gender and not profession, as these 'honorary' women were not medically trained nurses, this also suggests that the presence of a woman was a form of care to a disabled ex-serviceman.⁷²

The principal work of the YWCA Nottingham branch was 'to visit the men in their homes, to contact them and their families and so help remove any troubles or difficulties and try and give them fresh hope and courage to face life again'.⁷³ This was reported in YWCA's November 1922 committee notes and is the last mention of such care. By the next report, Mrs Hemmingway was running the Nottingham Branch and she did not continue the work with disabled veterans started by Mrs Birkin. This highlights the individualist nature of policies within a large charity. Each branch helped those who they perceived most in need in their local community, and as Mrs Birkin's case implies, the leader of an individual branch decided this need rather than a collective institutional strategy. Disabled veterans were not considered a priority for many of the women in charge of regional branches of the YWCA and LWH. The decision was influenced by social circumstances and not gender, as the emphasis on care for veterans also varied in regional branches of Toc H.⁷⁴ The reference to the family of ex-servicemen by

⁷¹ CBRL: YMCA Archive, G9. National Women's Auxiliary Minutes of Meetings, July 1918-December 1924.

⁷² See Chapter One, 'Handicap Policy' for the Toc H attitude towards mentally disabled ex-servicemen. There was a widely accepted view that the rehabilitation of wounded men could be sped up with the help of young women, particularly 'attractive ones'. Joanna Bourke, 'Love and Limblessness', p.8.

⁷³ CBRL: YMCA Archive, G9. National Women's Auxiliary Minutes of Meetings, July 1918-December 1924.

⁷⁴ Chapter One, pp.77-82.

the YWCA is important. It emphasises LWH's lack of focus on the wives and relatives of ex-servicemen. Disabled veterans gave their wives a 'common interest', an interest shared with women dedicating their time to helping the husbands of these women.⁷⁵

Unlike the YWCA, for the LWH, supporting people with a mental illness stayed a concern throughout the interwar period. LWH was seemingly more willing to help people with mental conditions than Toc H. Although the sources lack detail, LWH members visited hospitals where 'young nervous mothers had recently suffered from a breakdown' to persuade them to join in the fellowship of a Branch.⁷⁶ A 1938 committee report also stated that, 'a number of persons suffering breakdowns have been helped by regular LWH hospital visits. These hospital visits lead on to visits to other patients without relatives or friends, and, throughout the country a member can be called upon to visit a local hospital if needed'.⁷⁷ Although the sources do not suggest why, those helped by LWH with a mental condition specifically, appeared to be civilian women in a hospital, yet the YWCA chose to help mentally disabled ex-servicemen at home, as suggested by the Nottingham branch.

3) Care Settings

As an analysis of care practices highlights, LWH primarily cared for the disabled and disabled veterans in institutions and not homes. The YWCA comparatively focused on home-based care for disabled ex-servicemen who had been in hospital for prolonged periods. The different care spaces reflect the different

⁷⁵ Martin Purdy, p.152.

⁷⁶ CBRL: WA3, Toc H Women's Association Annual Reports.

⁷⁷ CBRL: The Eleventh Festival of the Toc H Women's Association, p.20.

experiences and professions of the founding women. The service women involved in creating Toc H and LWH were medical professionals who cared for the war injured in hospital and never within the patients' homes during or immediately after the war.⁷⁸ The founders of the YWCA were Christian charity workers interested in the welfare of their community: they were not medical professionals.⁷⁹

The different care settings also reveal two different answers to what society thought the role of a Christian woman should be in interwar Britain. The 'domestic space' favoured by YWCA reflects the belief shared by many Anglican women (and men) that their 'duty was first found in the family' as instructed by God.⁸⁰ However, as Frank Prochaska argues, Christian concepts of duty and service offered legitimacy to the application of feminine skills beyond the home and the encouragement of public work.⁸¹ Macfie's writings suggest that LWH bolsters Prochaska's conclusion as many women joined the charity to participate in religious 'service' with no previous 'professional experience' or a family of their own and learnt to be charity workers outside of their home environment.⁸²

⁷⁸ CBRL: Toc H, section four, WA3: Women's Staff Committee Minute Book.

⁷⁹ In 1855, Emma Roberts in Barnet and Mary Kinnaird in London started two organisations named YWCA. They joined forces in 1877. 'Women who joined Roberts undertook district workhouse and prison visiting among other social work activities', and Kinnaird established a home for nurses returning from the Crimean War. Kinnaird was driven more by social activism than Roberts. Angela Woollacott, 'From Moral to Professional Authority: Secularism, Social Work, and Middle-Class Women's Self-Construction in World War I Britain', *Journal of Women's History*, 10 (2) (1998), 85-111, pp.93-94

⁸⁰ Penelope Holland, 'Two Views of the Convent Question', *MacMillan's Magazine*, 19 (1869), 536-537, p.537. For more information see: Carmen Mangion, 'Women, Religious Ministry and Female Institution-Building', in *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp.82-103.

⁸¹ Frank Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p.12.

⁸² Alison Macfie, *Tower Hill*, p.40.

Stephen Walker turns to Octavia Hill's work to offer a case study which supports Prochaska's point. Hill helped fund the Charity Organisation Society and was actively involved in housing charities and projects within London until her death in 1912. Her primary role was in accounting, despite the exclusion of women from professional accountancy. Her operations were an 'extension of domesticity and were constrained by the limits of the female influence', despite her charity work projecting her into the public sphere.⁸³ Hill believed the 'internalisation of the high ideal of home duty and the exercise of women's managerial and compassionate functions within it' gave her the best preparation for her charity work.⁸⁴ This ideal of the home, as an expression of family unity and a woman's place underpinned YMCA thought. It also explains why the organisation felt the home offered the best place to care for the disabled. This is evident from the first YWCA committee meeting in 1918, when Major Cyril Bavin of the YMCA's International Hospitality League (an initiative to bring soldiers from across the empire together) appealed for help in the following ways: 'ladies to help in the enquiry bureaux in London, ladies who would offer hospitality to men in their homes and offers of communal drawing rooms where ex-servicemen could meet the girls'.⁸⁵ Bavin believed women could help with the rehabilitation of men when they returned 'home' simply because of their gender.

⁸³ Jane Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (London, Edward Elgar, 1991), pp.31-33; p.70; Ann Summers, 'A Home from Home: Women's Philanthropic Work in the Nineteenth Century', in *Fit Work for Women*, ed. by Sandra Burman (London: Croom Helm, 1979) pp.33-63, p.39; pp.56-57; Stephen Walker, 'Philanthropic Women and Accounting. Octavia Hill and the Exercise of "Quiet Power and sympathy"', *Accounting, Business & Financial History*, 16 (2006), 163-194, p.185.

⁸⁴ Emily Maurice, *Octavia Hill. Early Ideals* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1928) pp.225-226; Stephen Walker, p.87.

⁸⁵ CBRL: YMCA Women's National Auxiliary, G9: minutes of quarterly, biannual, annual minutes, July 1918- December 1924, December 1918.

Susan Hartmann has analysed the gendered meanings of Bavin's inference:

women were told to use the full repertory of traditional female strategies (mothering, crying, sexual playfulness) for manipulating men to make the veteran want to reclaim his dominance in the home. Women were alerted to expect competition from the strong emotional claims of male bonds formed in the army. Women had to act determinedly, if not diplomatically, to break these bonds.⁸⁶

A woman's experience, as well as her religious beliefs, influenced how she approached helping disabled ex-servicemen. For the YWCA too, the way women interpreted their duty of care, based on Christian teachings, influenced home-based care for the disabled. Yet, LWH widely interpreted the 'home' for disabled ex-servicemen as a hospital rather than a domestic setting, as the hospital was the main space for LWH care for disabled veterans. By preferring to care for men in hospital, LWH members were not expected to help a disabled veteran 'reclaim his dominance in the home', in the same way YMCA members were. The seemingly patriarchal nature of households was not something LWH felt it was its place to restore.⁸⁷

Historian Dorice Williams agrees with Taylor and Major Bavin's understanding of a 'charitable woman' in that, for many women, charity work was the natural extension of their domestic sphere: 'the first step out of the house'.⁸⁸ The link between charity and domestic duty provides another explanation why LWH chose to care for men in a hospital setting: LWH's founders wanted a separation between home and charity work. Creating this distinction, which could

⁸⁶ David A. Gerber, 'Heroes and Misfits: The Troubled Social Reintegration of Disabled Veterans in The Best Years of Our Lives', *American Quarterly*, 46 (1994), 545-574.

⁸⁷ LWH released a report in 1938 detailing its hospital work to 'handicaps'. CBRL: WA3: Toc H Women's Association Annual Report 1963. For more on women, war, and patriarchy, see Jennifer Turpin, *Many Faces: Women Confronting War. The Women and War Reader* (New York City: New York University Press, 1998), pp.3-18.

⁸⁸ Dorice Williams Elliott, p.6.

be interpreted as LWH wanting the professionalisation of charity work for women, did not seem as important to the YWCA, which chose to undertake many of their caring duties within a home setting. Williams, however, questions why charity formed a natural extension of home care, arguing that the Judeo-Christian tradition taught that the relief of the poor was a religious duty which might be fulfilled through almsgiving rather than direct personal action. Why then, she asks, 'did so many women see direct involvement rather than monetary donations as such an important duty?'⁸⁹ LWH was an extension of this duty – few men or women donated to the charity without active involvement in the organisation because of its structure based on 'acts of service' (which was not always the case for religious charities; see Chapter Three).⁹⁰

Mumm suggests the answer to Williams' question lies in the concept of caretaking: 'women's natural care-taking, pity and compassion would protect them from any moral or social contamination they confronted in the gritty realities of their work'.⁹¹ Yet, 'for a large number of women charity work was an expression of a profound religious conviction which can be explained only in "mystical terms" as a calling. For such women, work represented a spiritual right or rite'.⁹² The division between home and hospital and the divergence in care for disabled veterans in LWH and YWCA emphasises and extends the dilemma which 'preoccupied many nineteenth-century Anglicans over whether the balance of Christian duties ought to lie more within or without the family'.⁹³ By analysing

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ This relates back to Toc H understandings of 'agape' and the New Testament. Chapter One, pp.56-57. Also, see Chapter Three, pp.156-160.

⁹¹ Susan Mumm, 'Women and Philanthropic Cultures' in Sue Morgan and Jacqueline de Vries ed *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp.54-71, p.61.

⁹² Linda Mahood, *Feminism and Voluntary Action*, p.6.

⁹³ The divide was highlighted by the Anglican evangelical minister William Goode in a memoir of his father: Doreen Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture* (London, Croom

LWH care for the disabled and poor women (as examined below) suggests that the war did not provide an answer and that this balance remained a dilemma into the late twentieth century.

LWH Mission

Alison Fell argues that women's veteran organisations after the war 'functioned primarily as social networks, as mutually supportive communities to and through which women from different social backgrounds were able to articulate a common identity predicated on their war service'.⁹⁴ This insight proves true of LWH work and, particularly its activities at York House, the 'mutual service centre' LWH opened in 1933 to care for poor women. Yet, for LWH, the common identity came from religious belief and not war service. Many women who joined LWH had no war experience and were not trained nurses. The ways in which LWH supported the nursing profession in the 1930s highlights that mission work for LWH included an interest in the social growth of women and girls.⁹⁵ The work of LWH at York House shows that such an interest extended beyond the medical profession.

After 1924, LWH set up 'homely hostels' for poor and widowed women. Inside, 'there were as few rules as possible, where LWH members worked out

Helm, 1984), p.97; Eve Colpus, 'Preaching Religion, Family and Memory in Nineteenth-Century England', *Gender & History*, 22 (1) (2010), 38-54.

⁹⁴ Alison Fell, p.93.

⁹⁵ LWH did not have youth groups for girls in the same way that Toc H did for boys, but in February 1926, LWH became an Associated Society to the Girl Guide Movement. LWH's work with the Guides provided LWH with an opportunity to fulfil Toc H's 'sheep-dog' work. LWH and Girl Guides became 'cultural communities with the potential to unite people across social boundaries', including disability. For more on this, see: Robert Baden-Powell, *Girl Guiding: A Handbook for Brownies, Guides, Rangers, and Guiders* (London: Arthur Pearson, 1931), p. 51; Kristine Alexander, 'The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism during the 1920s and 1930s', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 2 (1) (2009), 37-63; and CBRL: Bound Volumes of 'The Log' 1926-1934, 1929: Girl Guiding booklet, p.3.

Toc H ideals as a team; a place where women could live together as friends in an often-unfriendly world'.⁹⁶ This was the inspiration for York House which encouraged personal development of the poorest women in society in and around Felling. Felling, in County Durham, was chosen as it 'was a depressed industrial area with a lack of leadership, money and a place where one in four was unemployed' – LWH did not have a religious calling to this area.⁹⁷ This provides an example of what Samantha Clements has termed 'welfare feminism', where women's charities were concerned with 'bettering the community at large instead of tackling "explicitly feminist" issues which confronted ideas of inequality, male privilege, and working to achieve equal rights and economic opportunities for women'.⁹⁸

By 1935, LWH membership in Durham had reached 130. This was eighty-five per cent of the total attending York House each week. LWH ran weekly classes in cookery, dressmaking, embroidery crafts, renovations, and millinery.⁹⁹ By providing poor women with new skills to help improve their social and economic prospects, LWH was 'rehabilitating' poor women the same way Toc H did for disabled veterans. Non-LWH members could attend York House and any of the classes it provided for free. This was significant for the growth of the House as many of the women who attended would not have been able to afford the annual LWH membership fee which, like Toc H, was a half-crown.

⁹⁶ Alison Macfie, *Curious History*, p.46.

⁹⁷ CBRL: *Felling on Tyne: A New Venture* (London: Toc H Women's Association Press, 1938), p.6.

⁹⁸ Samantha Clements, 'Feminism, Citizenship, and Social Activity: The Role and Importance of Local Women's Organisations, Nottingham 1918-1969' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Nottingham, 2008), pp.1-5.

⁹⁹ CBRL: *The Log*, 1939.

York House and the efforts of LWH to help the poor and the disabled, further highlights a theme that dominated women's organised philanthropy in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain. As Susan Mumm notes, 'while the bulk of philanthropic work was concerned with the immediate material needs of its clientele, it was motivated by its religious belief and teaching'.¹⁰⁰ Most of the charities women were involved in before the Second World War were religiously orientated, but 'few were actively conversionist in purpose, with a focus on the amelioration of the conditions of the poor been far more common'.¹⁰¹ LWH did not expect the women at York House to share their Anglican faith because it was not a pre-requisite for their help (as it was for joining LWH), and Toc H did not have an equivalent of York House: it did not have any specific schemes to help poor men in local communities. With the aim of improving social conditions for women, faith and identity as a female charity worker created a hierarchy in York House: the Christian LWH women were positioned above the 'poor often non-Christian women' they were trying to help. A commitment to the specific Christian ideology of Toc H and money fuelled this division of women within a women's organisation.

As Frank Prochaska summarised: 'philanthropy was a test of respectability and one had to be far down the social ladder, on poor relief or a recipient of charity, to be altogether free from social obligation'.¹⁰² As a case study, York House suggests that LWH wanted to advance the skills and opportunities for local women to improve the social position and opportunities of these women, and not to convert those they helped to the Anglican faith. It is plausible that social work motivated LWH members because of this idea of social obligation, which in turn

¹⁰⁰ Susan Mumm, p.54.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Frank Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain*, p.21.

strengthened their bond with Christ because of the Christian ideology placed on LWH members through the constitution, rather than a belief that they carried out social work because God expected them to do so. It is also not clear whether Prochaska meant men, women, or both in his argument about respectability and a lack of social obligation if a person was relying on charity. This is important because, in their efforts to help disabled ex-servicemen, Toc H and LWH wanted veterans to help themselves and their families. Neither charity taught that war disability meant an individual was free from any social obligation to others.

Accordingly, the LWH case further supports Prochaska's argument that women's charities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were socially motivated and driven by religious beliefs, but it extends his argument past the First World War.¹⁰³ Gender is important in his analysis because the male Toc H charity was motivated by the desire to 'Christianise society' above any desire to help social causes, such as the rehabilitation of disabled veterans. LWH was motivated more by social causes than conversion, but the focus of their cause was disabled and poor women and not male veterans. Hence, Prochaska's categories appear the other way around for Toc H. By combining mission and method, an analysis of LWH highlights the ambiguities in arguments suggesting that women's social work had to be religiously motivated. Therefore, gendering the care that disabled ex-servicemen received by Toc H and LWH emphasises the importance of gender in Prochaska's suggestions about religion, society, and charitable motivation.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

LWH and the Toc H Family

The York House example – and the care initiatives towards the disabled in particular – emphasise how gender perceptions have influenced ideas surrounding domesticity and care in LWH. Toc H and LWH were the figurative homes for their members. In Toc H and LWH literature from the 1920s, ‘members’ was often substituted with ‘family’. These charities thus acted as kin substitutes and the leaders assumed social parental roles, with Clayton often referred to as the ‘father’ of Toc H.¹⁰⁴ This is despite the separation of men and women in LWH and Toc H contradicting a Christian definition of family, in which a man and woman made a complete literal home unit.

While metaphorical kinship proved central to the growth of Toc H from its formation in 1917, blood-kinship was central to its creation. Not only was Clayton and Talbot’s closeness to LWH and desire for gender equality influenced by their close relationship with their own Christian mothers, whose commitment to faith and work influenced the development of Toc H, but family was the reason behind Toc H’s existence.¹⁰⁵ Neville Talbot wanted to remember his brother Gilbert who died in battle in 1915, hence the name ‘Talbot House’. Clayton never married and neither did Macfie or Sister Luard.¹⁰⁶ Instead, they committed to fictive kinship

¹⁰⁴ Julian Pitt-Rivers, ‘The Kith and the Kin’, in *The Character of Kinship*, ed. by J. Goody (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp.89-105. This distinguishes between blood kinship, fictive kinship, and figurative kinship. For more on the functional relationship between physical kinship and social kinship roles, see Ernest Gellner, ‘The Concept of Kinship: With Special Reference to Mr. Needham’s Descent Systems and Ideal Language’, *Philosophy of Science*, 27 (2) (1960), 187-204.

¹⁰⁵ Barclay Baron, *Letters from Flanders. Some War-time Letters of the Rev. Phillip B. Clayton, to his Mother* (London: Toc H Press, 1932); Marolyn Burgess, p.36. For more information on the relationship between mothers, sons and the Great War, see Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

¹⁰⁶ John Mills. ‘Sister Kate Luard, Green Howard Museum.’ <<https://greenhowards.org.uk/announcement/sister-kate-luard/>> [Accessed: 12 March 2019].

(‘adoption of non-relatives into kin like relationships’) through their religious charity work.¹⁰⁷ Clayton recognised the importance of fictive kin during the war as he wanted the ‘brotherhood of the trenches’, by which he meant the close bonds formed between men during the war, to continue in civilian life through the work of Toc H. In acknowledgment of kin (in various forms) Talbot and Clayton wanted to create a ‘living memorial’ to those who died in conflict.

Secular charities also formed an important network of support for kin of the post-war dead, argues Marina Larsson, while examining the deaths of Australian soldiers after the armistice: ‘Through the provision of practical, emotional, and financial help, charities became “fictive kin” who responded to families in their moment of need’.¹⁰⁸ It was not necessarily the religious aspect of religious charity work during or after the war that forged these familial relations between charities, charity workers, and those they helped. In these examples, it was the shared experiences of suffering. Jay Winter discusses this idea in relation to the Red Cross. He argues that the meaning of ‘adoptive kinship’ as ‘Christian charity’ is clear in the work of groups and individuals in helping those whose lives were affected by the war: ‘the disabled, widowed, and orphaned’. Winter argues that although what could be done for these people was ‘limited’, this should not ‘obscure the humanity of their actions’.¹⁰⁹ Toc H and LWH were not charities set up with the main aim of helping disabled veterans, limiting the help they were able to give, but this does not mean that their contribution was not significant to the

¹⁰⁷ Charles A. Isben and Patricia Klobus, ‘Fictive Kin Term Use and Social Relationships: Alternative Interpretations’, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 34 (4) (1972), 615-620, p.615.

¹⁰⁸ Marina Larsson, ‘A Disenfranchised Grief: Post-war Death and Memorialisation in Australia after the First World War’, *Australian Historical Studies*, 40 (1) (2009), 79-95, p.86.

¹⁰⁹ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.44.

men and their families or that they were not appreciated by other groups in society.

Developing this family analogy, as Anglican chaplains, Talbot and Clayton further believed themselves to be 'children' of God, a position shared by Christians within the Toc H movement throughout the interwar period. Through Toc H, members 'came as Children to our Father'.¹¹⁰ This paternalistic imagery is significant: Clayton was the 'founding father' or the 'father of Toc H', in many publications. Consequentially, he took on this role to many younger Toc H members as God 'the Holy Father' did to him. John Bowlby has suggested that children (note Clayton and Macfie's focus on the younger generation) develop attachments with their parents and view God through their parental figures, perceiving God to be like their parental figures.¹¹¹ As servicemen and servicewomen were separated from their parents during the war, Clayton became the 'substitute or compensatory attachment' at Talbot House.¹¹² To many at Talbot House and the hundreds of young men and women he encouraged to join Toc H and LWH in later decades, Clayton was a symbolic father to them. Macfie was never known as the 'Mother' of LWH as Clayton was the 'Father' of Toc H. Regardless of gender, these examples show how veterans often relied on their 'adoptive kin' and 'fictive kin' for 'a hand on the road to recovery'.¹¹³ This could

¹¹⁰ CBRL: Toc H, section five, PC6, book three. Press Cuttings 1932-1935 December 1932, *Enfield Gazette*: 'Religion As An Extra'.

¹¹¹ John Bowlby, *Attachment. Vol. 1.* (London: Random House, 1997); Jane Dickie et al. 'Mother, Father, and Self: Sources of Young Adults' God concepts', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 45 (1) (2006), 57-71, p.57; Berit Hagekull and Pehr Granqvist, 'Religiousness and Perceived Childhood Attachment: Profiling Socialized Correspondence and Emotional Compensation', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 38 (2) (1999), 254-273.

¹¹² Pehr Granqvist, 'Religiousness and Perceived Childhood Attachment: On the Question of Compensation or Correspondence', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 37 (2) (1998), 350-367; Pehr Granqvist, Mario Mikulincer and Phillip R. Shaver, 'Religion as Attachment: Normative Processes and Individual Differences', *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 14 (1) (2010), 49-59.

¹¹³ Jay Winter, p.44.

be an individual and/or a charity. Winter argues that notions of kin in charities that formed during the war highlight the 'strength of the bonds forged among disabled and wounded soldiers'.¹¹⁴ While this was undoubtedly the case for many helped by Toc H and LWH, Toc H emphasises that these strong bonds existed amongst able-bodied soldiers because of their war experience and their charity work in their efforts to help their wounded 'brothers' and in their efforts to remember those who died. This is mirrored through LWH's efforts to develop the nursing profession in interwar Britain. God as 'Kin' was also central to both organisations as they were first and foremost 'Christian families'.

'The Christian family' concept complicated notions of gender in both charities. In November 1918 (before the formation of LWH), Clayton wrote a letter in the *Toc H Journal* entitled, 'The Whole Family'. He pronounced that because God guided the nursing sisters to Talbot House in Poperinghe he would never accept the women as a separate organisation. He argued that 'the New Testament is distinguished by the admission and co-operation of women. To build Toc H solely as a society for men would put the clock back hopelessly'.¹¹⁵ He did not think God intended for society to go backwards by restricting opportunities for women, and while he acknowledged a women's organisation would be easier, 'ease is no indication of His will'.¹¹⁶ He ended the letter by saying: 'if a men's society is built, we must finally and forever drop the word "family" and cease to regard Toc H as anything more than an efficient and desirable organisation for work among men'.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p.45.

¹¹⁵ CBRL: Toc H, section four, Bound Volumes of '*The Log*' 1926-1934, Volume 1928.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

Many women shared Clayton's sentiments almost a decade later, as, in November 1927, *The Log* republished his letter. Not all women, such as Macfie and LWH general secretary (1925-31) Edna Leonard wanted separate organisations, believing they should work with men as the New Testament suggested. Some women of the same faith, such as LWH committee members Mary Rushworth and Dorothy Lemon, authored articles in *The Log* pushing for LWH to be its own organisation with its own schemes, such as York House. This highlights how women's domestic and progressive tendencies did not always align, and despite the 'independent' status of LWH, LWH never united over the decision to split from Toc H. Women who agreed with Clayton were less likely to resist or challenge Toc H initiatives for LWH – such as the dictation of membership – than women who craved independence from male social structures. Women within the same LWH family interpreted their religious duty as women, and their relationship to men, differently. 'Family' remained in official literature despite the division of men and women in separate charities.

For three main reasons, Clayton's letter is significant. First, it came from a male author writing to a female audience and was published in a women's magazine. A review of every edition of *The Log* between 1927 and 1939 shows that this is not unusual. There is not one edition that does not include an address from a man in a position of authority in Toc H, most notably Clayton, Talbot, and Peter Monie (first honorary general secretary of Toc H from 1925 to 1935).¹¹⁸ Macfie was close to such men and their views, all of whom she worked with in the Toc H CEC, as it was she who oversaw the publication of the journal in her role as the first general secretary. Yet, in a later publication she writes of how

¹¹⁸ Alison Macfie, *Tower Hill People*, p.36.

'she hid in the corner of the room sitting quietly' when she became a member of the Toc H CEC and general secretary of LWH – she did not want either job but on both occasions 'the decision was firmly taken out of my hands'.¹¹⁹ A man deciding the direction of her life and her inability to refuse male leadership represented 'the usual attitude of women in those days and the attitude of most early Toc H members' (men could decide on women's roles and responsibilities).¹²⁰ She did not think it was her place to challenge male decisions regarding her life and her charity.

Second, as LWH included the male voice in official documentation, Toc H could not accuse LWH of being unfavourable to men having more power in their roles in Toc H than women in the sister organisation. *The Log* focuses on organisational issues and the bond between Toc H and LWH rather than on women's issues specifically. Such publications suggest equality, especially as Clayton refused to acknowledge the division. Many LWH members had no need to question their position in the Toc H family, when their leader Clayton did not. Finally, because this letter shows that Toc H had not entirely forgotten women, it suggests that it had not created a break within the 'family of God' by having a separate male and female charity.

Recent years have seen an increase in scholarly attention focused on the relationships between religious life and gendered identity in modern Britain.¹²¹ Historians of women and religion especially have 'interrogated the category of

¹¹⁹ Alison Macfie, *Curious History*, p.21.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.21-22.

¹²¹ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London: Routledge, 2002); Sue Morgan, *Women, Religion and Feminism in Britain 1750–1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Sue Morgan, 'Wild Oats or Acorns? Social Purity, Sexual Politics and the Response of the Late-Victorian Church', *Journal of Religious History*, 31 (2) (2007), 151-168.

agency, arguing secular interpretations of female autonomy have dismissed the complex significance of spirituality within women's activity and subjectivities'.¹²² In LWH, women's family experiences within the organisation differed largely based on religious interpretations. The importance of prayer and Church services to LWH and how these related to care for disabled ex-servicemen and perceptions of 'family' address this 'dismissal'. For example, LWH (unlike Toc H) set aside two 'family' days when they all joined in a fellowship of prayer. Lady Day (25 March) and Michaelmas Day (29 September) grew out of the intercession services held by LWH in chapels. The existence of dedicated LWH 'family' days reveals the importance of unity to the organisation as the LWH committee instigated such ideals. 'Michaelmas day is a humble act of witness before the world of our conception of Toc H as a Christian society and a household dedicated to God's own glory and the good of man', as written in the 1937 edition of *The Log*.¹²³ Women in this example are included in the household of God. The journal is not suggesting that male members of Toc H did not engage in family worship and practice, but women were more frequent and consistent in their efforts in these examples of 'domesticised religion'.

Historians such as Phyllis Mack have highlighted the need 'to take seriously the resonances of religion in blurring women's and men's public and private activity', while some women's historians, who focus less on religion, have 'underlined the importance of family as a critical site for the construction of women's subjectivity'.¹²⁴ Hence, experience (both socially and family

¹²² Phyllis Mack, 'Religion, Feminism and the Problem of Agency: Reflections on Eighteenth-Century Quakerism', in *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, ed. by Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp.434–59.

¹²³ Alison Macfie, *Curious History*, p.18.

¹²⁴ Phyllis Mack, 'Religion, Feminism and the Problem of Agency', pp.434-459; Eve Colpus, 'Preaching Religion', pp.39-40.

background) influenced the activities of many men and women in LWH and Toc H, which in turn influenced perceptions of family. Whether members believed men and women should be together as God intended, or whether they agreed with the separation, believing that family was the one found in their own homes, care for disabled ex-servicemen remained separated across gender lines as Toc H formed a male family and LWH a female family until they merged in 1971.

Conclusion

In 1922 Toc H split into two: the male Toc H group and the female LWH. First World War nurse Alison Macfie led LWH throughout the interwar years. Her faith and, to a lesser extent, her profession, provided the driving forces behind the charity's actions and principles. Its religious and gendered origins, acts of service, and construction of 'family' influenced how LWH as a female charity approached care for ex-servicemen. An analysis of this care suggests that Frank Prochaska's conclusion, that under-researched women's charities of the nineteenth and early twentieth century had a social motivation and that their workers were driven by religious beliefs, can be extended to include under-researched Anglican charities in the interwar period.¹²⁵

Looking at women's religious philanthropy in comparison to men's expands understandings of how the war changed women's philanthropic work. The war experience of the founding members helps to explain why LWH mainly focused its care for disabled ex-servicemen in a hospital setting and introduced initiatives to support nurses, while other religious women's groups founded by civilian

¹²⁵ Frank Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980).

women which did not have origins in the Great War, such as the YWCA, chose instead to focus its efforts towards disabled veterans when they returned home from the hospital. Thus, an analysis of care settings, as well as types of care and, who administered the care to veterans, shows that war experience and religion had a role to play in the separation of medical and domestic charitable care after 1918.

As evaluated, the domestic home was traditionally a woman's space and women were perceived to be the most nurturing. However, it was Toc H men who were expected to care for disabled veterans in the community and not women. LWH did not dictate who the recipients of its care should be, but for Toc H, the recipients were supposed to be men. Thus, ideas surrounding domesticity, family, and care in LWH were influenced by, and contradicted beliefs of, gendered roles in twentieth-century Britain. As Samantha Clements argues in her study of local women's organisations in interwar Nottingham, historians need to be cautious when looking to reclaim women's organisations for feminism. She uses Andrews' work on the WI charity to make her case, observing that Andrews argues any work done outside of the domestic sphere was for feminist causes. An analysis of LWH, particularly its hospital work and social service centre, highlights that was not the case.¹²⁶

Instead of challenging male control, a desire to help the disabled and poor alongside a desire to improve the social conditions for women makes LWH appear 'non-radical' in Karen Offen's analysis of interwar women's organisations.¹²⁷ Mumm convincingly argues that this 'quietness' explains why

¹²⁶ Samantha Clements, p.15.

¹²⁷ Karen Offen, *European Feminisms, 1700-1950: A Political History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), p.20.

historians have not studied larger, more socially conservative women's groups, such as LWH. A need to overcome the male control imposed upon them by the patriarchal structure of Toc H and British society more generally was not a focus for LWH's founders. Many women, including Macfie, did not want to separate from the men in Toc H because of a belief that God would have wanted the men and women side by side. Clayton, the only man ever to be a member of LWH, shared this belief and often quoted from the New Testament to substantiate his reasoning. Clayton and Macfie often referred to LWH as 'The Toc H League of Women Helpers'. The women appear as part of the male group rather than a separate organisation with their own identity. LWH did not focus on advocating for women's rights and in some cases reinforced unequal gender relationships, particularly in terms of its membership policies. However, the split forced women to stand out on their own instead of making women subservient to men in a mix-gendered Toc H group. In this way, the split provided an advantage to the wider recognition of women in voluntary organisations in interwar British society, regardless of the level of male control.

Although padre Knock called the separation of men and women into separate charities 'sub-Christian', this view was a minority in Toc H and LWH. Both groups had the same level of devotion to Christ, which informed their judgements and acts of service, including for the disabled. They followed the same Christian rules and principles as enshrined in their constitutions, and by creating LWH and maintaining control over it, Toc H encompassed women in their aims.¹²⁸ However, male control over LWH was not always disadvantageous to the women's cause. LWH was able to forge a new identity as a women's

¹²⁸ Samantha Clements, p.15.

organisation, and Toc H had a close connection with the monarchy. H.R.H Prince Edward V was Patron, which meant that H.R.H Duchess of York was LWH's first Patroness; this brought great publicity, sponsorship, and women into the organisation.¹²⁹

The example of LWH reinforces Krista Cowman's argument that the 'history of the women's movement must include groups not easily identified as feminist'.¹³⁰ If this was the only approach used then the histories of women's religious charities, charities which focused on helping men (such as disabled ex-servicemen), or charities which helped the disabled or children more broadly would be missed. The social service activities of women's organisations could become obscured in histories suggesting that the purpose of women's organisations and charities was to improve social conditions for women. LWH demonstrates how a religious and non-party political organisation contributed to the development of women's welfare and care for disabled ex-servicemen in twentieth-century Britain.¹³¹ Combined with an analysis of Toc H, LWH is a useful case study for historians researching gendered and religious care for the disabled because of the gendered split across the organisations, and as a way of showing the growth of religious charities in Britain after 1918. NSSU, as examined in the next chapter, provides another example of how Anglicanism remained important to charitable structures and practices of care for the disabled in interwar Britain.

¹²⁹ CBRL: Toc H, section four, Toc H Incorporated, Royal Charter and Byelaws, Dated 14 December 1922, reamended to 31 January 1929, p.4.

¹³⁰ Krista Cowman, p.158.

¹³¹ Ibid.

Chapter Three: Sunday School Charities and Disabled Ex-Servicemen of the Great War

Introduction

By 1914 there were over seven million Sunday school teachers in Britain. These teachers had a significant impact on the British educational system, and they helped to expose denominational differences within society. After 1918, denominational identity was less of a concern for the schools. The focus had shifted from general education, such as reading and writing, to religious education. This chapter analyses the National Christian Education Committee and its weekly publication for Sunday school teachers, *The Sunday School Chronicle* to assess the impact of this shift on the National Sunday School Union (NSSU). It does this by looking at the ways in which Sunday schools engaged with the disabled. The war did not change NSSU's implicit reaction to care for the disabled: before and after the war care for the disabled was not a primary concern. However, NSSU used religious education to help rehabilitate its former pupils and teachers disabled by war. This is significant because the historiography has tended to focus on economic or medical aid that charities provided, rather than exploring education as a category to frame rehabilitation analyses around disabled veterans. The interwar focus of this chapter is also significant as research on the significance of Sunday schools to British society after 1914 is sparse, despite Sunday schools remaining important cultural and educational centres after 1918.¹

¹ There are a vast number of studies concerning such schools during the Victorian period. Few of these – with Thomas Laqueur's *Religion and Respectability* the main exception – expand their years of study into the twentieth century. Those which do,

This chapter first outlines the role of the schools in Victorian and Edwardian Britain to establish the context in which wartime Sunday schools operated. To explore the changing role of the schools during this time, the chapter examines the history of British Sunday schools through their relationship with denomination, masculinity, religion, and locality. These themes influenced how NSSU approached care for disabled veterans. Next, the chapter assesses the impact of the war on Sunday schools, including the voluntarism of members and their fundraising efforts. An examination of Sunday schools before and during the war helps to illuminate the war as a reason for the shifting of the role of the Sunday school. Thereafter, the chapter focuses on NSSU's care practices for disabled ex-servicemen during and after the war. The chapter shows that, in interwar Britain, NSSU focused more on disabled children than it did on disabled ex-servicemen, suggesting that charities did not always 'forget' disabled civilians in favour of veterans. NSSU helped disabled children in Britain and abroad as part of its missionary work. Although the reactions of the charity to the disabled were implicit, the analysis develops the argument which developed across Chapters One and Two, whereby the importance of religion to religious charitable care did not waiver over time, even if the emphasis on war veterans did.

There were many Anglican Sunday schools in Britain that interacted with NSSU, but which were not NSSU members. The rehabilitative efforts of these schools for disabled veterans are missing from the national record. Regional case studies help to fill this gap. The final section of the chapter analyses the Leeds Parish Church, which was home to the non-denominational A Division ('AD') adult

do not focus on charitable activity. Research focusing on the NSSU in the interwar period is sparse. Alan Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, p.239; Thomas, W. Laqueur, 'Religion and Respectability: The English Sunday School and the Formation of a Respectable Working Class' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, 1977).

education group. National NSSU meetings were held in Leeds, and, second only to Manchester, the city had the most pupils attending Sunday schools in the North from the mid-eighteenth to the early twentieth century.² Because 'AD' did not accept women, it is an interesting case study to explore the impact of Christian education and the family, a theme which is explored in relation to disabled ex-servicemen throughout this thesis.

Sunday schools aided charities and charitable causes across all denominations prior to 1914 – the war acted as a catalyst for them becoming charitable institutions.³ Like NSSU, 'AD' increased its charitable activities during and after the war, but it remained as committed to religious education after the war as it had been before 1914. Examining 'AD' allows for an analysis of the 'embedding of religious identities within other cultural formations than places of worship', and, as David Harvey argues, allows historians to see how these were re-produced through everyday practices, such as education or prayer.⁴ This develops the argument of Sarah Williams and Callum Brown: the popularity and significance of religion after the war should be looked at outside of Church attendance figures.⁵ Although an examination of Sunday schools at a national level (NSSU) achieves Harvey's idea, by examining a specific school in more depth, the chapter examines Sunday school activities as 'key identity-framing vehicles in the construction of religious place based identities' and re-iterates the idea seen in previous chapters of the importance of 'individual initiative' to charitable activity for the disabled.⁶

² Asa Briggs, p.175.

³ Caitriona McCartney, p.4.

⁴ David Harvey, 'Parading the Cornish Subject: Methodist Sunday Schools in West Cornwall, c.1830–1930', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 33 (1) (2007), 24-44, p.25.

⁵ Sarah Williams, p.165; Callum Brown, p.187.

⁶ David Harvey, pp.25-26.

This research adds depth and nuance to what is already known about the history of British Sunday schools with its focus on welfare. Specifically, in interwar Britain, scholars have not studied in any depth the values and motives of Sunday school teachers, adults who attended their classes, and the reasons why families sent their children to receive a religious education specifically at a Sunday school.⁷ These factors altered in times of war and peace. What remained constant was the commitment to make religious education accessible, as religious knowledge across all denominations was key to internal and social improvement, welfare, and peace.⁸ Religious agents considered religious education key to social progression. Its prominent role in the rehabilitation of disabled veterans shows its importance. Seemingly less important in the decades after the war than prior to it as the role of the school shifted, Sunday schools played a part in this 'improvement' and should be looked at in more detail.⁹

History of the Sunday School in Britain

Contemporary historians often brush over the significance of Sunday schools to society, but earlier generations of historians did not doubt their significance.¹⁰ To Adam Malthus and John Wesley, Sunday schools were 'one of the noblest institutions in Europe and England would have been a hell upon earth' without

⁷ Thomas Laqueur, pp.92-93.

⁸ CBRL: D69, Volume 46-Jan-Dec 1917, *Sunday School Chronicle*.

⁹ David Gerard, *Charities in Britain - Conservatism or Change?* (London: Bedford Square Press, 1983), pp.11-12.

¹⁰ Keith Snell, 'The Sunday-School Movement in England and Wales: Child Labour, Denominational Control and Working-class Culture', *Past & Present*, 164 (1) (1999), 122-168.

them'.¹¹ This is because in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Sunday schools helped overcome class divisions by 'providing financial assistance to the poor, education, and a re-instilling of Christian principles, behaviour and religion in a newly industrialising nation'.¹² These categories are how the success of Sunday schools in Victorian and Edwardian Britain have been measured and remembered by social historians.

By the end of the nineteenth century the numbers of children and adults involved as pupils and teachers in Sunday schools outnumbered those in day schools.¹³ The number of pupils attending Sunday schools in Britain reached approximately 425,000 in 1818.¹⁴ Highlighting an increase in popularity, this figure had reached about 2,600,000 by 1851 and it stood at over 6,000,000 in 1911.¹⁵ As Simon Green points out, most people (including First World War soldiers) would have experienced Sunday schools in childhood.¹⁶ Sunday school growth is an important theme in English educational history and many educational historians, most notably Frank Smith, share Wesley's earlier moral judgement.¹⁷ This is because universal state education grew from the examples and lessons set up by Sunday schools. What was taught differed by denomination. Sunday

¹¹ Keith Snell, p.123; Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (London: Methuen and Company Limited, 1971), pp.108-9; Edwin West, *Education and Industrial Revolution* (London: Batsford, 1975), p.18; Jules Ginswick, *Labour and the Poor in England and Wales, 1849-1851* (London: Frank Cass and Co, 1983), p.67.

¹² Frank Smith, *A History of English Elementary Education, 1760-1902* (London: University of London Press, 1931), pp.60-65; Patrick Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics: The Culture of the Factory in Later Victorian England* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), p.246.

¹³ Frank Smith, p.60; Keith Snell, p.124.

¹⁴ Keith Snell, p.126.

¹⁵ Thomas Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, p.246; George Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p.12.

¹⁶ Simon Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline: Organisation and Experience in Industrial Yorkshire, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) p.172.

¹⁷ For comments on pre-war growth, see W., Pryce, 'Industrialism, Urbanization and the Maintenance of Culture Areas, North-East Wales in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century', *Welsh History Review*, 7 (1) (1974), 307-320.

scholars taught secular subjects such as reading, writing, and spelling alongside biblical interpretations. Prior to the 1870 Education Act, Sunday schools were crucial in creating mass literacy.¹⁸ This explains the vast number of Bibles and hymnbooks published for Sunday teachers and endorsed by NSSU during and after the war.¹⁹

Additionally, Sunday schools were a mechanism of social control: they encouraged 'orderliness, punctuality, sobriety, cleanliness and related virtues governing persona and behaviour'.²⁰ Robert Raikes, the founder of Sunday schools in the early 1780s, envisioned them as 'major social and recreational centres'.²¹ Charity sermons, Whitsun outings, prizes, anniversary festivities and mutual improvement clubs played a central role in many areas.²² Pupils became closely involved in charitable activity and missions through Sunday schools while forming links with other educational establishments and societies. Penny Long describes them as 'first a charity school and second a school dedicated to the religious tutelage of children'.²³ An analysis of NSSU after the war suggests it was the other way around in charitable care for the disabled as religious education was a concern. The change over time between the secular versus the religious element of education practised in Sunday schools is why Malcolm Dick argues that Sunday schools in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were the

¹⁸ Keith Snell, pp.123-129.

¹⁹ The Bible remained central to Sunday schools, even if its influence and prestige had faded elsewhere: James Wilhoit, 'The Bible Goes to Sunday school: An Historical Response to Pluralism', *Religious Education*, 82 (3) (1987), 390-404.

²⁰ Richard Soloway, *Prelates and People*, p.352.

²¹ Frank Smith, *English Elementary Education*, p.48; Keith Snell, p.130.

²² Keith Snell, p.131.

²³ Penny Long Marler and Christopher Kirk Hadaway, 'Back to the Future: Why Sunday School is Key to Denominational Identity and Growth', *Review and Expositor*, 111 (1) (2014), 17-32, p.19.

same in name only.²⁴ Mirroring the development of NSSU, to Dick, the earlier schools were far more significant as an institution in British society as they 'developed education as a whole, compared to the twentieth-century institution which was concerned solely with the religious teaching of children'.²⁵ The place of disabled ex-servicemen within Sunday schools suggests that religious teaching remained a concern but that pupils were not solely children.

Before 1914, besides their impact on British education, Sunday schools were responsible for the 'relative success of denominations and the future of religious adherence as a whole'.²⁶ As Keith Snell explains, if they did not teach their own 'theological and moral tenets their denomination would progressively decline in future decades, leading to a failure of religious faith itself as something real to the population'.²⁷ Relating to questions of secularization, these issues, such as charity sermons, identified by Snell as coalescing in the Sunday school, were of 'huge social, ideological and institutional significance in British history, reinforcing how pivotal education is in the broader transmission of culture, morality and beliefs'.²⁸ Denominational breakdown across Sunday schools and its importance to education is best expressed in a table created by Snell. Each denomination's maximum attendance at a school in a specific geographical location is expressed as a ratio of the denomination's maximum attendance in each parish county in England in the late nineteenth century.²⁹ The greater the ratio the more weight a denomination attached to education via a Sunday

²⁴ For more information on the practice of secular and religious education in Sunday schools, see Linda Parr, 'Sunday school Libraries in Halifax and Huddersfield Before Public Libraries', *Library & Information History*, 25 (1) (2009), 50-67.

²⁵ Malcolm Dick, p.28.

²⁶ Keith Snell, p.138.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., p.150.

school.³⁰ While Figure 3.1 does not consider the varying levels of religious indifference on a county level, it indicates the importance of Sunday school education across different regions compared to each denomination's religious strength:

	Church of England		Independents		Total Baptists		Wesleyan Methodists		Primitive Methodists		Welsh Calvinistic Methodists	
	n.*		n.		n.		n.		n.		n.	
Anglesey	0.22	47	0.48	29	0.37	19	0.49	18	—	—	0.48	48
Beds.	0.46	112	0.37	18	0.19	42	0.31	68	0.14	17	—	—
Caerns.	0.23	39	0.39	29	0.46	22	0.39	26	—	—	0.49	48
Cambs.	0.32	135	0.24	28	0.22	50	0.30	45	0.18	33	—	—
Cards.	0.37	80	0.31	46	0.33	33	0.45	5	—	—	0.43	45
Derby.	0.58	101	0.58	22	0.47	24	0.54	73	0.35	49	0.00	1
Dorset	0.31	248	0.28	49	0.27	13	0.21	80	0.08	34	—	—
Lancs.	0.46	72	0.51	43	0.55	28	0.59	55	0.66	31	0.45	5
Leics.	0.45	210	0.38	38	0.36	65	0.29	100	0.23	46	—	—
Mon.	0.28	95	0.41	26	0.23	36	0.24	30	0.38	13	0.36	16
Northd.	0.27	82	0.30	13	0.28	11	0.16	9	0.32	25	—	—
Rutland	0.37	52	0.76	5	0.24	10	0.21	18	0.32	1	—	—
Suffolk	0.29	423	0.24	76	0.25	74	0.21	64	0.13	55	—	—
Sussex	0.22	253	0.24	54	0.14	41	0.32	51	0.69	3	—	—
Yorks.	0.35	152	0.26	22	0.31	10	0.20	129	0.10	86	—	—
E. Riding												
Total	0.37	2101	0.37	498	0.30	478	0.38	771	0.30	393	0.46	163

*n. = number of parishes in which the denomination was present and had attendances greater than zero.¹⁰²

Figure 3.1: Denomination and Education Table by Keith Snell ³¹

Figure 3.1 uses indices of attendance to measure Sunday school success. This research suggests that looking at the charitable activity of Sunday schools (by using NSSU as a platform) is a measure of the success Snell describes. While many factors influenced denominational progress, the effectiveness of Sunday schools was a large part of this process.³² As shown, religious and secular education provided by Sunday schools across all denominations was crucial to British religious strength in the years preceding the war.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., p.157.

³² Ibid., p.165; Wesleyan Methodists referred to their Sunday School 'as the nursery of the church': Bruce Crofts, *At Satan's Throne: The Story of Methodism in Bath over 250 Years* (Bristol: White Tree Books, 1990), p.123.

Figure 3.1 also highlights the significance of Sunday schools to the established Church and the Anglican community. The importance Anglicans placed on education was second only to the Methodists, yet they had a higher number of people attending classes. Snell questions the relationship between teaching and denominational identity, wondering whether the classes were a way of keeping denominations separate in society but also brought people closer together and closer to God. An analysis of NSSU applies the same question to interwar and adult Sunday schools. Primarily, this is examined through the chapter's analysis of a regional case study which reveals that family binds both schools.

Hence, an analysis of Sunday schools draws together two themes shown in Chapters One and Two: religion and domesticity; and charitable activity and class. First, as a comment on domesticity, the Church of England – as much as the Non-conformists, Quakers, Unitarians, Congregationalists, and Baptists – espoused an 'earnest and personal Christianity through daily family life as well as public service', which Sunday schools were in interwar society.³³ Family culture adopted from Christian teachings 'a highly moralised understanding of the family as a microcosm of God's Kingdom and a concomitant reverence for and defence toward the head of the household'.³⁴ A man 'naturally expected his wife and children to respect his authority as he conveyed morality and the principles of social duty to his household'.³⁵ Sunday schools of *all* denominations were bound within concepts of masculine identity and domesticity.

³³ Linda Mahood, *Feminism and Voluntary Action*, p.39.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

However, male domesticity is 'more than the sum of individual experiences'.³⁶ Men's stance towards the home was influenced by the 'web of relationships they found themselves in and by their sense of what was right and proper for themselves as men'.³⁷ For many families, regardless of denominational background or class, Sunday schools were a central part of this relationship web and influenced home life.³⁸ Sunday schools were also physically connected to the home as during the war classes were held in people's homes and not churches or chapels.³⁹ Sunday school buildings were commandeered for use by the military, especially in towns where recruits were trained to fight.⁴⁰

Second, Malcolm Dick framed pre-war Sunday schools as patriarchal centres because of what they reveal about men and social class, rather than more specifically men and the home. He argues that most pre-war Sunday schools were 'promoted by members of the gentry and the middle class and not by people from the working class, meaning Sunday school ideology was patriarchal in emphasis'.⁴¹ In doing so, he supports the conclusion of Stephen Orchard and John Briggs, who see Sunday schools as agencies of middle-class moral and political indoctrination because they instilled values normally associated with the middle class, such as reading and encouraging social networks.⁴² Yet, Callum Brown, Hugh McLoud, and Thomas Laqueur argue that they were an 'institution

³⁶ Laura Lauer, 'Soul Saving Partnerships and Pacifist Soldiers: The Ideal of Masculinity in the Salvation Army', in *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture*, ed. by Andrew Bradstock, Sean Gill, Anne Hogan and Sue Morgan (London: MacMillan Press, 2000), pp.194-209, p.196.

³⁷ John Tosh, *A Man's Place*, pp.1-2.

³⁸ Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree and George Russell Lavers, *English Life and Leisure: A Social Study* (London: Longmans, 1951), pp.351-3. For more information, see Simon Green, *Passing of Protestant England*, pp.201-3.

³⁹ CBRL: Publications, Annual Reports, Section D, 1915/1916, p.14.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.15.

⁴¹ Malcolm Dick, p.29.

⁴² Stephen Orchard and John Briggs, *The Sunday School Movement: Studies in the Growth and Decline of Sunday Schools* (London: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2007).

of the working class as it grew from the working-class community'.⁴³ Thus, these historians reject interpretations of the Sunday school as an instrument of middle class and patriarchal social control. These different interpretations highlight the importance of Sunday schools to different classes in Britain. NSSU, like Toc H, and – as these historians suggest – Sunday schools more widely, mobilised Christian belief and practice for the purpose of class cohesion rather than for a desire to promote social hierarchies. This highlights that analysing class and care for the disabled is a way that scholars can assess whether charitable social control was religiously motivated.

Moreover, scholars have examined the link between Sunday schools and soldiering. Alan Wilkinson concludes that the Sunday school curriculum 'was no preparation for the world of the trenches'.⁴⁴ He focuses upon the criticisms scholars received from church leaders and chaplains and does not provide extensive primary evidence for this conclusion.⁴⁵ Simon Green and Jeffrey Cox suggest that Sunday school teaching was 'rarely sophisticated, it was an ineffective tool for imparting religious knowledge due to large classes'.⁴⁶ Yet, because many soldiers attended Sunday school in childhood, Michael Snape and Caitriona McCartney argue it invariably influenced the type of soldier they became. For 'most British Tommies, Christianity shaped their moral and spiritual lives', which influenced decisions made in the war.⁴⁷ Sarah Williams discovered

⁴³ Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*; Hugh MacLeod, *Religion and the People of Western Europe: 1789-1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); Thomas Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, pp.74; p.239; pp.61-62; pp.28-30.

⁴⁴ Alan Wilkinson, *The Church of England*, p.81; p.97.

⁴⁵ Caitriona McCartney, p.12.

⁴⁶ Simon Green, *Passing of Protestant England*, p.215; Jeffrey Cox, *English Churches in a Secular Society*, pp.95-97.

⁴⁷ Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p.244; p.43; Caitriona McCartney, 'British Sunday Schools in the era of the First World War, 1900–1939', *Ecclesial History Society*, 1 (1) 2017,1-3, p.2.

that ex-Sunday scholars found comfort in the hymns learnt at the schools and used them to bond with other soldiers.⁴⁸ Because of the focus on education and religious knowledge, Sunday schools should not be so easily dismissed as having no role in 'preparing men for the trench'. The 'skills' taught in schools before the war helped men to cope with life during the war as well as war disability, and the close bonds formed in them brought men back to the schools after the armistice, disabled or otherwise. A disfigured serviceman who taught at his local Sunday school after the war, for example, felt 'safe' with the children he was teaching because of pre-war connections to the school. Religious education and working with children were a source of comfort to the serviceman.⁴⁹

Historians who argue that Sunday schools influenced First World War soldiers do not consider in detail that many officers were middle class or that soldiers of all ranks (who had been involved with Sunday schools as teacher or pupil) returned injured. The influence of Sunday schools and religious education on soldiers (and civilians of all classes) significantly did not end with the armistice. Literature connecting Sunday schools and the war largely make this assumption, as well as the idea that men stopped turning to religion to help them cope with their war injury or disability in times of peace. Schools prior to 1914 influenced British society (not just one single class) and shaped the lives of many who fought, particularly in terms of educational ability and denominational alliance.

An analysis of NSSU suggests that neither a soldier's class nor his denomination really influenced whether a Sunday school would offer him charitable aid after 1918, despite literature emphasising the importance of both

⁴⁸ Sarah Williams, pp.148-149.

⁴⁹ Juliet Nicolson, *The Great Silence: 1918-1920: Living in the Shadow of the Great War* (London: Hachette UK, 2009).

on the growth of the movement before 1914. This suggests that the war caused a shift in what Sunday schools considered important and develops arguments made across Chapters One and Two, that Anglican charities wanted to unite people of different classes after the war. Unlike NSSU, denominational differences remained important to Toc H and its membership policies after the war. This shows that religious charities, even within the same denomination, considered individual religious beliefs as a pre-requisite for offering help differently.

Impact of the First World War on NSSU

1) Mobilisation and Voluntarism

In 1914, the First World War threatened to paralyse British religious and philanthropic efforts.⁵⁰ This was not the case for NSSU, which increased in size during the war and was involved in many charitable activities at home and abroad. An analysis of how NSSU mobilised in response to the war and its charitable concerns reveals how denomination and secular education seemed less important to Sunday schools during the war than it had previously, how traditional views of gender roles affected the charitable response of NSSU, and how NSSU workers seemed more concerned with care for disabled veterans abroad than in Britain.

To offer encouragement and guidance, NSSU issued a call to Sunday school workers who had not volunteered to serve in 1914:

War is draining our schools of workers who have nobly responded to their country's call. It is a summons to redouble devotion on those who remain,

⁵⁰ CBRL: Publications. Annual Reports. Section D: 1915/1916, 1915, pp.13-14.

and to voluntary service for Christians at present outside the Sunday school.⁵¹

To reassure teachers rather than pupils, NSSU thought Christian charity would be important for the war effort. Demonstrating its social sway, after the outbreak of war and this call, there was a significant increase in Sunday schools affiliating with NSSU:

Year:	Men's Groups:	Women's Groups:
1914	54	21
1915	91	31
1916	25	17
1917	Unknown	58
1918	Unknown	Unknown

Figure 3.2: Number of new Sunday schools affiliating with NSSU as reported by The Chronicle ⁵²

The increase in 1914 and 1915 highlights the importance of religious education and community spirit to the Home Front at the start of the war. This was not necessarily the same at the start and end of the war. For example, one new male group which joined in 1914 was 941, 2nd Leeds, Ventnor Street Methodist Church. Ventnor Street Sunday school raised money for suits, wool, medicines, sweets, and stamps for soldiers serving on the Front and who had returned injured. After February 1917, the animal charity RSPCA and local prisoners received donations raised by the school, but it is unclear why aid for servicemen abruptly ended.⁵³ This highlights how the charitable emphasis of individual schools had switched from helping veterans even when the war had not ended.

⁵¹ Ibid.; *Sunday School Chronicle*, 1915, p.14.

⁵² CBRL: A6, Council and Annual Meeting minutes [17] 3 May 1909-4 May 1917, p.435; pp.557-558; p.603.

⁵³ Ibid.; Leeds University Special Collections, YAS/MS1309/2: Ventnor Street United Methodist Sunday School bazaar account book, 1920-1921.

Also, Sunday schools from all denominations joined NSSU in 1914, such as the 4th Birmingham Congregational Church. Denominational difference was not as important to the charity as it was pre-war. However, there is no indication in *The Chronicle* about why the numbers specifically decreased in 1916 or increased in 1917. The volume registered implies that the war did not hinder the growth of Sunday schools or their charitable intentions. The NSSU council argued in 1915 that the war 'brought home the idea of public service which found expression in religious work for those unable to join the forces'.⁵⁴ The greater increase in men and boys than women and girls joining Sunday schools, even after conscription in 1916, supports this view. It is possible that these new company figures could be higher than those recorded in *The Chronicle* because many groups met but did not register with NSSU.

The rapid increase in NSSU affiliation is more impressive as 21,000 NSSU officers, boys and old boys joined the forces. A few thousand more served in the Red Cross Society as special constables.⁵⁵ The crossover between NSSU and the Red Cross varied by school and gender as it did with Toc H and their charitable connections. For example, some schools such as the Oldham and District Battalion requested NSSU HQ to issue an instruction book on ambulance work which they could follow. The Oldham Battalion raised £112 within weeks to provide and keep a bed in the St John Ambulance Association's Hospital in France.⁵⁶ The November 1914 female committee minutes reported that their companies 'worked with the Red Cross Society and Queen Mary's Needlework Guild to meet Belgian refugees on arrival and supply them with milk and

⁵⁴ CBRL: A6, Council and Annual Meeting minutes [17] 3 May 1909-4 May 1917, p.487.

⁵⁵ Ibid., October 1915, p.503; p.434.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.503.

clothes'.⁵⁷ NSSU worked in tandem with a variety of religious and secular charities, the need fuelled by the 1914 war call and the number of members who left to fight. This also highlights how, within NSSU, like Toc H, local branches acted independently of one another and how location and region mattered to someone who wanted a specific type of help from either charity.

NSSU devoted its energies to helping civil and military authorities according to local needs during the war. This resulted in the Boys' Brigade (BLB) taking up the work of the War Victims Relief Committee of the Society of Friends (WVRCSF) in 1914 which, *The Chronicle* argued, was doing the work no government was trying. The wounded, diseased and distressed non-combatant inhabitants were the targets of NSSU's charitable work at the Front. These, the Union felt, 'were not cared for, except casually, by the Royal Army Medical Corps or The Red Cross Societies of any of the Allies'.⁵⁸ Aside from the medical strand, the other main department of the committee was the aid of Belgian refugees. The BLB in connection with the Red Cross sent battalions to help in Belgium, while a large portion of the Girls' Brigade's (GLB) work was caring for the refugees in Britain.⁵⁹ Ninety-five per cent of the refugee population during the war were Belgians, with over 200,000 arriving in Britain after the German invasion.⁶⁰ WVRCSF was the form of public service officially taken up by male Sunday groups.⁶¹ As demonstrated, the GLB supported these by providing clothes and

⁵⁷ Ibid., Meeting held on 20 November 1914, p.452.

⁵⁸ CBRL: A6, Meeting of Sunday school council held on 20 November 1914, p.456.

⁵⁹ Ibid., November 1915, p.467.

⁶⁰ Ministry of Health, Report on the work undertaken by the British Government in the reception and care of the Belgian Refugees (London, HM Stationery Office, 1920), p.6.

⁶¹ CBRL: A6, Council and Annual Meeting minutes [17] 3 May 1909-4 May 1917, p.487.

necessities.⁶² Education was not a primary concern for NSSU during the war, unlike providing clothes and food for wounded soldiers and refugees.

Pierre Purseigle argues that when ‘rallied under the common flag of a sacred cause, the victims of the invasion found refuge with their outraged “brothers-in arms”, indignant over the treatment they received’.⁶³ The rush to help refugees and the positive reception of refugees constituted, according to *The Times*, ‘the country’s obligation of honour’.⁶⁴ This can be extended to include the obligation of the established Church through the actions of Anglican charities. The Church and the state wanted to show ‘war-time solidarity with other nations’, and helping refugees was one way of achieving this. As Clive Field notes, Belgian war refugees were overwhelmingly Catholic. He uses this fact to explain why Roman Catholic Mass attendance figures remained largely the same throughout the war, when church attendance by other denominations, such as Anglicanism, decreased.⁶⁵ WVRCSF and NSSU were therefore keen to involve local Catholics and Catholic charitable organisations, such as The Catholic Women’s League, in supplying aid to refugees. This inclusion mirrors Purseigle, who argues that ‘local and charitable associations soon realised they needed to call on other denominational or social groups’ because of the numbers involved.⁶⁶ This suggests that the decline in denominational importance started during the war and not in 1918. NSSU was not Catholic: denomination came second to its desire

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Pierre Purseigle, ‘A Wave on to Our Shores’: The Exile and Resettlement of Refugees from the Western Front, 1914-1918’, *Contemporary European History*, 16 (4) (2007), 427-444, p.433. For more on British care for Belgian refugees, see Tony Kushner, ‘Local Heroes: Belgian Refugees in Britain during the First World War’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 18 (1) (1999), 1–28.

⁶⁴ *The Times*, 14 September 1914.

⁶⁵ Clive Field, *Historical Religious Statistics*, 19 October 2012. <<http://www.brin.ac.uk/2012/some-historical-religious-statistics/>> [Accessed 6 January 2017].

⁶⁶ Pierre Purseigle, p.438.

to help those in need. Despite pre-war emphasis on education, the help offered to refugees and injured soldiers was charitable and practical, such as clothes, rather than tutoring or education. This suggests a shift in the role of the Sunday school because of the war.

Therefore, traditional gender roles also influenced NSSU charitable activity during the war. NSSU men helped overseas and the women helped refugees at home. NSSU was not alone in its gendered approach: 'women formed the majority of myriad groups which sprang up to help Belgian refugees in England'.⁶⁷ Gilbert Stone lists an impressive number of women's groups that helped Belgian refugees: the Women's Service Bureau, the Union of Jewish Women, Queen Mary's Needlework Guild, Lady Smith-Dorrien's Hospital Bag Fund, and the 'Disabled Soldiers' Aid Committee' of the Friends of the Poor.⁶⁸ Notably, only one of these was explicitly religious, suggesting a religious charitable concern for Belgian refugees was unusual, but charitable concern was not. Refugees (not disabled veterans) were a primary concern for NSSU in Britain and disabled servicemen were a focus for the charity abroad. In the early years of the war, this divide was more prominent as it was when the sharpest increase in Belgian refugees to Britain occurred, and when most money was donated/fundraised for refugees.⁶⁹ The large increase in membership, both at once and in terms of class continuation throughout the war, shows how the 1914

⁶⁷ Janet Watson, 'Khaki Girls, VADs, and Tommy's Sisters: Gender and Class in First World War Britain', *The International History Review*, 19 (1) (1997), 32-51, p.36.

⁶⁸ Gilbert Stone, 'War Organisations for Women', in *Women War Workers: Accounts Contributed by Representative Workers of the Work Done By Women in the More Important Branches of War Employment*, ed. by Gilbert Stone (London: TY Crowell Company, 1917), pp.281-310, p.298.

⁶⁹ Six to seven million pounds had been raised for Belgian relief funds by November 1915. Peter Grant, 'An Infinity of Personal Sacrifice': The Scale and Nature of Charitable Work in Britain during the First World War', *War & Society*, 27 (2) (2008), 67-88, p.70.

call awakened a large response from the Sunday school community in recognition of the 'charitable need' referenced by *The Chronicle* in 1914.

2) Fundraising

Within NSSU, help for families, refugees, and veterans cost money: the NSSU had to fundraise for its own survival alongside its war efforts. By examining NSSU and its fundraising efforts during the war, this chapter provides an insight into the socio-religious context in which NSSU operated.⁷⁰ It shows that denomination affected the ability of a charity to fundraise and highlights how religious charities were restricted, like secular ones, by law. This had an impact on NSSU aid, including that for disabled veterans.

The increase in NSSU affiliation is particularly impressive considering the financial implications of the war on the union. On 18 September 1914, the Honorary Finance Secretary issued a statement: 'the general financial strain caused by the war at once affected all religious and charitable efforts, including NSSU: it will increase as the stress of the war makes itself felt'.⁷¹ NSSU's deficiency increased as the Church struggled to recover after the initial loss. The war meant fewer people were donating their own money to NSSU. This was crucial, as the union relied on charitable donations for its survival.⁷² Charities competed for public money against individuals who were in need.

The Annual Report of 18 February 1916 explains how Sunday schools, like many other institutions, survived the economic downturn. NSSU received

⁷⁰ This contrasts with Rebecca Gill's suggestion that it is difficult to see from charitable fundraising literature the broader social context in which a charity operated. Rebecca Gill, pp.9-26.

⁷¹ CBRL: D69, *Sunday School Chronicle*, Volume 46-Jan-Dec 1917.

⁷² Ibid.

nineteen 'welfare loans' from the bank, which covered six denominations: six Baptist, six Congregational, four Primitive Methodist, and three non-denominational. Unlike secular charities, NSSU received 'thanks offerings' from church services. For 1915, this was forty-four pounds in total.⁷³ In the wider context of the thesis looking at Anglicanism and welfare, it is important to note that Anglican Sunday schools did not receive a loan. Although the sources do not clearly state why this was the case, this suggests Anglican schools were in a stronger position, either by having access to other funds, or that they did not need the money as there were fewer Anglican schools in NSSU than the denominations that received loans.

Not all schools used these loans for the war or charitable purposes: charities still had to function as businesses in war as they did in peace. Despite financial difficulty, in 1915, a ten per cent war bonus was, throughout the war, given to HQ's staff who had been employed by the NSSU for upwards of six months.⁷⁴ Those teaching the classes and writing the curriculum and those training to do so did not receive a bonus. Disability was not a factor in this decision, as disabled and able-bodied civilians and ex-servicemen did not receive an NSSU bonus. To become a qualified Sunday teacher, NSSU offered two courses free of charge, despite the financial difficulties it faced. These were the correspondence course, to train people in religious administration, and the training class, to become Sunday school teachers and/or ministers. Despite *The Chronicle* reporting a dip in funds, disabled veterans did not pay for the classes because of NSSU fundraising efforts, such as selling war literature.⁷⁵

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ CBRL: Publications, Annual Reports, Section D, 1915/1916, 1915, p.8; A6, Council and Annual Meeting minutes 3 May 1909-4 May 1917, February 1917, p.581.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p.495.

The Home Missions Committee Report, a regular section of the magazine, gave examples of individual fundraising efforts. Since 1914, committee member Mr Newton Jones 'worked for ten days at various military camps under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA).⁷⁶ He raised £200 in twelve months to aid the evangelistic work of the union including Belgian refugees'.⁷⁷ NSSU created 'The Special Emergency Fund', which ran from 22 December 1914 to 8 February 1915. The NSSU raised £500, 3s. to help care for those affected by the conflict.⁷⁸ Efforts such as these contribute to Peter Grant's conclusion that 'the war was the greatest flourishing of sustained charitable fundraising in British history' – thirty million pounds was raised by 1915. He points out that forty per cent of British charitable fundraising in 1913 had been conducted by Christian organisations.⁷⁹ Hence, it is not surprising that as a Christian organisation NSSU dedicated such time and effort to fundraising initiatives, but it is more surprising that Talbot and Clayton of Toc H did not ask for money, believing that to do so was not a form of Biblical charity. Biblical interpretations influenced the actions of religious charities and Christian organisations did not always agree on such an interpretation. This meant that the religious interpretations of the charity's founders affected those whom the charities helped (including disabled veterans) and how they were helped, during and after the war. While Grant's argument may be correct, for religious charities specifically, an

⁷⁶ For analysis of YMCA during the war, see Mayer Zald and Patricia Denton, 'From Evangelism to General Service: The Transformation of the YMCA', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 8 (2) (1963), 214-234. Most analyses of YMCA (and YWCA) and help for disabled veterans are based in America: John Kinder, *Paying with their Bodies: American War and the Problem of the Disabled Veteran* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

⁷⁷ CBRL: A6, Home Missions Committee, p.455.

⁷⁸ CBRL: A6, Council and Annual Meeting minutes [17] 3 May 1909-4 May 1917, p.462.

⁷⁹ Peter Grant, 'An Infinity of Personal Sacrifice', pp.68-70.

analysis of NSSU suggests that fundraising was not necessarily for the war effort and that religious beliefs affected the willingness of the charity to fundraise.

After 1915, official fundraising statistics are hard to find. Some historians, such as Trevor Wilson, suggest 1915 was when 'donor fatigue set in or, at best, the sums raised by charities remained steady throughout the war meaning they fell in real terms after inflation is considered'.⁸⁰ Grant uses the income of a number of local and national funds, such as *The Times* Fund, to discredit Wilson's idea. He convincingly argues that fund-raising and donations remained steady (even after inflation) throughout the war and even into 1919, contradicting the 'donor fatigue' argument. While Grant provides charitable statistics, he does not focus on Christian charitable statistics, although the efforts of the NSSU match this trend.

The 1916 War Charities Act hindered fundraising efforts for the NSSU. Many Sunday schools in the earlier stages of war had intended to hold Public Flag Days as part of their crusade efforts. The Chairman of Council sought the permission of The Charity Commissioners to register the fund under the act, but as the objects of the fund were subsidiary to the principal purposes of the union, the Crusade Fund was not a war charity within the definition of the 1916 Act.⁸¹ Flag Days were popular with other religious charities and the Salvation Army Church held them regularly. Although NSSU was not allowed to have Flag Days as they represented many denominations, NSSU did not have separate churches, and the Fund they intended to use to finance the event was not a charity under the Act, they endorsed the Flag Days of the Salvation Army. Again

⁸⁰ Trevor Wilson, *The Myriad Faces of War: Britain and the Great War 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986), p.775; Peter Grant, 'An Infinity of Personal Sacrifice', p.70.

⁸¹ CBRL: A6, Council and Annual Meeting minutes [17] 3 May 1909-4 May 1917, p.583.

putting the needs and welfare of the soldiers over denominational difference, in *The Chronicle*, NSSU often asked its readers to donate to the Salvation Army as it believed in the fundraising message behind Flag Days.⁸² This highlights how religious charities were restricted, like secular ones, by law, and that, for religious charities, fundraising during the war could not necessarily be 'sustained', as Peter Grant suggests, because charitable activity had to comply with the War Charities Act.

3) Women

NSSU viewed female Sunday school scholars (of all denominations) as proponents of charity work and guardians of the family rather than as professional teachers, as they did with male scholars. As early as the 1914 War Call, NSSU recognised the importance of women in its war effort and in the advancement of religious education. NSSU membership increased in size, but hundreds of schools were depleted of older scholars and teachers as men left to serve in the Armed Forces.⁸³ By 1916, many Sunday schools were entirely staffed by women, while in several others the women workers outnumbered the men.⁸⁴ NSSU increased the opportunity for women to be Sunday school teachers because of the number of men who left, but there were already more women than men in this position in 1914 as 'only women could do society's most important work, rearing good children'.⁸⁵ The war increased the opportunity for women in religious education as teachers rather than supplying this opportunity.

⁸² *The Chronicle*, May 1917.

⁸³ CBRL: Publications, Annual Reports, Section D:1915/1916, 1916, p.14.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.3-4.

⁸⁵ Anne Boylan, 'Evangelical Womanhood in the Nineteenth Century: The Role of Women in Sunday schools', *Feminist Studies*, 4 (3) (1978), 62-80, p.66.

The focus on women using education to maintain a family unit implies that NSSU interpreted women's knowledge of religion and education as a form of domesticity, rather than an opportunity for them to have a professional teaching career. This differed from the men who could take professional teaching certificates with NSSU. For example, written by female NSSU members, *The Home Helper* was a war time initiative. Published alongside *The Chronicle*, it was distributed quarterly from 1916 and outlined the ways in which Sunday schools helped families within their own homes.⁸⁶ *The Chronicle*, in common with most other journals, had to reduce its number of pages in 1914 to save on resources. Thus, NSSU's decision to publish a new magazine concentrating on the home, emphasises the importance of the home and family as a religious space to NSSU.⁸⁷ The March 1917 *The Chronicle* reported:

people make a home, and in turn the State is the reflection of a citizen's character. What men are makes their environment as much as the environment makes them. Peace in the world depends upon peace in the mind.⁸⁸

NSSU thought peace within the home would help Britain's chances of winning the war. With this aim in mind, 'Home Help groups' were created: Sunday school teachers visited parents in their homes, taking with them the literature provided in Sunday classes. NSSU wanted parent and child to learn together.⁸⁹ By 'showing an interest in their children's work, NSSU felt it would win parents to the Saviour himself'.⁹⁰ This suggests the point of the activity was evangelism to religious faith not charity; the importance of religion to NSSU activities did not decline as a result of the war, despite the war altering the emphasis of Sunday

⁸⁶ CBRL: Publications, Annual Reports, Section D:1915/1916, 1916, pp.20-21.

⁸⁷ CBRL: A6, Council and Annual Meeting minutes [17] 3 May 1909-4 May 1917, p.431.

⁸⁸ CBRL: D69, Volume 46, *Sunday School Chronicle*, Jan-Dec 1917.

⁸⁹ CBRL: Publications, Annual Reports, Section D:1915/1916, 1916, pp.20-21.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.4.

schools activities from education to charity. Like Toc H, this continuity highlights that religious practice and the act of bringing family together remained a concern for religious charities and to those it helped. This provides an example of religious social control within a charity. It was not necessarily the upper classes 'looking down' on the working classes, as Martin Purdy explains in his analysis of charitable paternalism, but those with a strong sense of faith imposing this faith on those whose religious beliefs were not as strong as their own.

As teachers, women were also integral to the Socialist Sunday school movement. Like NSSU, this organisation rapidly grew during the war.⁹¹ Mary Grey, a member of the Social Democratic Federation, opened the first Socialist school in the Battersea Docks in 1892. In 1909 she helped form their union: The National Council of British Socialist Sunday School Unions (BSSU).⁹² Like *The Chronicle* in content and audience, but predominantly written by women, socialist Sunday schools had a monthly journal: *Young Socialist: A Magazine of Love and Justice*.⁹³ BSSU officially opposed the War and conscription. 'The only flag we recognise is the Red Flag and our only War is against Capitalism' was the resolution adopted in 1915.⁹⁴ War caused internal strife within BSSU. Because of their religious and political views, many members self-identified as pacifists, but

⁹¹ Analyses of British Socialist Sunday schools have appeared within histories of women's involvement in socialist politics and political identity despite being omitted in many British social, socialist, and educational histories. The history of the American socialist school has received more scholarly attention than its British counterpart. Karen Hunt, *Equivocal Feminists: The Social Democratic Federation and the Woman Question 1884–1911* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and Krista Cowman, *Mrs Brown is a Man and a Brother: Women in Merseyside's Political Organisations, 1890–1920* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004).

⁹² Fred Reid, 'Socialist Sunday Schools in Britain, 1892–1939', *International Review of Social History*, 11 (1) (1966), 18–47, pp.18–19.

⁹³ Jessica Gerrard, 'Little Soldiers for Socialism: Childhood and Socialist Politics in the British Socialist Sunday School Movement', *International Review of Social History*, 58 (1) (2013), 71–96, p.78.

⁹⁴ Fred Reid, p.38.

‘many others found the call to the anti-German crusade irresistible’ and signed up to fight, even if this did contradict ‘the missionary way’ that NSSU practised.⁹⁵ Mirroring NSSU, the ‘socialist Sunday school movement which emerged from the War in 1918 was different from the self-styled religious sect which had entered in 1914’.⁹⁶

War brought opportunities for men and women in BSSU, not only through teaching or professionalisation, but ‘women who were social outcasts through their war opposition, found in Socialist Sunday schools a congenial social outlet’.⁹⁷ BSSU politicised both men and women. Because the BSSU was separate from central government, the Church of England and its ‘traditional domesticated view of women’ had less sway than it did in NSSU. BSSU was still interested in teaching children to develop the ‘socialist family’. In 1914 BSSU created an Education Bureau and a curriculum, and in 1924 the Bureau published a ‘Teacher’s Manual’ which solidified a centralised method of teaching. NSSU did not follow the same pattern. Hence, education for all pupils, including disabled ex-servicemen, varied in NSSU, unlike BSSU. These political differences in gender, war, and education are important to an analysis of Sunday schools and disabled ex-servicemen. Political ideas as opposed to religious ideals meant that neither union united on common causes, such as disability or charity, which affected the help and education ex-servicemen received. This suggests that the implicit nature of care for the disabled within Sunday schools was not necessarily religiously motivated.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p.37.

⁹⁷ Ibid., pp.38-39.

4) Sunday School Classes

An analysis of who could train to be a Sunday school teacher highlights how a Christian charity and the British state differently interpreted the role of a female teacher and the ability of a disabled person to teach. NSSU's two main forms of teacher training were the 'training class' and the 'correspondence class'. For the year 1914/1915 there were 120 members in the training class and 123 in the correspondence class.⁹⁸ This reduced the following year because of the number of men on active service. *The Chronicle* argued that in the correspondence course, 'the interest and work done by the students was better, despite fewer participants'.⁹⁹ More content was taught with fewer pupils, theoretically making Sunday school teachers trained during the war 'more educated' than those in times of peace. Class numbers can be misleading: of the 120 who joined the correspondence class in 1914, only sixty-nine sat examinations and qualified the following year.¹⁰⁰ Training was a lengthy commitment.¹⁰¹ This, aside from the war, financial and home pressures, could explain why many did not complete the courses, such as the fifty-one who did so in 1914.

Men of any denomination could attend the classes and *The Chronicle* encouraged disabled veterans to take part in the courses. Disability, while assessed on individual cases, was not a hindrance or deterrent. Reinforcing the argument that NSSU interpreted religious education for women as a form of domesticity, the above figures for the training courses exclude women. Despite there being more female teachers, women could not gain formal qualifications.

⁹⁸ CBRL: A6, council meeting, 20 November 1914, p.448.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 19 February 1915, p.463.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 7 May 1915, p.483.

¹⁰¹ After 1916 *The Chronicle* did not publish data on numbers attending and passing training, and after 1918 made few references to the war and its impact on Sunday schools. CBRL: 1917-1918 Annual Report, p.40.

The Church continued to restrict the role of women within the church throughout the war. This differed from state education as women could be teachers in elementary schools.

In elementary schools, the selection process for a disabled person to become a teacher was less 'individual' than in NSSU. In 1914, those with Tuberculosis, deafness, heart conditions or blindness had limited opportunities in the teaching profession. Individuals could teach if they were blind in one eye and had normal eyesight in the other, or if they had been free from Tuberculosis (TB) for over five years but could not teach if they were completely deaf in one ear but had normal hearing in the other. For those who had suffered a mental breakdown, the Board of Education considered them 'difficult cases' to classify, but in many instances, they were considered for teacher training. A teacher had to be medically fit and have physical capacity to obtain the benefits of the Elementary School Teachers Acts 1898-1912. It was the duty of the Board to nominate the officers carrying out the medical examinations.¹⁰² This continued after the war, but the importance placed on disability differed. Although the five-year limit became two in 1919 when the Board updated its guidance, the primary concern was not allowing people to teach who suffered from TB – reports no longer mentioned blindness, deafness, or heart conditions.¹⁰³

The 1914 documents use 'teacher' to mean both men and women, but the 1919 documents which focus on TB only use female pronouns.¹⁰⁴ NSSU did not

¹⁰² TNA: ED 23/105: Office committees on recognition of ex-servicemen as certificated or uncertificated teachers.

¹⁰³ Ibid. The historiography focuses on how education for disabled pupils changed with time. It does not focus on disabled teachers' tutoring of non-disabled children. This is an area for future research. See: Anne Borsay, 'Disability and Education in Historical Perspective', in *Education, Disability and Social Policy*, ed. by Steve Baines and David Ruebain (Bristol: Policy Press, 2011), pp.7-21.

¹⁰⁴ TNA: ED 50/183 Employment of teachers suffering from physical and mental disabilities.

follow the precautions deployed by the Board of Education and it did not have medical officers assess candidates for Sunday school teaching roles. A clergyman assessed suitability before and after the war. If applicants had the ability to understand the religious side of the work, they could be candidates: religious knowledge and understanding were more important than disability in NSSU. This highlights how charities and the state approached disability and professionalisation differently. Emphasising a degree of separation between the two institutions, the state did not intervene in NSSU's decision to allow disabled teachers, which implies that the state did not see it as their role to interfere with religious rehabilitation efforts. As the next chapter shows, this was not the case with secular charities that applied religion to help disabled ex-servicemen.

NSSU and Disability

During the War

Having a connection to a Sunday school, rather than simply identifying as a Christian (as in Toc H) increased the chances of servicemen receiving help or being made aware of help by NSSU during the war. This suggests that in some cases, soldiers' pre-war connections, made because of their faith rather than faith itself, had a role to play in the charitable help they received after disability. However, care for the disabled remained a secondary concern for NSSU during the war as it had been prior to 1914: any shift in NSSU towards charitable work as a result of war was not a shift to charity work for the disabled.

1915 was crucial to the care for wounded soldiers within the union. This is when some Sunday school Institutes created the 'Leagues of Help' which 'worked

on behalf of the Wounded Sailors and Soldiers and those in the Air and the Trenches'.¹⁰⁵ These Leagues were created to 'provide comforts and to keep in touch with their members at the Front or in the training camps at home to strengthen the bond between them'.¹⁰⁶ It was a way of holding Sunday school members together and, as *The Chronicle* reported in 1916 and 1917, 'the good work accomplished by the league has been widely appreciated by our brave fellows'.¹⁰⁷ It allowed the union to show its enlisted men it had an 'affectionate interest in their movements and welfare'.¹⁰⁸ This argument supports Lucinda Matthews-Jones' emphasis on the support offered to servicemen by settlement workers. She shows how the settlement community at home and on the battlefields continued to support one another, and NSSU predominantly cared for its own members.¹⁰⁹ The fact that care for disabled veterans was not a universal initiative reiterates the importance of locality and individual branch connections in the care provision for the disabled. For those who had not enlisted, the list below, taken from the 1915 NSSU committee report shows how the League proposed to care for soldiers during the war:

- On enlisting, the public presentation of a small gift that will be useful in camp. Subscribed for and presented by a fellow member.
- Special **prayer** at each session for their safety and well-being.
- Continual correspondence between their chums and teachers with those who are on service.
- A framed photo of an absent one hung up in the institute or printed in the handbook.
- Institute Roll of Honour.
- The making of comforts by the lady members each marked with the name of the institute and a letter of goodwill giving the gift a personal touch.
- Sending out institute publications mentioning their courage and bravery and our earnest **prayers** for their safe return.
- Cheerful visits to the old-folks at home who have parted with loved ones at the call of King and Country.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., November 1916, p.572.

¹⁰⁶ CBRL: Institutes Committee Report, pp.504-505.

¹⁰⁷ CBRL: A6, Council and Annual Meeting minutes [17] 3 May 1909-4 May 1917, p.502.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Lucinda Matthews-Jones, pp.195-211.

¹¹⁰ CBRL: Institutes Committee Report, pp.504-505.

NSSU favoured physical and spiritual actions over medical care for disabled veterans during the war. Jeffrey Reznick emphasises the importance of this social care role and defines the 'culture of caregiving' as 'the product of medical knowledge and procedure, social relationships, matériel, institutions and physical environments that informed experiences of rest, recovery and rehabilitation in sites administered by military and voluntary-aid authorities'.¹¹¹ Charitable spaces were care-giving spaces. Reznick organises his narrative along 'lines of communication', a phrase he uses to describe a soldier's journey back home. Many soldiers visited 'rest huts' since they were situated behind the frontlines. Run by charities such as Salvation Army and YMCA, both of which had ties with NSSU, 'these huts encouraged 'broken down' soldiers to sip hot (non-alcoholic) drinks, play card games and interact with female volunteers responsible for making the huts a homey place'.¹¹² Drawing on the same ideas of domesticity and identity Reznick finds in the YMCA huts, the NSSU wanted to make their soldiers' experiences as comfortable and familiar as possible, as highlighted by the words underlined above in its 1919 aims.

The importance NSSU placed on helping the family of a serviceman as a way of supporting the soldier is emphasised by the highlighted words in the above aims. Reznick's analysis of the YMCA huts, despite YMCA being a Christian organisation, is a secular one. The significance of prayer, which could be said at any care site Reznick identifies, reinforces the Christian background of the NSSU: as with Toc H, above any of their physical efforts or charitable connections it made to help soldiers, prayer was the form of care NSSU believed would help

¹¹¹ Jeffrey Reznick, *Healing the Nation*, p.1.

¹¹² Ibid.

able-bodied and disabled soldiers the most, in times of both war and peace.¹¹³ Prayer as a form of NSSU care was repeatedly mentioned in editions of *The Chronicle* from 1914-1919.

The religious emphasis questions Reznick's assertion that volunteers at the church organisations' huts abroad and at home 'had one key purpose: to replicate whenever and wherever possible the meaning and social experience of the middle class home away from home'.¹¹⁴ As Sara Haslam argues, the idea to replicate the 'middle class home informed the gender politics of the hut; it was an important part of the organisation's ethos that women volunteers played visible and active roles as surrogate 'mothers' or 'sisters''.¹¹⁵ This was an aspect notably reinforced by royalty. Queen Alexandra served tea in a hut in Grosvenor Gardens in January 1916, as Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyle, did in Wimbledon in March 1917.¹¹⁶ This is why it was important that NSSU 'ladies' sent men gifts. Queen Alexandra paid for an entire hut in November 1914, while the King sent a cheque for £100 in the summer of 1915: by 'investing in the YMCA's model, the Royal Family reinforced YMCA's methods of care'.¹¹⁷ The next chapter develops this link between royalty, religion, and charity through the lens of Royal Patronage.

Although briefly mentioned in *The Chronicle*, and not at all by Reznick, NSSU had strong ties with the YMCA as well as the Red Cross. This can be seen in an advertisement placed in the March 1917 edition of *The Chronicle* entitled 'Work For Disabled Soldiers', which read: 'The YMCA department in Tottenham

¹¹³ CBRL: Section D, *The Chronicle*, 1914-1919.

¹¹⁴ Jeffrey Reznick, p.3.

¹¹⁵ Sara Haslam, *Contested Ground: Alcohol, Attachment, and the Hut Habit at War* (University College Dublin: Humanities Institute, 2015) pp.1-18.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.7.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.5.

was created to secure situations for discharged and disabled soldiers. In February they were able to find places for 1,250 connected to the Sunday school Union'.¹¹⁸ This is the only mention of such a scheme throughout the war and in its aftermath and there is no information as to whether work was based on religion or disability. It highlights how help for men and boys with a connection to the Sunday school, in some roles, was more readily available than to those who identified as Christian but who were not involved in, or a member of, the NSSU. The reference to work symbolises 'the last stop along Reznick's interpretation of the caregiving line of communication: the curative workshop'.¹¹⁹ Here, the permanently disabled learned how to re-enter the workplace to become wage earners again.¹²⁰ As Reznick explains, 'this line of medical work, known as after-care, remade the image of the hospital as a factory and identified soldier patients as able-bodied and efficient workers'.¹²¹ Reznicks' analysis focuses on the medical professionals within the workshop setting. Yet as YMCA shows, religious charities actively took on this role, a role supported by the NSSU through its connection to YMCA. This highlights that although NSSU committed to providing education, and specifically religious education to help rehabilitate disabled ex-servicemen, it did so with the aim of getting the men a new profession so that the veterans could be socially and economically 'efficient'.

¹¹⁸ CBRL: D163 Year books/ J2 Convalescent Home, Bournemouth: visitors' book 1916-1944.

¹¹⁹ Beth Linker, 'Healing the Nation: Soldiers and the Culture of Caregiving in Britain during the Great War' (review), *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 81(4) (2007), 880-881, p.881.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Jeffrey Reznick, p.122.

After the War

With the war ending, many soldiers and civilians were no longer in immediate danger and the primary recipients of NSSU welfare changed as a result. As distance from the armistice increased, aid for disabled ex-servicemen became less visible, but what did not change was the influence of religion to such care.

The armistice did not bring immediate calm to national and religious life.¹²² The NSSU council assembled in London to present 'to His Majesty King George, their loyal congratulations upon the signing of the Armistice' on 12 November 1918.¹²³ The same day, NSSU received money from 'Continental Friends' to celebrate the war ending. £100 went to the Christian Evidence Society for its care work with ex-soldiers; the remaining £163 went to National Crusade Account for overseas work.¹²⁴ Immediately, NSSU gave more money to international Christian mission than to care initiatives for wounded and returning ex-servicemen. This did not change with distance from the conflict. By 1923, committee meeting notes rarely mentioned the war or the problems of the men who returned. The focus had switched to Japan. This was following the Great Kanto Earthquake, which struck Tokyo and Yokohama on 1 September 1923. Over 78,500 houses were destroyed and approximately 26,000 lives were lost, including George Iverson, who had been NSSU's secretary for seven years.¹²⁵ Consequently, on 15 February 1924, the Japanese Relief Fund was set up and

¹²² John Rylands Library, PP/A: Reports of Unitarian and Related Bodies 1899-1946, Stoke Newington Green Church, annual report 1920, p.3.

¹²³ Alan Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform? War, Peace, and the English Churches 1900-1945* (Cambridge: Lutterworth-Press, 2010), p.74; A17: November 1918 business papers.

¹²⁴ CBRL: A17, Business and Digest minutes of Council 15 Nov 1918-16 Feb 1934, December 1918.

¹²⁵ Yokohama Union Church, The Years of Disaster: 1923-1945. <<http://www.yokohamaunionchurch.org/YUC-Histories/%281923-1945%29.html>> [Accessed 10 May 2019].

The Chronicle launched a national appeal for donations.¹²⁶ It replaced the Special Relief Fund set up for British Soldiers in the war. Disabled ex-servicemen could only use the Fund for financial aid until early 1924.¹²⁷ Between 1919 and 1939, NSSU sent Christian missionaries to Armenia, India, and Canada, as well as Japan. The work of NSSU for displaced people during the war continued after it ended, but the attention given by NSSU to disabled veterans decreased as time from the conflict increased. This section outlines the significance of these efforts.

After 1919, there was a section in each *The Chronicle* edition devoted to NSSU's work with children overseas and *The Home Helper* ceased publication in the same year. This suggests that missionary work abroad was more important to the NSSU than the relationship between British children, parents, and Sunday schools. Whether the shift to helping children was because the NSSU thought children were weak and defenceless against reasons for displacement and poverty, or because many of those within NSSU worked directly with children in Sunday classes, NSSU gave less attention to the war or adult civilian disabled because of this shift in direction. NSSU was no longer focusing on home care for those it deemed needy but on those who no longer had a home, or whose home was under threat. Also, with the war over, veterans were no longer in immediate danger from a situation not under their control, as the people of Japan were. Religious belief and practice had less of a sway in directing NSSU charity than 'a point of need'. Many disability schemes were localised: some schools offered practical help to returning veterans, with one church raising money to provide men with 'new tools for their former jobs'.¹²⁸ The shift in focus and the individualist

¹²⁶ A7 Council and Annual Meeting minutes [19] 4 May 1923-9 May 1930, 21 September 1923, pp.18-19.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 15 February 1924, p.30.

¹²⁸ CBRL: D71, *Sunday School Chronicle*: 'When the Men Come Home', 6 February 1919, p.76.

nature of Sunday schools and their charitable activity made it harder to find any specific schemes for disabled ex-servicemen.

NSSU efforts after the war reflect the social trend of disabled children as being more of a social and charitable concern than adults with disabilities.¹²⁹ Before 1914, children with disabilities had been 'distinguished as young innocents making them vulnerable and sympathetic in the eyes of society'.¹³⁰ However, adults with physical disabilities were unable to 'access the same cache of cultural sympathy'.¹³¹ In the 1930s the Adult Cripples' Welfare Association formed, forty-two years after the Invalid Children's Aid Association in 1888. The NSSU never published specific care measures for disabled adults, including servicemen, but in 1918, NSSU started to put 'measures in place for the care of crippled civilian children', as an extension of Victorian social and legal efforts to improve the visibility and quality of life for disabled children.¹³² This suggests that pre-war understandings of disability influenced both the nature of care provided by charities to the disabled as well as who received such care.

The 1870 Education Act and the 1899 Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act recognised that disabled children needed special educational arrangements and the state encouraged Local Authorities to build special schools. In 1920, NSSU began planning religious 'schools for defective children'. Highlighting a desire for educational rehabilitation for the disabled, by 1925 there were many schools across the country. In February, NSSU council members became aware of a Board of Education Medical Branch state circular

¹²⁹ Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p.44; Victoria Kim, 'Re-making A Nation: How Social Roles Defined Access to Physical Disability Resources in Great Britain, 1888-1946' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 2015), p.4.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

of 12 January 1925. The circular reported that in England and Wales there were at least 15,000 disabled children. It called upon local education authorities to ascertain facts concerning 'blind, deaf, physically and mentally, defective and epileptic children' within their jurisdiction.¹³³ Local education authorities were asked by the medical branch of the Board of Education to prepare a scheme for dealing with the 'problem' within three months. Remarkably, unions across the country met this deadline.¹³⁴

These actions imply that NSSU and *The Chronicle* workers actively sought help for disabled children and not adults after the war. While they helped disabled children after the push from the council, it took the push from the state to increase their efforts: they started planning for special schools in 1920, but three months after the circular in 1925, they had reached their targets. Lack of initiative and immediacy outside of Sunday school education and change in disability awareness helps explain why so many schemes set up in the war did not continue, such as *The Home Helper*, or why children and not disabled ex-servicemen topped the Union's priorities. These examples highlight that, even within the category of help to disabled children, the focus of this help by NSSU often shifted from children at home to children abroad, reiterating the problems with locality when analysing welfare schemes for the disabled. Although NSSU paid more attention to disabled children than adults, this analysis reiterates that care for the disabled within NSSU remained implicit after the war because of the length of time it took for the schools to be built and how quickly they achieved their targets when reminded about them. Any charitable shift within the role of Sunday schools after the war was not one towards disability.

¹³³ CBRL: A7 Council and Annual Meeting minutes [19] 4 May 1923-9 May 1930, p.71.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.85.

The separation of disabled children from mainstream education had significance for the rehabilitation of disabled soldiers within NSSU and in Britain more broadly. Manual training was a compulsory part of mainstream education, but the employment aspect of it declined from the turn of the century.¹³⁵ In special schools, the emphasis on vocational training rather than intellectual education 'helped redefine the social role of "cripples" by providing them with necessary training to support themselves'.¹³⁶ Self-sufficiency and vocational training emphasises Reznick's 'workshop' for disabled ex-servicemen, and as Chapters One and Two demonstrated, was applied to rehabilitation efforts by religious charities. As Seth Koven notes, the idea that disabled servicemen could be 're-built to be useful members of society was modelled on the idea that disabled children, with the right training, could be useful members of society'.¹³⁷

Although NSSU did not have a national scheme concerning care for disabled adults, it endorsed a religious scheme to help soldiers blinded by war injuries. In April 1918, an advert, '*For Such As Sit in Darkness*', first appeared in *The Chronicle*, which read: 'nearly all English and Welsh institutions who aided the blind could obtain embossed copies of the scriptures from the Bible House at nominal rates'.¹³⁸ Reinforcing Snell and Snape's working class interpretation of a Sunday school, it continued: 'any poor person or soldier who had lost his sight in war can receive a book of the English bible in Braille or Moon type (in English, French or Italian) as a recommendation of some minister of religion'.¹³⁹ Braille copies benefited all blinded servicemen but one could only be obtained through

¹³⁵ Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p.13.

¹³⁶ Victoria Kim, p.6; David G. Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped 1760-1960* (London: Routledge, 2013) p.62.

¹³⁷ Seth Koven, 'Remembering and Dismemberment', pp.1167-1202.

¹³⁸ CBRL: D70, *Sunday School Chronicle*, 1918.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

a Sunday school connection and with the support of a clergyman. The success of the scheme is unknown. By late 1919, the Bible Society, which had pioneered the idea, stopped advertising it in *The Chronicle*. Instead, advertisements asked readers to help the 'Syria and Palestine Relief Fund', which NSSU had founded because of 'child poverty and poor quality of life' in these countries.¹⁴⁰ Children outside of Britain became, once again, the focus of NSSU charity over disabled veterans. Regardless of the links between NSSU and the Red Cross throughout the war, the Red Cross did not help NSSU with initiatives for ex-servicemen, religious or medical after 1918: it was a one-way relationship. The only medical aid found in *The Chronicle* in the interwar years was help for the blind.

In early 1919, NSSU published its constitution, which included four main aims: to promote religious education; to improve methods of religious instruction; to ascertain the localities both at home and abroad in which Sunday schools were needed as a way to promote their establishment; and to supply at reduced rates to Sunday schools and teachers, books, stationery and school requisites.¹⁴¹ These aims reveal that disability was never a priority, despite the large number of disabled veterans who had returned to Britain by 1919. They also suggest that education was more important than charity, as charitable activity was only third on the list and education was first. An expansion of the 'Home Help' idea, the focus here is on Sunday school teachers and not pupils using education to 'promote religion' and not education as a charitable/welfare activity. As with Toc H and LWH, religion remained central to the activities of NSSU after the armistice.

With the correspondence and training courses during the war, education as a form of rehabilitation for disabled veterans as pupils training to be teachers

¹⁴⁰ CBRL: D71, *Sunday School Chronicle*, 1919.

¹⁴¹ CBRL: A17 Business and Digest minutes of Council, 15 Nov 1918-16 Feb 1934.

makes sense, particularly if they had already started the courses before active service, and thus before they became disabled. This challenges NSSU's stated aims by suggesting that Sunday school work was more beneficial to the pupil than the teacher, with an NSSU teacher arguing in 1920 that 'we do not work for what we can get, but for what we can give. A successful teacher would gain as much as they give by sharing in God's joy'.¹⁴² Sunday school teaching was perceived as a means of cultural self-improvement: 'nobody has so good a chance of retaining his youth as has the successful teacher in our Sunday schools'.¹⁴³ By teaching someone about oneself, NSSU appears an ideal environment for some veterans or civilians disabled by an accident to discover their new 'disabled identity'.¹⁴⁴

In addition to education, abstinence was another form of 'self-care' NSSU endorsed for ex-servicemen after the war. After the King pledged to abstain from intoxicants during the war in May 1915, alcohol as a sin for civilians and soldiers was a point of concern for NSSU. NSSU gave all Sunday school classes a pledge form to encourage members to copy the King, which continued after 1918.¹⁴⁵ Yet, the war could not have been 'fought without alcohol' and many soldiers were given rum rations before major offences.¹⁴⁶ Many soldiers 'turned to alcohol to self-medicate against the horrors of war'.¹⁴⁷ NSSU's commitment to try and combat this need after 1918 suggests that many disabled ex-soldiers drank

¹⁴² CBRL: D161, J. Eaton Feasey, *The Greater Things of the Sunday School. Familiar Addresses on the Work of an Evangelical Sunday School in a Time of Reconstruction* (London: Sunday School Union, 1920), p.20.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p.22.

¹⁴⁵ CBRL: A6 Council and Annual Meeting minutes [17] 3 May 1909-4 May 1917, Meeting held on 7 May 1915, pp.477-478.

¹⁴⁶ Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War* (London: Allen Lane, 1998), p.351; Cameron Graham McKay, 'Ex-Servicemen and Crime in Interwar Scotland' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Stirling, 2019), p.57.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

alcohol to medicate against their war experience and war disability in civilian life. Because the military perceived alcohol to be a form of cure during the war, either to help keep men warm or as an emotional and physical anaesthetic, soldiers may have believed it would physically help them when they returned home.¹⁴⁸ As Cameron McKay argues, 'there is no doubt an association between military veterans and high alcohol consumption, yet the lack of information regarding the First World War leaves a considerable gap in our knowledge.'¹⁴⁹ The response of NSSU helps bridge this gap.

Sara Haslam suggests that drinking alcohol and going to the pub was an expression of male social identity after the war: it allowed soldiers to uphold their social image in interwar Britain as men, as well as providing a platform to mediate their new disabled identity.¹⁵⁰ Annmarie Hughes develops this idea and theorises that the reemphasis on manliness after the war encouraged men to seek a more masculine lifestyle that normally involved heavy drinking. She argues that this trend was exacerbated by returning soldiers suffering from war neuroses.¹⁵¹ However, not all soldiers with a physical and/or psychological disability felt this attachment to drink. The denial of this attachment to some soldiers by church organisations such as NSSU and YMCA 'meant they were not addressing themselves to the whole man'. Haslam argues that 'the caregiving they offered – devoted as it was to a construct of religious masculinity – was only partial'.¹⁵² The

¹⁴⁸ 'The UK armed forces have traditionally used alcohol as a means of mediating stress in the theatre and the aftermath of battle'. Edgar Jones and Nicola Fear, 'Alcohol Use and Misuse Within the Military: A Review', *International Review of Psychiatry*, 23 (2) (2011), 166-172, p.166.

¹⁴⁹ Cameron Graham McKay, p.58.

¹⁵⁰ Sara Haslam, pp.1-18.

¹⁵¹ Annmarie Hughes, 'Representations and Counter-Representations of Domestic Violence on Clydeside Between the Two World Wars', *Labour History Review*, 69, (2) (2004), 169-184, p.175.

¹⁵² Sara Haslam, p.13.

actions of NSSU surrounding alcohol and ex-servicemen illuminate Haslam's conclusion. From 1917 to 1925, *The Chronicle* regularly described the relationship between soldiers and drink as a tragedy, particularly in terms of social welfare and reconstruction after the war. In '*Drink and the Wounded Soldiers*' the union retorted: 'it seems a pity not more is done [elsewhere] to save these men from temptation, it struck one as a little unwise to allow wounded men cut at half past nine at night'.¹⁵³ The suggestion is that disabled veterans chose alcohol over their families (they were out at night and not at home), and the lack of employment opportunities available for wounded and disabled veterans drove them to drink. 'Elsewhere' suggests that NSSU did not see it as their responsibility to help men who had already succumbed to 'temptation' through a reliance on alcohol, regardless of whether this reliance had origins in the war.

An institution which did take on this responsibility was the Ministry of Pensions (MOP). When awarding pensions to disabled ex-servicemen, the MOP chose to medicalise a reliance on drugs and alcohol by arguing that any further disablements resulting from the addiction were to be pensionable. The Ministry also questioned whether a reliance on alcohol could be caused or aggravated by service and, if it could, whether in some circumstances this should be compensated. This medical approach moved away from the moral content of alcohol and its association with a 'sinful' way of living as projected by NSSU. The MOP's medical rather than moral approach towards men's behaviour suggests that it was more sympathetic than religious organisations to disabled veterans and alcohol. However, the MOP was not always sympathetic. Some men lost their pension award because of their reliance on alcohol when their war service

¹⁵³ CBRL: D69, Volume 46-Jan-Dec 1917.

or war disability was not deemed to be a trigger for drinking.¹⁵⁴ However, the medical versus moral dichotomy between the approach of the state and religious charity to some disabled ex-servicemen, highlights how the MOP tried to move away from traditional notions of disability, where disability and personal identity characteristics were intricately linked. NSSU did not follow the same pattern.

Independent of the differences between charity and the state over the issue, the Treasury disagreed with the MOP. The Treasury instead argued that 'alcoholism even when it can be clearly associated with a specific condition of ill health' could not be considered 'a state altogether beyond the disabled man's control'.¹⁵⁵ Distinguishing between health and disability, the Treasury argued that alcohol did not make a man disabled, and because he could control his drink, he did not deserve an increase in pension for any worsening of his war disability because of his drink. As shown, government departments were not unified over the impact of alcohol on disabled veterans or how best to treat it. Religious charities, unlike government departments, did not have to consider economics in their framing of pensioners with 'unwholesome habits'.¹⁵⁶ Economics meant that the MOP's sympathetic response did not last as the Final Awards Scheme for Pensions (which came into effect in 1922) led to a firmer stance, as the Treasury had wanted. As Helen Bettinson explains, this was because 'any generosity on its part towards non-service factors contributing to a pensioner's disability, would now commit the state to a lifetime's (exaggerated) payments'.¹⁵⁷ Assistant Pensions Secretary Hore did not want non-service factors to be compensated. In a 1922 memorandum from Hore's assistant, Simes, it becomes clear that this

¹⁵⁴ TNA: PIN 26/10004, Corporal Matthew Mills, Royal Army Veterinary Corps.

¹⁵⁵ TNA: PIN 15/1659, Letters from Treasury to Ministry on 18 November 1921.

¹⁵⁶ Helen Bettinson, p.308.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p.309.

new approach was 'separate from the service departments old arguments for penalisation on grounds of immorality or unworthiness: we are not concerned with any considerations of whether the man's post-discharge habits etc are legitimate, or praiseworthy or moral or the reverse, but only with the question as to whether they do in fact perpetuate or exacerbate the condition of disablement'.¹⁵⁸ This highlights a shift in conceptualisation of disability and reiterates the importance of Michael Roper's definition of identity as being at a 'given time and place'.¹⁵⁹

Gertrude Himmelfarb has emphasised the transformation of 'Victorian virtues' into 'modern values' in the twentieth century.¹⁶⁰ As Bettinson argues, Great War disability pensions were an illustration of that 'modernising' process because of the shift expressed by Simes and Hore. Unlike the state, NSSU continued to consider alcohol and disability from a moral standpoint, seeing alcoholism as a sin. This highlights that religion did influence understandings of disability and care for the disabled after 1918. It also highlights that as institutions, charities and government departments did not view disability in the same way, which affected how disabled ex-servicemen were perceived and treated. By criticising disabled veterans for turning to alcohol as a coping method, NSSU thought them undeserving of its charitable care, but the MOP thought many to be deserving of state care. This difference in approach suggests a shift in Britain after the war from determining charity and healthcare based on whether an individual was 'deserving or undeserving of such care to a universal right'.¹⁶¹ It also reinforces the argument that the state did not think it was its place to interfere

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.; TNA: PIN 15/1432, Simes to Hore memo, 5 April 1922.

¹⁵⁹ Michael Roper, 'Between the Psyche and the Social', p.251.

¹⁶⁰ Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The De-Moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values* (London: IEA Health and Welfare Unit, 1995).

¹⁶¹ George Campbell Gosling, 'The Patient Contract in Bristol's Voluntary Hospitals, c.1918-1929', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 11 (1) (2009), 1-16, p.3.

with religious charities: these examples show that the state and NSSU disagreed with each other over disabled ex-servicemen and alcohol, but the state did not involve themselves with the NSSU response.

As an alternative to alcohol, NSSU and the *The Chronicle* advertised the policy of Pelmanism. They described it as a system of scientific mental training which strengthened the mind like physical exercise strengthened the body. Pelmanism was originally a memory system created in the 1880s by William Ennever, and in 1905 Pelman schools in London opened to men and women 'of any occupation' and offered distance learning. After training, a person's efficiency would improve, and it would help tiredness, forgetfulness, and a lack of motivation in any area of life. In December 1919 over 10,000 NSSU members signed up to the movement in a month, believing it would help with businesses and social opportunities.¹⁶² It was still being promoted as late as the 1960s. While *The Chronicle* argued for it to be included within the army as it would be 'useful to our sailors and soldiers', no efforts were made to teach those affected by war, when (although a generalisation) they needed the opportunities and outlook Pelmanism offered more than those who were employed and not contending with a disability. NSSU encouraged its members to join and emphasised the concept to many in Sunday school classes. NSSU was aware of the stresses felt by adult members of society and while they wanted to reduce these (and hopefully the temptation to drink alcohol), they did not mix science and religion with the aim of helping the civilian or war disabled.

Although NSSU applied the concept of Pelmanism after the armistice, the potential of religious education as a rehabilitative measure was not maximised.

¹⁶² CBRL: D71, Volume 48, Jan-Dec 1919.

NSSU directed teaching initiatives away from disabled-ex-servicemen, despite having more men who no longer at war who could take up training opportunities. After 1918 NSSU put money into causes that were not concerned with veterans and condemned the coping mechanisms (alcohol) used by some. The class of a man did not matter to this criticism: Sunday schools remained agents of social control (*Home Helper*, for example) after the war, despite Laquer arguing that Sunday schools never imposed social control. Their first concern was not veterans, but adults and children involved in disasters such as in Japan or Syria. During the war, NSSU was less financially viable than after, yet this was when more charitable acts were carried out and more efforts were made to link the Union, as a charity, to other registered charities such as the Red Cross. An analysis of the welfare activities of NSSU during and after the war shows that NSSU as a religious charity appeared to be a missed opportunity for the potential of religious charity and caring for disabled veterans in interwar Britain.

Regional Case Study

NSSU committee notes and *The Chronicle* highlight how, within a national religious charity, care for disabled veterans was a secondary concern. However, details on specific care schemes are incomplete because of the broad charitable focus. As with Toc H, there were many more schools in Britain that were not NSSU members and the rehabilitative efforts of these schools are missing from the national record. Regional case studies help fill this gap.¹⁶³ As Jonathan Healey argues, local studies reflect the social reality that people's lives are lived

¹⁶³ David Harvey, pp.25-26.

localities, which allows for a degree of depth not possible in wider ranging-studies, such as this broad study of NSSU.¹⁶⁴

Leeds in West Yorkshire was a central meeting point of NSSU's Education committee. The largest church in terms of congregation prior to the First World War, Leeds Parish Church, was not affiliated with the NSSU. The church held weekly Sunday school services and a Sunday adult education class: 'A Division' ('AD'). The monthly *Leeds Parish Church Magazine* had a subsection for both.¹⁶⁵ As with Toc H, 'AD' was open to men over sixteen years of age. This subsection examines how 'AD' men approached helping disabled veterans during and after the war. The general focus of Sunday schools may have shifted towards care for children, but that did not mean every individual school followed the same pattern. Because Leeds parish records have a charity subsection across parishes in the city, it is possible to trace the charitable efforts made by one Leeds parish Sunday school in comparison to the efforts made by another Leeds parish. Charity records also provide an indication about whether individual Sunday schools became more charitable after the war by focusing less on education and more on welfare activities. These records help to determine whether one parish is an anomaly to the findings about NSSU: that Sunday schools offered less religious aid to servicemen, educationally or otherwise, with distance from the conflict.

¹⁶⁴ Jonathan Healey, 'Why Local History Matters.' Lecture Delivered at the Oxford University Department for Continuing Education, 14 November 2012. <https://www.academia.edu/2550380/Why_Local_History_Matters> [Accessed 7 October 2017].

¹⁶⁵ These only show Anglican parishes. Anglicanism was the dominant form of Christianity in Leeds, followed by Roman Catholicism and non-conformist groups. Aside from Wales, where Methodism overtook non-conformist groups in the interwar period, Leeds followed the national trend. While Catholic and other denominational charities may have existed to help the war disabled, none are mentioned in parish records or *Leeds Parish Magazine*, despite references to other religious charities such as The Salvation Army. The main parish charities in Leeds appear to have been Anglican. This 'trend' was based on church membership: John Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain*, pp.70-71.

‘A Division’ and Disabled Veterans

‘AD’ became a charitable institution because of the war. Its approach to disabled veterans was more explicit than NSSU efforts were during the war, reinforcing the argument that the emphasis placed on care for veterans by Christian charities was individually determined. From 1890 until the mid-1920s, Anglican Reverend S. M. Hankey of Leeds Parish Church ran ‘AD’. His primary aim was teaching men how a religious education would help themselves and the community. It was not until military conscription in 1916 that the group became a charity. He registered the group as a charity because he wanted to help ‘his men’ who had not volunteered to fight by sending them letters of encouragement reminding them that their ‘church had not forgotten them, and they never would’.¹⁶⁶ This echoed the sentiments of NSSU’s ‘League of Help’. Similarly, it was the task of Leeds Parish Sunday school teachers to maintain high levels of enthusiasm and hope during the war.¹⁶⁷ Like NSSU, ‘AD’ membership increased during the conflict. ‘AD’ had fifty members in 1916, but 133 members in 1917.¹⁶⁸

Every week during the war ‘AD’ members placed advertisements for soldiers to attend their Sunday school in the parish magazine. The first time they advertised for injured soldiers was April 1917 – the first time the publication made reference to the war injured. The advert read: ‘TO CONVALESCENT SOLDIERS, Leeds Parish Church, ‘A’ Division – A Meeting For Men is conducted in the Parochial Room every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 by the Reverend S. M. Hankey,

¹⁶⁶ *Leeds Parish Church Magazine*, January 1918.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, September 1916; August 1917.

You are Warmly Invited'.¹⁶⁹ 'AD' wanted wounded and disabled men to participate in religious education. Extending the invitation beyond members of the Parish, 'warmly' suggests that 'AD' and Reverend Hankey actively wanted to help and include in social activities men affected and/or injured by warfare. Following analysis of Leeds parish records, NSSU and disabled ex-servicemen, this appears unusual.

The date of the advertisement is significant. The death of eighty-five 'AD' men in 1917, including five Reverends, prompted the desire of 'AD' to help the wounded at home. The church magazine listed these men by name and rank in the Sunday school section. These advertisements for 'AD' meetings were in Leeds Parish Magazine and not local newspapers. Advertising to just a religious audience inadvertently made religious charities less accessible to ex-servicemen. Veterans may have needed help, but because of a lack of faith or limited advertising were unaware of the existence of religious charities such as 'AD' and were unable to receive their help (a requirement which made charities appear less charitable and exclusive). In recognition of the work undertaken by 'AD' for disability throughout the war, Hankey awarded members with three holidays a year after the armistice: Easter Day, Whit Sunday and the Sunday preceding August Bank Holiday.¹⁷⁰ The value of this reward suggests that the care offered by 'AD' to the disabled went beyond what the magazine records, which was to advertise the meetings.

Matching the national trend of Christian charities (such as NSSU and Toc H) which used prayer as a form of care for disabled veterans, 'AD' had special prayers for soldiers to use privately and at Holy Communion. Unlike in *The*

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., September 1917.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., September 1918.

Chronicle between 1914-1919, there are no details of the content of these prayers. By excluding these prayers from regular church services, women were not privy to their content. As a contrast to NSSU, women could not be involved with 'AD' as members or engage with the religious education or prayer on offer. The protection or exclusion of women by the group challenges the secretary of the Church of England Men's Group and Sunday school, who argued: 'people of both sexes knew one another's minds during the war in a way never before'.¹⁷¹ Comparatively, women attended Leeds Parish Church services, and congregational donations by men and women funded a memorial to those who died and to those who survived and were wounded. This memorial was erected in Leeds Parish Church in the 1920s. The focus of Leeds Parish Church to remember and help those who had survived the war but were injured, was not the case in other Leeds parishes.¹⁷²

Church correspondence emphasises Hankey's personal mission to help disabled veterans. He had a close relationship with fellow 'AD' member the Reverend J Wurtzburg, who worked at the Leeds Clergy School before its closure in 1915 and was Chaplain to Leeds Beckett Street Hospital after 1915 at the

¹⁷¹ WYAS, P13 RDP68/ 87B/ 13: Church of England Men's Society. Report of the Annual Conference, 16 and 17 June 1925, p.14.

¹⁷² In the *Armley Parish Magazine* (1916), the vicar wrote: 'Thousands are risking and laying down their lives to save England. We must share in their self-sacrifice by making England a better place by bringing the nation back to obedience to the Christian Law. Can anyone be so cowardly as to refuse to share in this work?' But the vicar and his parish do not take their 'share' with injured soldiers. They offered no help to disabled veterans on their return to Armley during or after the war. While more work is needed to draw conclusions about how and why certain parts of the same city responded differently towards disabled ex-servicemen, this example highlights how not all 'heroes' were offered help from their religious community and had little access to religious charities that understood their needs. While it is not possible to trace the backgrounds of all church members to determine whether their private lives contradicted their ability to understand the religious needs of veterans, the deacon of Armley parish was not a committee member of a non-religious charity – any charitable act was undertaken within the church: WYAS, Leeds: Armley Parish, *Armley Church Magazine*, 37 (5), May 1916; RDP4/317; RDP4/320.

demand of the War Office. In 1917 they often wrote about how they could help the 500 patients in the infirmary; 180 of these were wounded soldiers.¹⁷³ Hankey conducted 'medical services' at the church where he praised doctors and nurses in the local community because of the connection he, and in turn, the hospital, had to Leeds Parish Church. A medical focus helps explain why, like NSSU, 'AD' raised money for the Red Cross Society. In 1917, 'AD' raised two pounds and ten shillings for the Red Cross. The Church believed rehabilitation for the wounded soldiers went beyond medical treatment (such as that provided at Beckett Hospital and by the Red Cross) and included after-care: men still needed charity after their discharge from hospital. Subsequently, and unlike many churches across Northern England, Leeds Parish Church created a fund for recuperating soldiers. To enable men to recuperate for a few weeks in the country or by the sea the men needed 'Recommends' by the church. The right to nominate for a vacancy in a Convalescent Home was purchasable, and the Early Offertory Fund covered the cost. Hankey encouraged members of the congregation to make donations to the Fund, acknowledging that the church could not continue helping the sick or disabled veterans without such funds.¹⁷⁴ Examples of specific Church fundraising efforts for disabled veterans are not visible from the national record.

After early 1920 there is no mention in the *Leeds Parish Magazine* of help for disabled ex-servicemen, including within their Sunday school services. The Church helped disabled children and others, such as by sending toys to children's hospital wards, but not specifically ex-servicemen. While different parish charities reacted to disabled ex-servicemen differently, predominantly because of the individual vicar's desire to do so, there appears to be a stark difference in the

¹⁷³ WYAS: RDP68/ 87 C/2: Leeds Parish Church 1907-1920 'A Division'.

¹⁷⁴ *Leeds Parish Church Magazine*, September 1915.

willingness of Leeds parishes to help the war disabled during the war and in times of peace.¹⁷⁵ Charities for the disabled are only mentioned in the magazine between 1918 and 1920, and the ones that are mentioned are not explicitly religious. For example, the ‘soldier’s notes section’ in the August 1918 edition remembered blinded soldiers in prayer and mentioned St Dunstan’s for the only time, asking readers to donate to the charity. Between September 1918 and December 1919, the magazine asked the congregation for donations to the Church Huts and the YMCA instead of St Dunstan’s or the Early Offertory Fund. While it is not clear why fund-raising stopped and why charities for the disabled were no longer mentioned after 1920, in Leeds, help – albeit limited – was given to national charities whereas no local parish charities or bodies were created to specifically help the disabled ex-servicemen of Leeds when they returned home.¹⁷⁶

Aside from education and charitable acts for the disabled, ‘AD’ existed for the defence of the family. During the war, ‘the Christian family, the basis of civilisation, was threatened as it had never been before. Service for the family and service in the family could preserve it’.¹⁷⁷ Echoing the sentiments of Clayton and Toc H, this excerpt from the 1918 parish magazine further explains why Hankey wanted ‘AD’ to turn to matters of ‘social reform’ after the war: he believed it would ‘be excellent if every church had a body of men as “AD” to make known the Church’s mind on matters such as social reconstruction to the larger circle outside’.¹⁷⁸ Because church positions were inherently male and men were traditionally viewed as heads of the family, Hankey argued that it was the job of

¹⁷⁵ Leeds Parish Church Magazine Collection, Leeds Minster Archive (1-10).

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ WYAS, RDP68/ 87 C/2: Leeds Parish Church 1907-1920, A Division (Men’s Division).

¹⁷⁸ *Leeds Parish Church Magazine*, July 1917.

men to educate others on the stance of the Church, including children and disabled ex-servicemen. This helps to explain the lack of women's religious education groups in Leeds in comparison to male ones. The most prominent was the Church of England Women's Help Society in Wetherby, North Leeds, between 1919 and 1923.¹⁷⁹ There were twenty members in 1920, thirty-six between 1921 and 1922 and twenty between 1922 and 1923.¹⁸⁰ The experiences provided for these women included: use of church room, coffee and tea, badges, cards, postage expenses, printing, and accounting. The rules of the society included: to begin and end the day with private prayer, to be loving and helpful at home, to keep from bad company and from reading bad books and papers, to be faithful to marriage promises, and to teach their children to pray.¹⁸¹ These rules emphasised the importance of educating children and family about charitable causes and the importance of prayer in Anglican groups. In North Leeds, Pool Wesleyan Sunday school raised funds for servicemen by creating a family analogy. The school produced and sold a 'book of cookery and household hints for all the family' which included a health recipe: 'honest work, rest and recreation, mixed together most carefully with diligence, contentment, cheerfulness and even temper'.¹⁸² This suggests that social education and bringing people together, whether in a domestic or community sense, was important to 'AD' after the war. It emphasises that 'social ministry' was preached within Sunday schools and 'domestic subjects' taught to both boys and girls.¹⁸³ These examples support the argument made elsewhere in this thesis that Anglican groups cared for disabled

¹⁷⁹ WYAS, RDP105/957/ 95: Church of England, Women's Help Society Records, Wetherby, 1919-1923.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Leeds University Special Collections, Cookery, A/POO-Pool Wesleyan Sunday School Book of Cookery and Household Hints, 1930, p.142.

¹⁸³ TNA: ED 70/2525. Christian Malford Sunday School Room.

ex-servicemen as a way of showing that the Church had become more socially progressive as a result of the War.¹⁸⁴

The conflict was the reason 'AD' became a charitable institution. Its approach to disabled veterans was more explicit than NSSU during the war, with its connections to the local hospital for wounded soldiers (Leeds Beckett Street) and the creation of a church fund for disabled veterans. This was not at the expense of religious education which was a focus during and after the war. After the armistice, adults (not children) were the primary concern. Both contrast NSSU practices. In religious education groups in Leeds, men predominantly led Anglican charity for veterans, with women drawing upon their experience in such groups to educate their 'family' instead: this distinction matches the division between gender and service as highlighted by Toc H and LWH. The actions of Reverend Hankey towards wounded soldiers further reiterates the 'individual nature' of charities for the disabled. Other parishes and Reverends in the same city did not show the same concern. Each parish in Leeds, like each NSSU branch, reacted differently to the war effort and in how they cared for wounded servicemen. The war increased Sunday school charity on the whole, but nationally and locally, charitable activity for wounded servicemen appeared to decline in the mid-1920s. This suggests that they reacted to the needs of the time, but the shift is unsurprising considering education was a higher priority than charity, as reinforced by NSSU's constitution.

¹⁸⁴ Sunday School Union documents highlight the YMCA's work at Leeds welfare club. This resulted in the distribution of a 'Teenage Boys and Religion' pamphlet to Leeds Sunday schools in December 1920. In February 1921 another booklet was produced: 'Leeds and effect of unemployment on young boys'. This emphasised NSSU's keenness to educate on social issues rather than strictly biblical interpretations.

Conclusion

Before, during and after the First World War, Sunday schools played a significant role in the religious and social life of the British population. They supplied the foundations for universal state education, drove denominational breakdown and encouraged charitable participation prior to 1914. The war shifted the primary focus from general education to religious education and charity. The comparative analysis of war and interwar initiatives emphasises that change over time was beneficial to civilian and war disabled regardless of social class. Yet, literature looking at the importance of Sunday schools tends to focus on the pre-war emphasis of the schools on education, religion, and the working class, and those extending their analysis into the twentieth century rarely focus on welfare initiatives. The chronological structure of the chapter readdressed this balance by developing what little is known about Sunday school welfare activities and their national charity, the NSSU, during the war and in the interwar period.

The war did not 'end' the importance of religion within British society. The popularity of the Sunday school (as determined by the numbers affiliated with NSSU) reinforces this argument, made by Caitriona McCartney and Michael Snape. The 'popularity' of the schools and the number of men involved after 1918 with a shared experience of warfare, and leaders of individual branches largely dictating welfare initiatives (who could teach their own politics and beliefs as there was no centralised curriculum), meant that NSSU was a potential platform for the radicalisation of veterans. In the national or regional sources no evidence suggests this was the case or that disabled veterans felt their Sunday school or NSSU was not doing enough to help them or the wider cause of disabled veterans, and the Socialist Schools provided veterans with a political outlet.

A soldier's relationship to a Sunday school or schoolteacher prior to the war made it easier to access their charitable services in civilian life. NSSU and 'AD' highlight how emotionally, spiritually, and financially, Sunday schools supported disabled ex-servicemen and their families. Whether through home tuition or the acceptance of disabled veterans into Christian colleges, the act of training injured men as Sunday school teachers and preachers provided an outlet from injury whereby studying and teaching religious education became a social tool to aid recovery. Adult education groups achieved this informally, but NSSU's Training and Correspondence courses provided men with formal religious teaching qualifications. As an expression of individual religious belief and as a means of gaining employment, priests encouraged disabled ex-servicemen to take these classes. This analysis also emphasised a difference in the approach between state education and Sunday education to disability and women in the teaching profession. The views of the state and the Church did not always coincide regarding the position and 'usefulness' of women and the disabled in British society.

NSSU viewed women of all denominations as proponents of charity work and guardians of the family rather than professional teachers. Women ran more Sunday classes than men and, along with other women's charities and religious groups, fundraised significant sums of money for Belgian refugees and then for the children of Japan and Syria. The local case study accords with the national trend: 'AD' ran longer and had more members than its female equivalent. In Leeds at least, the church viewed it as beneficial for men to teach disabled ex-servicemen. An analysis of NSSU further allows an exploration of perceived gendered roles and gendered care for the disabled in charitable institutions, the Church, and the wider British society.

Unlike Toc H and LWH, which were non-denominational charities after the war, NSSU was non-denominational during the war. This affected charitable activity as without the strict Anglican reading of the Bible, NSSU interpreted fundraising as biblical charity and fundraised for disability causes during and after the war. Fundraising was a charitable act, but education after the war was not because of the 1919 constitution. As with LWH and Toc H, care for disabled veterans within a religious charity was determined by a constitution written reflecting the difficult social circumstances in Britain at the end of the war. Charitable aims of the NSSU did not alter even though these social circumstances and the needs of veterans did. While denomination and its impact on education was less important after the war, by using NSSU as a measure, the war did not serve to increase or decrease denominational differences within society. This may seem paradoxical to the argument that the war shifted the role of Sunday schools from general education to religious education, but there was less emphasis on secular subjects after 1918.

The 1919 NSSU constitution stated that NSSU aimed to 'improve methods of (religious) instruction', but repeatedly advertising the 'sin' of alcohol and projecting the image that drink was how disabled ex-servicemen 'coped' with their new identity on return to civilian life was counter-productive to their aim. Through their education schemes and convalescent homes designed for the training of teachers, NSSU had the means to help rather than 'pity' the wounded. This is not to say that NSSU could have helped them all, that Sunday schools within the Union did not care about these men or their families, or that Sunday schools not affiliated with the Union had local schemes for their care – this highlights the importance of a regional case study in this chapter. Rather, NSSU did not mobilise its resources around care for disabled veterans. Religious aid to the war

wounded decreased with distance from the conflict. NSSU directed teaching initiatives away from disabled ex-servicemen, actively decided to put money into causes not concerning veterans (children) and condemned the coping mechanisms of some veterans (alcohol). Hence, in interwar Britain, the NSSU as a charitable body did not maximise the potential of religious education as a rehabilitative measure for the war wounded. Sunday schools engaged with these men, but their care was implicit, as it was not a primary concern for the charity. The charitable shift the war encouraged was not one towards disability.

Chapter Four analyses the activities of the British Limbless Ex-Servicemen's Association as part of the second section of this thesis, which focuses on medical charities. In doing so, it looks at more explicit examples of care for disabled veterans than those provided by the NSSU and develops the link between disabled veterans and politics and the differences in the moral and medical framing of disability touched upon in this chapter.

Chapter Four: Disability, Religion, and the British Limbless Ex-Servicemen's Association (BLESMA)

Introduction

The First World War rendered 41,000 British servicemen amputees.¹ Created specifically and exclusively to care for these men, Scottish veterans founded the Limbless Ex-Servicemen's Association (LESMA) in Glasgow in 1921. In 1932, the charity reached national status as LESMA members formed the British Limbless Ex-Servicemen's Association (BLESMA) to give a united platform and voice for limbless veterans across Scotland and England. With over 12,000 members and 102 branches today, BLESMA is as committed to combating the concerns of limbless veterans in 2020 as it was in 1921.

The aim of this chapter is twofold: to provide a comparison in the ways in which religion affected care for disabled ex-servicemen in a secular rather than religious charitable setting as in previous chapters; and to provide insights into the ways in which the state and charities interacted in interwar Britain. To do this, the chapter first considers the post-war origins of LESMA and BLESMA. Next, it examines several regional case studies, including Manchester, Blackpool, and Preston. These show that limbless veterans were increasingly concerned with the social conditions they faced by organising political rallies to voice their concerns and to demand better social and political rights for disabled veterans in the 1920s and 1930s. Then, it addresses BLESMA's response to government aid for female relatives who cared for disabled ex-servicemen. Lastly, because the King was the

¹ Mary Guyatt, 'Better Legs: Artificial Limbs for British Veterans of the First World War', *Journal of Design History*, 14 (4) (2001), 307-325, p.311.

head of the British government and the Church of England, the chapter looks at Royal Patronage as a way of examining the corresponding relationship between religion, charitable help for the disabled, and the government.

By emphasising the active involvement of disabled veterans in rallies and charity work, this chapter contradicts arguments suggesting disabled veterans were passive recipients of charitable care and/or state discipline.² Anglican clergymen and MOP workers were always present at the BLESMA rallies.³ Through engaging with men of the church, as with members of government departments and charities, disabled veterans fought to 'secure their rights' in interwar Britain.⁴ This connection between Christianity, LESMA and BLESMA is also indicative of the social mobilisation of religion after the war as neither charity was a Christian organisation. However, both established strong links with the established Church in their desire to persuade the British government to improve the social and economic conditions limbless veterans faced after 1918. By highlighting this connection, the chapter argues that religion had a role to play in the 'activeness' of BLESMA's members. As with NSSU's implicit response to care for the disabled, BLESMA's implicit religious response to the care for disabled veterans reveals that Christian belief and practice did not need to be explicit in religious or secular charitable care for the disabled to have an impact on those giving and receiving charitable aid.

An analysis of internal correspondence between BLESMA workers, the MOP and the MOL, alongside newspaper articles and BLESMA's own publications on training and treatment before 1939, reveals that the government

² Martin Purdy, p.20.

³ TNA: PIN 15/1411, BLESMA correspondence and resolutions relating to unemployment/training/treatment, 1937.

⁴ Helen Bettinson, p.252.

engaged differently with BLESMA compared to Toc H, LWH, and NSSU. The government was more involved with secular medical charities which helped disabled veterans than it was in religious charities that did not specialise in caring for the disabled. The sacrosanct nature of religion and how the MOP saw its own role and that of the Church in welfare concerns helps to explain this difference in the relationship between charities and the state.

BLESMA Aims

LESMA and BLESMA's primary aim was to ensure that 'no limbless ex-serviceman needlessly suffered additional hardship or anxiety' at the hands of the government.⁵ Thus, each BLESMA branch had its own welfare and employment committee, with members serving on local disablement advisory committees.⁶ These committees interpreted welfare as an economic concern. This is because, to realise its aim of reducing hardship, BLESMA wanted disabled men who were no longer able to get work in the open labour market to be taken out of that market and found alternative employment and/or given an increased pension so they would not need additional public funds.⁷ The economic focus was influenced by the socio-economic conditions of LESMA and BLESMA's place of origin. In industrial towns in Scotland and northern England, unemployment, especially unemployment for the disabled, was acute in the 1920s and 1930s.⁸ Regionalism and locality did not just affect the type of help a charity could give to

⁵ George Chandley, 'Limbless Ex-Servicemen', *The British Medical Journal*, 2 (4673) (1950), p.300.

⁶ Ibid.; David Turner, 'Disability History: Looking Forward to a Better Past', *History Workshop Journal*, 71 (1) (2011), 283-287, p.284.

⁷ 'Ex-Servicemen's Association', *The Windsor Express*, 5 May 1939.

⁸ IWM: LBY K.89/1326, George Chandley, *Thirty Years of BLESMA: The Work and History of the British Limbless Ex-Service Men's Association* (London: BLESMA, 1962) p.7; Mike Martin, pp.155-170.

disabled veterans or the resources it had available (as discussed in Chapters One to Three).⁹ BLESMA highlights how circumstances in specific areas were the reasons some charities formed, influenced charitable aims and how charities approached care for veterans. This link between the social conditions of the place of origin, charitable aims, and the state reinforces the idea that both state aid to disabled veterans, as well as charitable aid to disabled veterans, should be analysed within the wider context of the British economy, especially as different regions had varying levels of wealth.¹⁰ Post-war social conditions, as well as a shared disability, united limbless men.

The BLESMA committee held the state responsible for the financial losses veterans incurred through the loss of a limb in war and wanted the government to take more responsibility for their 'pensions, gratuities, rehabilitation and all facets of recovery and maintenance'.¹¹ Yet government departments wanted disabled veterans to take more accountability over their own socio-economic conditions after the war. This chapter examines how this question of responsibility affected charitable care for disabled veterans. This is an important distinction because the question of responsibility did not seem to concern the religious charities analysed in the same way. BLESMA (and as shown in the next chapter, ESWS) looked to the government to change the political landscape for disabled

⁹ There is a large body of work by scholars of economics, political science, and international relations on international and national 'regionalism': there is no consensus over how this term is defined. This thesis draws on Russett's definition: 'geographic proximity, social and cultural homogeneity, shared political attitudes and economic interdependence'. See: Bruce Russett, *International Regions and The International System. A Study in Political Ecology* (Chicago: Rand & McNally & Co., 1967). For an overview of different definitions, see, Edward Mansfield and Etel Solingen, 'Regionalism', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 13 (1) (2010), 145-163.

¹⁰ Ana Carden-Coyne, 'Ungrateful Bodies: Rehabilitation, Resistance and Disabled American Veterans of the First World War', *European Review of History*, 2007, 14 (4), 543-565, p.545.

¹¹ Stephen R. Ward, 'Intelligence Surveillance of British Ex-Servicemen, 1918-1920', *The Historical Journal*, 16 (1) (1973), 179-188, pp.180-181.

veterans to improve conditions for the men in both their present and future. Religious charities wanted to help disabled veterans in their current position, whether this be through combating loneliness or advertising for jobs, rather than utilising politics to change future conditions. Examined in more depth below, the ways in which charities interacted with the government and politics therefore influenced the position of disabled veterans within their care.

Origins of BLESMA

During the war and after the armistice, limbless veterans came together for their treatment and prosthetic fittings at private and government limb fitters and specialised hospitals, such as Erskine in Scotland and Roehampton in London. Here, a 'spirit of kinship developed arising from their common disability and problems of adjustment'.¹² Initially, the treatment for limb loss 'kept alive the spirit and comradeship which had existed amongst the trenches' for disabled veterans, suggesting that a specific war disability united men in a way that disability occurring in times of peace could not.¹³ It was only after treatment and discharge from the army that 'the great period of disillusionment set in'.¹⁴ Veterans expected better treatment from the country they had sacrificed themselves for than the 'inadequate war pensions and mass unemployment upon return'.¹⁵ Social circumstances, as well as their shared disability and war service, brought limbless men together after the war to discuss their problems and how they could improve

¹² Chandley, *Thirty Years of BLESMA*, p.2. For more on hospital culture and physical disability as a 'nexus of trauma', see Ana Carden-Coyne, 'Painful Bodies and Brutal Women: Remedial Massage, Gender Relations and Cultural Agency in Military Hospitals, 1914-18', *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, 1 (2) (2008), 139–158.

¹³ Chandley, *Thirty Years of BLESMA*, p.2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

their conditions. A group of such men in Glasgow banded together and the first branch of LESMA formed in the city in 1921. Other branches in Edinburgh, Dundee, Hamilton, and Aberdeen quickly followed.

Privately and institutionally, help for the limbless had grown throughout the war. In design and mass production, the war was the catalyst for great change in the British artificial limb and disability aids industry.¹⁶ Prior to 1914, the British government guaranteed a free artificial limb to all amputee ex-service men, and in terms of leg cases 'a full artificial leg and not a peg leg'.¹⁷ During the war, the outcome of such control was the MOP deciding which limb-makers would serve the military market, and, increasingly, what kinds of devices they should make. The MOP's involvement undercut advances by individuals such as the London art teacher C. A. Shecher who patented a moving table for the benefit of armless veterans in 1915, and the dress maker Emily Drage who patented a one-armed reversible coat in 1916.¹⁸ The state was not responsible for all prosthetic advancements, despite their input in 1918 and 1921. In 1918, the government set up a research laboratory to develop new materials for use in the industry.¹⁹ 1921 was when the government made the Desoutter Bros metal leg available to all men who had lost a leg in the war.²⁰ The government had control over the types of prosthesis a disabled man would and should receive, in part taking control of a

¹⁶ Mary Guyatt, p.310.

¹⁷ For treatment of the war disabled prior to the First World War, see Caroline Nielsen, 'The Chelsea Out-Pensioners: Image and Reality in Eighteenth-Century and Early Nineteenth-Century Social Care'(unpublished doctoral thesis, Newcastle University, 2014).

¹⁸ Mary Guyatt, p.308.

¹⁹ The Inventions Department of the Ministry of Munitions at Thames Ditton first ran the research laboratory. In 1920, it moved to Roehampton and its control transferred to the MOP. Mary Guyatt, p.323; Kevin Kinch and Jonathan Clasper, 'A Brief History of War Amputation', *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps*, 157 (4) (2011), 374-380.

²⁰ Gordon Phillips, *Best Foot Forward: Chas. A. Blatchford & Sons (Artificial Limb Specialists), 1890-1990*, (London: Granat Editions, 1990); H. H. C. Baird, 'The End of Wooden Legs', *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps*, 41 (3) (1923), 211-214.

limbless man's rehabilitation away from the limbless man himself. The formation of LESMA in 1921 indicates that not all servicemen thought that state efforts such as the laboratory or metal leg went far enough, and that they wanted more control over how the state responded to their condition.

Not all LESMA members were aware of their entitlement to a Desoutter Bros leg. In 1923, former army Captain of the 15th Scottish Division and editor of *The Serviceman*, H. H. C Baird stated: 'the majority of legless ex-servicemen are either still unaware of the conditions this leg can be supplied in or believe their issue is still confined to officers'.²¹ Poor advertising and perceived notions of treatment and class entitlement influenced discontent amongst limbless veterans, particularly in the overwhelmingly working class towns where LESMA originated.²² The assumption by lower ranks – who were traditionally working class – that they were not entitled to the leg highlights a disconnect between the state and working class veterans. The rapid growth of LESMA across Scotland further suggests a general unrest amongst a certain class of ex-servicemen in relation to the conditions they faced.

By the late 1920s this unrest had driven LESMA to form connections and contacts with limbless ex-servicemen in the North of England. A branch opened in Manchester in 1929. Manchester had the largest population of disabled ex-servicemen of any British city outside London and was home to the largest military hospital in the North.²³ Other LESMA branches formed in Leeds, Hull,

²¹ H. H. C. Baird, p.212; Lieutenant-Colonel John Stewart and John Buchan, *The Fifteenth (Scottish) Division: 1914–1919* (Bedford: Andrews UK Limited, 2012), p.300. Baird was a member of the 1920 government enquiry into the system and methods of administration of the MOP, with special reference to regional and local committee systems and existing arrangements for the issue of pensions. <<https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1920-11-18/debates/10bb5e0f-7304-419e-8d4d-c034c0db678c/WrittenAnswers>> [Accessed 21 January 2020].

²² George Chandley, p.3.

²³ Meaghan Kowalsky, 'This Honourable Obligation', p.568.

Burnley, Accrington, Southport, Bradford, Halifax and Wigan within the year. BLESMA strongholds therefore remained in northern towns and cities where 'traditions of non-deferential, working class political activism ran deep' as they had for LESMA in Scotland.²⁴ This suggests a correlation between class and political ideologies in the spread of charitable activity and in the approaches mobilised by charities to create change for disabled veterans. LESMA and BLESMA held political rallies to call for change which reflected their activist roots. As a new organisation of rank-and-file soldiers, LESMA challenged the more conservative leadership of charities such as Toc H and LWH. Hence, LESMA's main concern was not medical or prosthetic advancements that would make the physical realities of their disability easier (advancements such as the metal leg were being made), but shared social and class conditions, which as the metal leg highlights, affected the ability of men to receive such physical advancements.²⁵

While limbless men were dissatisfied with the state's response to their treatment, the English branches soon became dissatisfied with Scottish control. In 1930 they asked LESMA for a constitution and a democratic election of officers and members of an Executive Council. As LESMA did not respond to these requests, the English groups met in Leeds in 1931. Highlighting the level of discontent, seven men from seven LESMA branches created BLESMA at this meeting. The charity had reached national status: BLESMA published its constitution and held its first annual council in Manchester in 1932. This implies that 'British' was used contentiously to show LESMA members that limbless ex-

²⁴ TNA: PIN 15/1409, Jack. V. Bell to Minister of Pensions, 30 November 1935; Seth Koven, p.1202.

²⁵ Julie Anderson, "Jumpy Stump", pp.9-19.

servicemen in England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland deserved the same treatment and attention since they faced similar hardships.

It was not until the Second World War that BLESMA directly associated themselves with medical care for limbless men. Many BLESMA branches closed between 1939 and 1945. ARP duties, the black-out and the manpower shortage caused by active service provided work for the unemployed war limbless, meaning many BLESMA men could not attend meetings.²⁶ The war gave many members employment and a sense of purpose they had not felt since their First World War injury. In 1939, like NSSU in 1914, BLESMA issued a 'special appeal' to branches 'to keep going in these difficult times'.²⁷ This was because BLESMA did not want the 'new war limbless generation to suffer neglect in the way their fathers did', and they also wanted the older generation of war limbless to receive better treatment in their advancing years.²⁸

As a direct result of the 1939 appeal, a new BLESMA branch opened near Roehampton. Most limbless veterans passing through Roehampton hospital enrolled as BLESMA members during the Second World War.²⁹ The opening of homes for the war limbless did not occur until 1949. These later developments contradict the idea that charities 'forgot' disabled veterans as distance from the First World War increased, suggesting that the length of time charities dedicated

²⁶ BLESMA History.<<https://blesma.org/about-us/our-history/>> [Accessed 4 February 2020].

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ George Chandley, pp.4-5.

²⁹ This was not an isolated scheme. Leeds BLESMA undertook visits to Chapel Allerton Hospital (the 'Roehampton of the North') with 1,000 new members recruited from this hospital by 1942. Harold Blackhouse (Manchester branch) visited hospitals within the reach of the city and Chandley visited hospitals further afield to meet limbless men arriving from overseas. Comforts were issued to all these men, including a leaflet providing help and advice on coming to terms with their new disability. The leaflet was the blueprint for BLESMA's handbook, distributed to all members after 1945. George Chandley, pp.4-5.

to caring for veterans was individually determined and one that was not religiously motivated. These later developments are also the reason why historians have tended to look at the activities of BLESMA after the Second and not the First World War. Therefore, the interwar focus of this chapter provides a new and more time-specific study of the history of the organisation.

Religious Origins

Although BLESMA was not Christian, members celebrated their organisation in an Anglican church service every year after 1932. This had not been the case for LESMA.³⁰ The services connect the disciplines of religion and rehabilitation and highlight the extent to which Christianity was embedded in post-war society. After the first council meeting, BLESMA members joined relatives and friends in attending church ‘for a service of Dedication of the Association’s Banner’, which became an annual event. On the eve of the Second World War, the service was held in the Manchester City Church of St Ann. It included members from five new branches: Ashton, Blackpool, Huddersfield, Middleton and Stockport.³¹ Through the partnership of Arthur Baxter (National President) and George Chandley (General Secretary), local influential friends of the charity attended the service, including Alderman Miss Mary Kingsmill Jones, Dame Irene Ward, and Members of Parliament Colonel Sir Joseph Nall and A. E. Radford.³² From the outset, BLESMA had female and political support that was encouraged and celebrated in a religious setting.

³⁰ For more on the role of the Church of England in Scotland, see David Coulter, ‘Church of Scotland Army Chaplains in the Second World War’ (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1998), pp.1-50.

³¹ George Chandley, *Thirty Years of BLESMA*, p.4.

³² Medical Notes in Parliament, *The British Medical Journal*, 2 (4951) (1955), 1337-1338.

Clergymen also held prominent positions in various LESMA and BLESMA committees and religious voices were present in many decisions made by the charity. Local branches employed chaplains on a voluntary basis to help its members. For example, the Reverend R. W. Waddelow, a local councillor and a 'powerful and eloquent speaker' at BLESMA rallies was instrumental in re-establishing a BLESMA branch in Glasgow and was chaplain to the branch.³³ Reverend H. Battye was Chaplain to the Burnley branch. In a 1938 *Northern Daily Telegraph* article entitled 'Plight of War Disabled', he argued that 'the real problem with British society was ingratitude'.³⁴ In his opinion, because God remembered the sacrifice of disabled veterans so should the public, as BLESMA was actively doing through its work and in Church services. Battye shifted the responsibility of care for disabled veterans from the state to the whole of society – the Church, the public and the state. These examples highlight the implicit influence of religion to BLESMA's original structure and concern for the disabled.

BLESMA Versus the State?

1) Employment Concerns

In advertising pamphlets George Chandley described BLESMA's relations with the MOL and the MOP as 'always friendly and cooperative with a frequent exchange of views'.³⁵ They communicated often, but internal state and BLESMA correspondence reveals an acrimonious relationship. Both sides were often frustrated with the actions of the other. By focusing on the opinions and actions

³³ George Chandley, p.6. Reverend Waddelow became National Vice President of BLESMA in 1947.

³⁴ 'Plight of the War Disabled', *Northern Daily Telegraph*, 26 November 1938.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.6.

of the other organisation, disabled ex-servicemen, and the help they needed were often lost within these exchanges between charity and the state. These exchanges add depth to Reverend Battye's claim that the whole of society had a responsibility to care for disabled veterans not just one body, as emphasised by Jane Lewis' 'mixed economy of welfare' discussion on disability.³⁶

In 1936, BLESMA sent a questionnaire to its members to enquire about employment status and what government or charitable financial help they received. While completed questionnaires are unavailable, statistics based on the answers by BLESMA, the MOP and the MOL are available, showing how different departments viewed the war limless. Chandley sent the 1,200 completed questionnaires to the MOL and the MOP.³⁷ Both departments had accused BLESMA of publishing false facts on unemployment in pamphlets and programmes produced for its own fundraising concerts and entertainment evenings to gain support for the charity by badmouthing the government.³⁸ The MOP used the 'Kentucky Minstrels' pamphlet as an example to make their argument. In November 1937, 'The Kentucky Minstrels', an entertainment troupe created by Reverend Peter Green, the Rural Dean of Salford, hosted a concert in Manchester. In the concert programme, Reverend Green suggests the government believed pensions met the needs of the disabled, but that BLESMA's results 'prove government provisions are inadequate'.³⁹ This was because '74,000 men were unemployed. 31,000 received unemployment benefits and 12,000 had local public assistance relief'.⁴⁰ BLESMA uses these figures to

³⁶ Jane Lewis, 'The Voluntary Sector in the Mixed Economy of Welfare', p.11.

³⁷ TNA: PIN 15/1411, MOP correspondence: Ramsbotham report on BLESMA activities, 1936-37.

³⁸ TNA: PIN 15/1409, BLESMA: Concert Pamphlets, 1935-37.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

support its argument that the state needed to do more to meet the needs of the war limbless. This provides an example of BLESMA mobilising its religious friends (the voice of Reverend Green) to gain support.

Mr Ramsbowtham, an MOP civil servant, argued that the figures Green quoted were based on the 1,200 replies to the questionnaire. He maintained that BLESMA had multiplied the results by the total number of limbless men.⁴¹ BLESMA was assuming the experiences of the 1,200 respondents mirrored those of the '425,000 pensioners in receipt of war disability allowances'.⁴² This could not be the case and Ramsbowtham describes BLESMA's argument and method as 'trying to make a pyramid stand on its apex': it did not stand up.⁴³ Because the figures were largely obtained from Manchester and other textile districts 'where employment is admittedly not so good as in other parts of the country', the results were disproportionately high.⁴⁴ This makes the figures appear hyperbolised.

Ramsbowtham wrote to Chandley about such figures. Because the figures were misleading, Ramsbowtham concluded that BLESMA's research 'does not form a case for any special inquiry into the condition of ex-servicemen'.⁴⁵ The figures do not confirm what BLESMA told the government, that predominantly, 'unemployed war veterans are from a competitive employment and an industrial standpoint totally and permanently incapacitated'.⁴⁶ In its examination of charitable efforts to get men back into employment, this thesis agrees with Ramsbowtham that many disabled veterans were not 'totally and permanently

⁴¹ TNA: PIN 15/1411, MOP correspondence: Ramsbotham report on BLESMA activities, 1936-37.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ TNA: PIN 15/1411: BLESMA correspondence and resolutions relating to unemployment/ training/ treatment, 1937.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

incapacitated from an economic standpoint', as BLESMA told the Ministry.⁴⁷ Through state schemes such as KNRS, Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops and charitable activities such as the Allotment and gardening schemes run by Toc H and LWH, disabled veterans returned to work or learned new skills to increase their chances of competing on the employment market. BLESMA's concern here was not the adequacy of state employment schemes but the pension, or lack of pension, that an unemployed disabled ex-serviceman received.

By BLESMA's 1936 calculation, 31,000 disabled ex-servicemen were not receiving unemployment benefit, a statistic which was deemed inadequate by BLESMA. This highlights that measuring adequacy of state care through employment figures or the figures of those receiving pensions is problematic. Unemployment figures, as referenced in BLESMA's programmes, are not indicative of economic incapacity amongst veterans – they merely show how many veterans were not in employment at that time, and they provide no indication of their ability to work. For example, the reason a man may be unemployed may not be related to his disability, but to the socio-economic conditions of the place in which he lived. It was not necessarily the case that the state was not 'doing enough' to help the 43,000 men who were in receipt of state aid, but rather, the state could be doing more to help the 31,000 who were left behind. The gap helps to qualify the frustration felt by BLESMA whereby so many men were not receiving help. Measures such as increasing pensions or introducing new employment initiatives would not have been a comment on the adequacy of state care for the 43,000 it helped. BLESMA appears to have conflated state pension and employment initiatives, leading to miscommunication

⁴⁷ Ibid.

and confusion between the charity and state as emphasised by this correspondence, in which BLESMA does not appear to have fully considered that disabled men's pensions were often so insufficient as to require men to be employed to survive.⁴⁸

While the employment figures published by BLESMA suggest there was room for improvement, the state did not shift all responsibility to care for disabled veterans onto charities. Figure 4.1 shows the number of limbless veterans the MOP cared for in particular settings and the total cost.

Year:	Number of men entitled to issue of artificial limbs:	Number of men who received treatment in MOP hospitals or clinics:	Total Cost of Treatment and Surgical appliances (£sd):
1931	36,326	29,216	1,549,200
1932	36,150	22,669	1,402,918
1933	35,913	17,550	1,260,605
1934	35,713	14,257	1,175,478
1935	35,504	12,042	1,069,324

Figure 4.1: MOP Statistics For Limbless Men: 1931-1935 ⁴⁹

Although the figures reduce year on year, it is not indicative that the state cared less as the years went by. Mortality rates of limbless veterans for the same years are not available, and it is unclear whether the total cost included inflation. What the figures do show is that the state cared for limbless veterans long after the armistice. There were problems, but the state provided medical care, awarded pensions and helped men find employment. Noticeably, BLESMA did not challenge the MOP's medical response to veterans in the same way that it did its economic response.

⁴⁸ Joanna Bourke on the per centage disability question in *Dismembering the Male*, pp.66-67.

⁴⁹ TNA: PIN 15/1410, Unemployment, treatment allowances and welfare BLESMA correspondence, April 1936.

However, BLESMA did not appreciate the government's implication that it was altering figures to publicly disagree with the work done by the government. BLESMA also did not appreciate the MOP's criticisms of its research into the conditions limbless veterans faced. These tensions made the MOP less inclined to co-operate with BLESMA since the MOP did not open an enquiry into care for limbless veterans as BLESMA had demanded in the early 1930s. BLESMA had wanted the results of their questionnaire to prompt such a response by the MOP. It was not just BLESMA's research that the MOP criticised or ignored – it often disregarded the charity's representatives, such as Chandley, as the hostile language in this 1937 letter from Downing Street to G. H. Bowler Esq at the MOP highlights:

Mr Chandley has returned to his vomit and sent the PM a letter. If we do not reply soon, he will continue to pester us. Chandley apologises for troubling the PM's office with these matters but the attitude of the ministry towards our representations leaves us with no alternative. We trust you will appreciate no personal attack is intended against the Minister. Our intention is to draw attention to the need for change of heart in the attitude of the ministry toward war disabled men.⁵⁰

'Pester' and 'vomit' suggest a lack of respect for Chandley, himself an ex-sergeant who had lost a leg in the war.⁵¹ The personality and actions of a charitable leader or wider leadership influenced the receptiveness of other organisations to help that charity. It does not necessarily mean that the state disagreed with the cause, but they did not want to work with that specific charity and/or person.

As the above letter shows, Chandley suggested that the government needed to pay more attention to the concerns of disabled veterans. Despite the

⁵⁰ TNA: PIN 15/1416, BLESMA correspondence, 1938-39.

⁵¹ 'Fight For The Legion', *News of the World*, 5 December 1937.

tension, neither BLESMA or Chandley stopped 'pestering' the government, emphasising their resilience and passion. For example, BLESMA criticised government departments for a lack of understanding surrounding the issues disabled men faced in finding employment, and throughout the 1930s BLESMA took direct representations to the MOL. BLESMA wanted the government and parliament to recognise that in many areas, 'the limbless disabled were not getting the fair share of the few available jobs'.⁵² Paradoxically, BLESMA blamed this outcome on the state, but recognised state efforts to tackle the issue. For example, the 1936 questionnaire asked members if they had ever had any success under The King's Roll, and BLESMA publications continued to 'strongly urge employers signed up to the scheme to give more work to war crippled men'.⁵³ Despite any concerns, BLESMA supported government initiatives and was not always as hostile as the correspondence between Chandley and Ramsbowtham implies.⁵⁴

These examples highlight how BLESMA wanted financial security for disabled veterans by focusing on pensions and employment. Unlike other European nations such as Germany, the British state did not introduce compulsory employment schemes.⁵⁵ Mike Mantin argues that this, rather than issues with state measures for the disabled, produced an 'inadequate employment situation', fuelling disputes between charities and ex-servicemen (such as BLESMA members) and the government.⁵⁶ Although the correspondence between the MOP, Chandley and Ramsbowtham emphasises how issues with state measures also fuelled tensions between these institutions,

⁵² George Chandley, *Thirty Years of BLESMA*, p.6.

⁵³ 'MPs Ask Deputation of Ex-Soldiers', *Daily Herald*, 20 July 1938.

⁵⁴ TNA: PIN 15/1414, BLESMA publications and pamphlets, 1938.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Mike Mantin, p.158.

Martin's position is reflected in many of Chandley's 'frustrated' letters to the MOP. In 1937 he wrote: 'France and Canada provide sheltered employment for disabled ex-servicemen. Our Dominions recognise a permanent state of incapacitation, irrespective of the assessment of physical disablement and make special provisions for these men'.⁵⁷ Deborah Cohen blames a comparative ineffectiveness on government inactivity: 'British Ministries had little inclination to tackle the complicated problems training problems presented', as charities took on this role.⁵⁸ Chandley's requests for the department to alter its attitude to disabled men, as highlighted in the 1937 letter, adds nuance to Cohen's claim by suggesting that BLESMA wanted 'this role' to involve charities and the state.

The correspondence between BLESMA and the MOP also highlights how the MOP had enough interest in the concerns of disabled veterans that it hindered the ability of charities, such as BLESMA, to fulfil this role. As disabled veterans did not have full support from the state, charities provided alternative work programmes and created employment opportunities although they were under no obligation to do so.⁵⁹ Charity work therefore fuelled 'the little inclination' of the government Cohen references and the 'attitude of the Ministry' Chandley refers to in his letters.⁶⁰

Economics also had a part to play. The financial assistance that state workshops such as the Lord Roberts Workshops received from the government depended on the amount they collected from charitable donations. The more the

⁵⁷ TNA: PIN 15/1412, Unemployment, treatment allowances and welfare, 1937-8.

⁵⁸ Deborah Cohen, p.26.

⁵⁹ Carolyn Malone, 'A Job Fit for Heroes? Disabled Veterans, the Arts and Crafts Movement and Social Reconstruction in Post-World War I Britain', *First World War Studies*, 4 (2) (2013), 201-217.

⁶⁰ TNA: PIN 15/1416, BLESMA correspondence, 1938-9; Deborah Cohen, p.26.

public donated, the less money the workshop received from the government.⁶¹ Because of this relationship, the government was less inclined to support charities (whether the focus was on veterans or not) to save money that could be raised from the public. Therefore, it is too simple to say that state aid to disabled veterans was 'inadequate' without looking at the economic relationship between the state and other groups of people in society or the relationship between the state and charities which did not focus on veterans. BLESMA was funded entirely through donations: its relationship with the MOP and the MOL emphasised the control government departments had over charities, even when they did not fund them.

For BLESMA specifically, Seth Koven suggests that class politics offers another reason for the tensions between BLESMA and the MOP. This was alongside the fact that there were no compulsory work schemes introduced in Britain and a dissatisfaction with state provisions for the disabled causing tensions between charities and the state. Koven argues that disagreements and hostility arose because 'civil servants and members of Stanley Baldwin's conservative ministry, wrongly identified BLESMA as a subversive political group', which is why the state 'discredited the organisation's findings in extensive internal memos', as seen in Manchester in 1936 and 1937.⁶² While the 1937 Kentucky Programme highlights these divisions, it did not represent the start. Tensions had existed since BLESMA became a national organisation in 1932. A letter from J. Bell, BLESMA's general secretary, to the MOP on 30 November 1935 blames the 'shameful... Public Assistance and Unemployment Boards' for the 'sad and regrettable home life of war disabled pensioners.'⁶³ The slogan

⁶¹ Deborah Cohen, p.43.

⁶² Seth Koven, 'Crippled Children', p.1202.

⁶³ TNA: PIN 15/1409, Unemployment, treatment, and welfare, 1935-7.

'Others May Forget We Cannot 1914-1918' (suggesting that BLESMA thought the government *had* forgotten) appears on the upper left corner of the letter, and, on the right, 'The wearer of our Badge is worthy of your greatest consideration'.⁶⁴ With pensions, schemes such as the KNRS (see below), and its interaction with charities, the state had not forgotten about veterans, emphasising how BLESMA's implication that it had done so would be frustrating for the MOP.

The MOP and BLESMA were simultaneously frustrated with one another. From BLESMA's perspective, disabled veterans were the focus of the charity and not its political or social standing, despite most BLESMA sources citing the politics of government departments. Yet, BLESMA's letterhead featured the words 'non-political/non-sectarian' and asked the public for their patience with disabled men.⁶⁵ BLESMA belonged to disabled men, not a political party, group or individual. As the letters were not for public use, the MOP was reminded it was 'the public' for disabled ex-servicemen. This distinction stopped in the 1940s when conditions between BLESMA and the government were not as hostile as when Bell sent his letter in 1935. Hence, while an analysis of BLESMA illuminates the complex relationship between interwar charities and the state and how both viewed their roles towards veterans, this chapter suggests that politics complicated such interactions and fuelled tensions between the two institutions, an idea developed later in the chapter through an analysis of BLESMA and political rallies.

⁶⁴ Seth Koven, 'Crippled Children', p.1202.

⁶⁵ TNA: PIN 15/ 1410, Unemployment, treatment, and welfare, 1937.

2) BLESMA and KNRS

In 1918, the MOP issued a medical assessment for veterans which placed a percentage on a man's disability. 100 per cent was a severe disability discounting most work and fifty per cent meant suitability to specific types of work. This 'reduced men to numerical categorization and employers were less likely to hire men with higher per centages as all disabilities came under one quota'.⁶⁶ These per centages also changed based on the type of limb loss. For example, loss of both feet was 100 per cent, but loss of four fingers was fifty per cent, implying that the government did not think that all 'limbless' veterans would face the same hardships when seeking employment.⁶⁷ In 1935 George Chandley wrote that the 'disabled were not getting their fair share of jobs', by which he meant in comparison to able bodied veterans.⁶⁸ However, under this numerical approach, severely disabled veterans did not have the same chance to find work as less severely disabled veterans. This was despite KNRS, the flagship government scheme to get disabled men back into work, theoretically covering all levels of disablement.⁶⁹ Disabled veterans competed against other disabled veterans as well as able bodied veterans for work. Disability per centages and KNRS are useful to this study because of BLESMA's concerns over unemployment and pension provisions for limbless veterans.

KNRS was initially successful with the public and employers. By February 1920, '102,011 were employed and 10,867 employers were using the badge'.⁷⁰ Julie Anderson shows that by 1922, only 'thirty per cent of firms renewed their

⁶⁶ Mike Mantin, p.159.

⁶⁷ IWM: BLESMA, *BLESMA's Handbook for the War Limbless* (London: Ferndale Marshall, 1955), pp.4-8.

⁶⁸ George Chandley, *Thirty Years of BLESMA*, p.6.

⁶⁹ Thesis Introduction, p.28.

⁷⁰ Mike Mantin, p.158; G., Howson, *Handbook for the Limbless* (London: The Disabled Society, 1922), p.95.

membership and 10,000 disabled ex-servicemen were still unemployed', which correlates with the timing of the opening of the first LESMA branch in Glasgow.⁷¹ Alluded to by BLESMA's published figures, differences between the help available and those needing it has led historians of disability, such as Anne Borsay, to include KNRS within David Gerber's broader analysis of post-war state failure of disabled people, despite its initial success.⁷² Deploying statistics from the MOL, Meaghan Kowalsky counters Martin's and Anderson's claim that it was only an initial success. KNRS still had 24,526 employers and 322,898 men employed in 1938, which is significant when the highest number of employers between 1920-1938 was 30,600 in 1923 and, the most men employed was 380,000 in 1927 and 1928.⁷³

The number of men employed through KNRS 'significantly outweighed the number of disabled men registered as unemployed'.⁷⁴ At the time of BLESMA's questionnaire in 1936, '317,891 men were employed through the Roll, yet only 30,968 were registered as unemployed'.⁷⁵ Kowalsky points out that 'employment exchange records may not accurately reflect the true number of unemployed disabled men; some men chose not to register as disabled, or did not register at all, namely middle or upper-class men who had familial support or had the opportunity to enter family businesses'.⁷⁶ This reiterates the importance of class hierarchy in an analysis of BLESMA - as its roots were working class - and with war limbless more broadly, as only ten per cent of amputees were officers.⁷⁷ In

⁷¹ Ibid., p.167; Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation*, p.47.

⁷² Anne Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain Since 1750: A History of Exclusion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.128.

⁷³ Meaghan Kowalsky, 'This Honourable Obligation', p.575.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p.37.

Kowalsky's analysis, these men had to register as disabled and relied on schemes such as KNRS and BLESMA to find employment, as highlighted by the Leeds BLESMA case study below.

Kowalsky uses these reasons to argue that KNRS was not 'a failure'. Her findings reiterate the importance of analysing veterans within the wider British economy as overall unemployment figures for disabled ex-servicemen remained between eight and eleven per cent during the interwar years, significantly lower than the able-bodied population. This analysis suggests that KNRS had a part to play. Defining disability as economic, as these per centages do, therefore, is less about social exclusion of the disabled, but, as Cohen argues, relative practicalities. Businesses had to profit under the harsh economic times in Britain (such as large war debts), whereby hiring disabled veterans could hinder the success of the company.⁷⁸

Members of the religious community also signed up and supported KNRS. Despite the links this thesis has shown between medicine, religion, and unemployment in Anglican circles, noticeably absent from the historiography are the schemes offered by churches to find disabled men employment. After the armistice, the British government gave grants to ex-servicemen who needed financial help in completing university or college courses (secular, not theological ones). The ordination candidates who went to universities did so on a government grant, but theological training for those who went direct to the Church's colleges was paid for by the Church in full.⁷⁹ Getting men paid employment within a Church of England church or ministry was the aim of the courses. Like Lord Roberts

⁷⁸ Deborah Cohen, p.40.

⁷⁹ Leeds University Special Collections, Liddle, item 17, Reverend Andrew. L. Robins, 'Religion and the Forces in the First World War' extract.

Memorial workshops, a skill was taught to the men, but without charge and regardless of disability and percentage of disability given to a man by the MOP.⁸⁰ With no cost attached, it was an attractive offer to unemployed disabled ex-servicemen, particularly for those who had found solace in the Church after the war, such as Reverend Proctor who supported BLESMA's political rallies. A man on this scheme and/or a religious institution could be signed to KNRS. This emphasises how religion affected unemployed disabled ex-servicemen (directly as it did not involve the state), which the historiography of disabled ex-servicemen and employment neglects.

Historians Kowalsky and Ena Etsy recognise that the scheme was 'fraught with difficulties' but argue that it fulfilled its duty to ex-servicemen as far as it was possible in the post-war economy.⁸¹ Despite financial difficulty, it provided these men with assistance when 'prevention and relief of unemployment was not regarded as a major governmental duty'.⁸² This positioning by the state contributed to the many discouraging letters from the MOP to BLESMA, as BLESMA believed it should be a government concern. Comparatively, BLESMA's understanding of the changing economy explains its determination and adaptability in its ideas to find limbless war veterans paid employment irrespective of the state position. It highlights how government and charity often approached the economics of disabled veterans differently. The MOP had to consider the government budget, but BLESMA wanted financial security for the

⁸⁰ Ibid.; Bamji/CAM: *Physical and Occupational Re-Education of the Maimed* (New York City: W.Wood and Co, 1919), Appendix One: Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops For Disabled Soldiers and Sailors, by Margaret Sale, pp.161-166, p.161.

⁸¹ Meaghan Kowalsky, *Enabling the Great War*, p.127; Ena Etsy, 'Disabled Ex-Servicemen's Experiences of Rehabilitation and Employment after the First World War', *Oral History*, 25 (2) (1997), 49-58.

⁸² Meaghan Kowalsky, p.127.

limbless.⁸³ Veterans wanted this security at a time when Britain had no compulsory work schemes. Accordingly, BLESMA adopted a dual approach in their primary care for limbless veterans: unemployment and pension provision.

Neither Bell or Chandley in their comparison of the care for limbless veterans in other countries or in their correspondence with government departments, or Mike Martin in his assessment of state help, considered the British economy as Elsy and Kowalsky have done. BLESMA highlights that it is important to consider the economy of regions – in the north where BLESMA operated the most there were high levels of unemployment, particularly of disabled men, as in these areas most work was industrial, which was incompatible with limb loss. By looking at state initiatives such as pensions and employment alongside the relationship between BLESMA and the state on the same issues, David Gerber's analysis of a 'state failure of disabled people' appears too strong in the context of disabled veterans and the wider British economy and the resources the state had available to them at the time.⁸⁴ Although BLESMA had reservations, its public support for state schemes such as KNRS and its encouragement for employers and disabled veterans to get involved, suggests that BLESMA did not actively set out to discredit government help as the MOP suggested, but to make the government and the public aware that all levels of society could do more to help these men.

⁸³ Deborah Cohen, p.43.

⁸⁴ David Gerber, pp.545-574.

Political Rallies, Regionalism and Religion

Manchester

In February 1937, George Chandley, Alderman Dame Mary Kingsmill Jones, and Canon Paton Williams went to see the Lord Mayor of Manchester regarding 1,300 unemployed war limbless in the city. The MOL representatives attended this meeting, and the Lord Mayor sent a letter to every employer in the city. As a result of this letter signed by these notable individuals, 1,000 of the men were provided with jobs in a short space of time. This became known as the 1937 Manchester deputation. BLESMA collaborated with individuals such as Paton Williams and Jones because of their social prestige, philanthropic interest and their ability and potential – as a result of these two qualities – to create social change and employment opportunities for the war limbless. Mary Jones was the first female Lord Mayor of Manchester. She served as a Governor of Manchester Grammar School, Manchester High School for Girls, and the University of Manchester and was a President of the Red Cross Society. Canon Paton Williams was the rector of St Ann's Church, Manchester. He thought prolonged unemployment coupled with war disability would leave men with psychological damage.⁸⁵ He had strong ties with medical professionals as he believed psychologists undertook similar work to church welfare work. Supported by leading Anglican clergymen, *The British Medical Journal* published his opinion:

psychotherapy is bound to play an increasing part in the treatment of those suffering from mental... and physical conditions. Medical work of this kind comes into close relation with some parts of the pastoral work of the Christian clergy and cooperation between clergy and medical psychologists is greatly to be desired. If neglected great harm may result.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ 'Girls Seek Glamour at Blackpool', *Evening Gazette*, 11 March 1939.

⁸⁶ 'Psychotherapy and the Church', *The British Medical Journal*, 2 (4045) 16 July 1938, p.149.

The Bishops of Manchester and Bradford, Dr J. R. Rees, director of the Institute of Medical Psychology and Dr H. P. Newsholme, Minister of Health, Birmingham, supported Williams. Alongside raising funds for a physical solution to war disability, such as medicine or a prosthetic limb, the Church included welfare as a medical advancement. By interacting with BLESMA, clergymen recognised it was not just amputation that could affect the mental and physical health of a veteran (or indeed any civilian suffering with limb loss), but the economic conditions many faced, such as unemployment. BLESMA wanted the state to recognise social deterioration amongst veterans, which is why it pushed the issue of state pensions and employment opportunities over medical advancements such as the metal leg.

The idea that religion had the potential to heal people like medicine had existed in Anglican communities for many years. For example, 'The Scientific Background of Religion In Light of Modern Psychology' was read before the Leeds Clergy Chapter Church Institute, on 12 June 1922, by W. H. Maxwell Telling, who was a Clinical Lecturer in Medicine at the University of Leeds:

The general aims of our professions have much in common. We are out to help, to cure, to save; to mitigate distress and lessen evil. The physician must realise the spiritual; must lift his vision above the physical and beyond the material; and the priest must regard creed as a convenience and not as a compulsion. The practice of the physician merges into the priest, from whom he should learn all that is possible in ministration to the stricken souls of humanity, to whom he can truly say death is the most glorious experience of life.⁸⁷

This example suggests that medicine, religion, and unemployment were connected in Anglican circles. These connections affected decisions made by

⁸⁷ WYAS: RDP68/120/26, 'The Scientific Background of Religion in Light of Modern Psychology', read before the Leeds Clergy Chapter Church Institute, 12 June 1922, p.3.

BLESMA, such as the 1937 deputation in Manchester, which is an example of a priest and a doctor working together. However, Telling's address was delivered before the mid-1920s. This is when Helen Bettinson shows that Canon Williams' concern about unemployment leading to ill health amongst veterans, rather than war service leading to ill health, had become a debate within the MOP and charities as well as the Church.⁸⁸

As the Joint Emergency Fund of the Red Cross argued, unemployment led to malnutrition and shortage of clothes for veterans, which in turn, led to a deterioration in mental and physical health.⁸⁹ Unemployment also led to an increase in pension applications. In 1925, former Minister of Pensions, Ian Macpherson, referred to the 600 new claims submitted under Article 9 each week: 'there has been...a great deal of illness consequent, not upon war service, but upon the ills which the civil population have been caused to bear owing to unemployment'.⁹⁰ Yet, not all government officials agreed with Macpherson's conclusion. Lieut-Col David Watts-Morgan, a Welsh MP, argued instead that unemployed disabled ex-servicemen in his constituency were submitting Article 9 claims as Poor Law Guardians had encouraged them to do so. This was because the Guardians felt it was the responsibility of the state and not the parish to financially maintain these men.⁹¹ This highlights that the Church and the state saw their roles towards disabled ex-servicemen differently: the Church and parishes were the 'protector' and the state the 'provider', which bolsters the 'we will not forget you' approach and lack of financial aid given to disabled veterans

⁸⁸ Helen Bettinson, pp.260-265.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.263. The Fund offered financial relief to men waiting for the outcome of Article 9 claims.

⁹⁰ Parliamentary Debates, Hansard, 1924-5, vol 184, col 1286: 26 May 1925.

⁹¹ Helen Bettinson, p.263; col 1277, Lieut-Col Watts-Morgan, MP for Rhondda.

by Leeds Parish Church and its Sunday group 'AD' after 1920.⁹² An analysis of BLESMA correspondence suggests that when these roles collided, it led to tensions between the Church, charities, and the state. Watts-Morgan's observation also reinforces the arguments made about Anglican approaches to fundraising made in Chapters One and Two: giving money to veterans was seen as a charitable act, but one that was not necessarily seen as a Christian charitable act of service.

Preston

Because of the high attendance rates of limbless veterans and various professionals at the Manchester Deputation, BLESMA organised another rally at Preston Town Hall on 21 October 1937. Reiterating the importance of regionalism for the response of charities to disabled veterans, Preston, like Manchester, was another industrial northern city with high levels of unemployment. Mr Goldstone, an MOP inquiry officer who attended the event, gave a verbal account of the Preston meeting to Captain Webb, who worked for the Ministry:

Eighty persons were present; about half were local men. Mr Howley (President) and Mr Baxter (treasurer) outlined the Welfare scheme. Mr Chandley (secretary) followed: 19,000 disabled men in Manchester receive P.A.C. relief. Reverend A.H. Proctor, V.C of Hyde spoke next. Deploing the apathy shewn by ex-servicemen, he said many hardships needed removing. He referred to the difficulty of getting pensions for war widows of disabled veterans. A Mr Saul spoke last: the poor attendance was not a sign the movement was failing. Disabled veterans were "downtrodden". Time was needed to overcome the feeling no effort on their part could succeed.⁹³

⁹² See Chapter Three, pp.185-191.

⁹³ TNA: PIN 15/1411, BLESMA Press Cuttings, 1937.

Mr Goldstone and Reverend Proctor placed emphasis on disabled veterans to do more to improve their own conditions and to not expect others to help them first. By including women, Reverend Proctor inferred that the first line of help should be the family, reiterating the standpoint of the Christian charities analysed in earlier chapters. Many newspaper publications commented on the event the next day. Mr Goldstone addressed these publications within his letter to the MOP: 'In connection with the cutting from the *'Daily Dispatch'* I may add their main edition contains no mention of the meeting and the enclosed was culled from that on sale in Preston, shewing they regard it as of purely local interest'.⁹⁴ This reduced the scale of the problem from national to regional, but the figures and reports in *The News Chronicle* (a national paper), such as a report that '423,000 Disabled Ex-Servicemen...' would benefit from BLESMA, suggests otherwise.⁹⁵ The account given of Proctor in the *Daily Dispatch* article 'Disabled War Heroes: Call to Premier' contrasts Mr Goldstone's description, while Proctor is absent from the *The News Chronicle* article. The *Daily Dispatch* reported:

Reverend Proctor mentioned an appeal for all ex-servicemen to support efforts to get better treatment for disabled comrades at a rally held by BLESMA in Preston. Mr Proctor said they were not out to attack the government. He believed many ex-servicemen in the cabinet would be sympathetic when the needs of disabled men were laid before the government.⁹⁶

Goldstone's words apply a separate message to Proctor's words: he was aware of difficulties between government departments and disabled veterans, but if these departments met with, or fully took the time to understand, the position of these men, they would have been more considerate of their needs. The account does not suggest that Proctor thought veterans could do more for themselves, as

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

Goldstone was inferring. The discrepancy between the two men emphasises on a small scale how questions over who was responsible for caring for disabled veterans affected how different institutions approached care for veterans.

Mr Goldstone used Reverend Proctor to convince the MOP that the clergy and influential figures supported the Ministry's own views, that men could do more to help themselves. With BLESMA's connections to the clergy, this position would strengthen the Ministry's position within BLESMA when relations between the two were not necessarily 'friendly', as shown by the Chandley correspondence. If Goldstone had reported, as *The Chronicle* did, that the clergy supported disabled ex-servicemen in wanting better conditions and that they were just going through the required government procedures/departments, rather than 'attacking' the government to receive them, then the inaction of the pensions department would seem less justified and leave them open to more criticism. Although it is possible that the newspaper had a closer allegiance with the servicemen than the Ministry, which is why it published Proctor's words, this difference in the re-telling of one account by the media highlights how different people used disabled ex-servicemen for their own gain. This was not an isolated incident or attitude. In 1937, the MOP issued an internal memo saying that it 'refused to deal with those men', referring to the Halifax BLESMA group, and frequently undermined the charity in writing by saying that BLESMA was 'a small group of ex-servicemen in Manchester area', and calling them the wrong name – 'latest effusion from the British limbless people' – despite being aware of other branches across the country with thousands of members.⁹⁷ It is likely that the MOP's representation of

⁹⁷ Ibid.; TNA: PIN 15/1414, Unemployment, treatment, and welfare, 1938.

Reverend Proctor had more to do with how they wanted to be portrayed to the public via the media than a desire for Christian connections.

Reverend Proctor sympathised with the troubles of unemployed ex-servicemen. His own unemployment contributed to his decision to want a career within the Church. His religious career was only possible because of the government grants churches received for ex-servicemen who wanted a qualification in religious education. Recognising the role of the state in his own career, he wanted the state to be more involved over unemployment and disabled ex-servicemen, which is why he joined the BLESMA rallies. Beginning employment at Liverpool Corn Exchange, he was a clerk in the provision trade from 1904 until 1914, when in November he enlisted in the King's Liverpool Regiment, becoming a Private in the 1/5th Battalion. In 1917, he was awarded the VC because of his actions on 4 June 1916, near Ficheux, France. He 'noticed two wounded men moving who were lying in full view of the enemy about fifteen yards in front of the trenches. He went out on his own, and, although heavily fired at, ran, and crawled to the two men, got them under cover of a small bank, dressed their wounds and they were rescued at dusk'.⁹⁸ Procter was the first British soldier to be decorated with the Victoria Cross on the battlefield.⁹⁹ After demobilisation in 1918, he returned to the provision trade, working as a salesman until 1926, when he took up full-time study for Church of England ministry at St Aidan's College, Birkenhead.¹⁰⁰ He was ordained a deacon in 1927 and priest in 1928, while serving a curacy at St Mary's, Prescot, Lancashire. From 1931 to

⁹⁸ *The London Gazette*, 4 August 1916, p.7744; 'County Heroes Who Won the Victoria Cross', *Shropshire Star*, 1 July 2016.

⁹⁹ Crockford, *Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1971-72* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973) p.79.

¹⁰⁰ Anonymous, 'A Tribute to Arthur Herbert Proctor' 'The Tameside Citizen.' <<https://www.tameside.gov.uk/blueplaque/arthurproctervc>> [Accessed 28 August 2019].

1933 he was Vicar of Bosley, and of St Stephen's, Flowery Field, Hyde (both in Cheshire) from 1933 to 1944.¹⁰¹ The press articles omit this information, including that he was an ex-serviceman campaigning for fellow ex-servicemen. Media interpretations are therefore important in understanding the thoughts and actions of BLESMA in a religious and secular context.

The Preston Rally and the Manchester Deputation reiterate the prominence of religious figures in the decision-making process for BLESMA. Paton Williams and Jones and Reverend Proctor are examples of the strong links between the charity and Anglicanism. The sources do not represent other branches of Christianity. This could be because BLESMA thought the Church of England, as the established Church, had more social and political power and influence than other churches. It could also be because BLESMA thought disabled ex-servicemen would respond to Anglican ideas and approaches because of its strong social presence (as determined by membership figures) prior to the outbreak of war and because of the number of Anglican Chaplains who had served in the war. These ideas reiterate the importance of the religious continuity argument made throughout this thesis. Although the reasons are unclear, these examples highlight the importance of religion in politics and the influence this had on disabled ex-servicemen and on the charitable sector in interwar Britain more widely. As earlier chapters have shown, Christian charities often did not allow people of different faiths to become members, whereas not all members of BLESMA's executive committee between 1918-1939 were Christian. David Burman, who became vice-president of BLESMA in 1936, was Jewish.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ *Who Was Who, 1971-1980* (London: A and C Black, 1981), p.643.

¹⁰² Burman was a founding member of Oldham Blind Children's Welfare Organisation and president of the Society of Friends' Service Committee. In 1936 he became Divisional President of the Oldham Cadet Division in the St John Ambulance Brigades Oldham Corps. He was a member of the Great Synagogue. Greater

By not defining religious associations, BLESMA allowed for a wider representation of religion in a charitable setting in interwar Britain than found in religious charities such as Toc H.

Blackpool

The Preston rally led to a rally in Blackpool in 1938, showing the continued and growing unrest amongst limbless veterans. Goldstone described it as 'terribly busy'.¹⁰³ Preston had received far greater press coverage than the Manchester Deputation which had increased awareness of such events, and regional newspapers advertised the Blackpool rally before the event. Because it was not the first of its kind, Goldstone reported that it was 'well organised and led'.¹⁰⁴ This was a complete contrast to his report on the Preston rally and, shows a clear change in attitude.

Over 200 men attended the Blackpool rally. In the opening address, the Mayor of Blackpool stressed, 'it is not sympathy you [disabled veterans] want. Justice is what you want and feel you are entitled to'.¹⁰⁵ In response, Mr M. Murray (a member of BLESMA) stood up and addressed the crowd: 'We want justice not charity. We have had charity for too long. There are now possibilities ex-servicemen who have suffered under the lash of poor treatment, will get up and demand their entitled justice by their own methods and banding together'.¹⁰⁶ This is paradoxical as BLESMA was a charity that was allowing these men's voices to

Manchester County Record Office, 2296, Photographs Relating to David Burman: 1924-30.

¹⁰³ TNA: PIN 15/1411, Preston Rally correspondence, 1937.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ TNA: PIN 15/1412, Blackpool Rally correspondence, 1937-8.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

be heard in a public and political context. Murray's position and these political rallies highlight how even if unemployment made veterans poor and reliant on others, this did not cloud their pride or sense of justice. In wanting justice from the MOP (through pension provisions and employment), veterans resisted the idea that state aid was a form of charity. War pensions and welfare were separate in the minds of these limbless ex-servicemen. In this example, as Mr Goldstone had argued about Proctor, ex-servicemen were saying that only ex-servicemen could create change. Ex-servicemen were undecided about who should rally the call for change – themselves, charities, or government departments such as the MOP or the MOL. Equally though, the same divisions existed around who was responsible for the plight surrounding disabled ex-servicemen: the men themselves or government departments.¹⁰⁷

Newspapers reporting on the Manchester, Preston and Blackpool rallies focused on urban areas with a high-density population. While men may have travelled to these events, it suggests that BLESMA was inactive in smaller rural areas. However, BLESMA was instrumental in improving the chances of men gaining employment in seaside towns and villages with its 'Seaside Allowance'. The 'Seaside Allowance' was not mentioned in the Blackpool reports despite being a seaside town. Section 22 of the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1935, gave a special concession to disabled ex-servicemen enabling qualification for unemployment benefit if they showed ten contributions instead of thirty. A 1937 letter written by Chandley to the MOP reiterated that: 'our members at seaside towns are unable to obtain other than what is termed seasonal employment, and

¹⁰⁷ For more information on veterans' associations after the war, see Julia Eichenberg and John Newman, *The Great War and Veterans' Internationalism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Michael Robinson, "Nobody's Children?": The Ministry of Pensions and the Treatment of Disabled Great War Veterans in the Irish Free State, 1921–1939', *Irish Studies Review*, 25 (3) (2017), 316-335.

the MOL have ruled the special concession mentioned cannot be extended to them'.¹⁰⁸ This suggests that the MOL and the MOP did not always agree on the circumstances surrounding employment and unemployment allowances for the war limbless, but reinforces that a loss of a limb, not personal circumstances, was the only criteria BLESMA had for supporting disabled ex-servicemen. BLESMA campaigned for those in rural/seaside towns knowing their chances of employment were less because of fewer job opportunities overall (for able and disabled), reiterating the influence of the economy and location as a factor in the relationship between employment and war disability.

Ascot

In the newspaper article in which Mr Murray from the Blackpool rally was quoted, another ex-service BLESMA member stated: 'it is a bad sight to see any disabled man begging in the street. It ought not be law to be allowed and if all of you had your rights it would not need to happen'.¹⁰⁹ He was suggesting that the state's handling of disability pensions and unemployment led to begging, and such conditions fuelled discontent between limbless veterans and the government and provided motivation for political rallies. Yet, paradoxically, it was begging and street work undertaken by ex-servicemen as a result of unemployment caused by war disability that made government departments less receptive to disabled ex-servicemen and their needs. Both were emphasised by the police report for ex-servicemen performers on Milson Street, Ascot, 1938.¹¹⁰ A letter in *The Times*

¹⁰⁸ TNA: PIN 15/1413, Letter from Chandley to the MOP, 10 September 1938.

¹⁰⁹ TNA: PIN 15/1412, Blackpool Rally correspondence, 1937-8.

¹¹⁰ TNA: PIN 15/3090, Appeals to public charity by persons representing themselves as ex-service officers, 1919-52. Ascot had a similar demographic to the cities hosting BLESMA rallies.

appeared on 22 June 1938 complaining about the annoyance 'of bands of so-called ex-servicemen', suggesting that the 'police should deal with this nuisance'.¹¹¹ The derogatory language used suggested a level of public distrust for veterans.

The police questioned the men the following day about how they lost limbs, where and when they were members of the British Army in the First World War, whether they received any pension for their amputations and, how much they received. Police told all four that they would check this 'interview' with the chief constable and the MOP and to refrain from appearing in the main streets of the city owing to the number of complaints received. The 1938 police report confirmed and challenged what the men had told the police officer the previous day. Three of the four men had an amputation because of war injury and the fourth because of an industrial accident after discharge from the army. While the false representation of one man qualifies the need for doubt surrounding ex-servicemen performing on streets for a living, the majority in this example were disabled ex-servicemen, bringing into question the assertion made by the member of public who had written into *The Times*. The writer argued that 'blind and maimed men are hired by the day to collect for the bands'.¹¹² The police report did not confirm this, instead legitimating the actions of the men: by collecting for a music performance they were not begging.

However, police reported that they could not do anything about fraud where civilian injured were pretending to be war injured for public sympathy and a chance to earn more money on the streets. Between 1919-1920 an array of regional and national newspapers reported on ex-servicemen in the streets.

¹¹¹ 'Disabled Men in Street Bands', *The Times*, 23 June 1938.

¹¹² Ibid.

While the media attention reduced, this 1938 example shows that it did not disappear, but rather the public heard less about it.¹¹³ This reinforces the importance of change over time when analysing attitudes towards or charitable care for disabled ex-servicemen. With the police and the MOP continually asking questions about the nature of injury and war service it is not surprising that disabled ex-servicemen felt unsupported by the government, enhancing the need for charities such as BLESMA, which were able to campaign and rally on their behalf. This is important because one of the main causes of doubt, as reported by *The Times* article, was the belief that ‘there is no evident need for a limbless ex-serviceman, if his injury is accepted by the MOP because of war service, to parade the streets without an artificial leg or arm, as that appliance is supplied and maintained by the ministry free of charge’.¹¹⁴ Men received a pension income, meaning ‘those men chose that way of life on the road’.¹¹⁵ As Julie Anderson highlights, many prostheses did not fit properly and were painful to wear, meaning that some men managed without, and as BLESMA figures show, not all limbless veterans were in receipt of a disability pension.¹¹⁶ *The Times* here blamed the veteran for his life on the streets and was assuming that the wearing of a prosthesis would solve all the veteran’s problems. Yet, as this chapter emphasises, there was a more nuanced picture than what was presented, something BLESMA wanted both the public (through its rallies and media portrayal) and the government (through its rallies and correspondence) to acknowledge.

¹¹³ TNA: PIN 15/3090, Appeals to public charity.

¹¹⁴ *The Times*, 23 June 1938.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Julie Anderson, “Jumpy Stump”, p.13.

Leeds Case Study

BLESMA did not only help veterans by organising rallies, increasing government awareness of their problems and focusing on pension reform as the media coverage and the notes of BLESMA's central branch in Manchester imply. Analysing the notes of a regional branch highlights BLESMA's domestic role, such as helping limbless veterans with food and clothing. The individual struggles of limbless men mentioned by the Leeds committee meeting documents reiterate how Chandley's view – that government departments harboured an unfavourable attitude to the war limbless – filtered down and hindered BLESMA's progress, in terms of how it could practically help veterans, on a regional and more personal level.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the president of the Unemployment Committee at Leeds BLESMA was Mr Taylor. In September 1928 there were three meetings of the committee and ten limbless men were interviewed.¹¹⁷ Mr Taylor promised that he would find two vacancies within the month while stating that there were currently no vacancies for male labour at the charity. He visited a further five families who ran businesses looking for employment on behalf of limbless members. All five only wanted 'fit men' but promised to 'notify BLESMA if any vacancies became available'.¹¹⁸ These companies did not get back in touch, helping to explain the frustration felt by BLESMA on behalf of veterans. Mr Taylor told all members to find out whether potential employers were on KNRS as this could make it easier to find work, because firms signed up to the scheme had agreed that five per cent of their workforce would be disabled ex-servicemen. Taylor recognised that companies not on the KNRS offered opportunities by

¹¹⁷ University of Leeds Special Collections: Liddle, General Aspects Wounds, Item 49.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

adapting the jobs they would give disabled veterans. For example, the North British Railway employed disabled veterans as cleaners and not on the railway.¹¹⁹ After the next committee meeting in May 1929, Taylor asked unemployed members to inform the committee if they had found employment and asked for full participation in BLESMA concerns. This emphasises BLESMA's continued support for the men, which is not clear from the letters between the BLESMA committee and the government.

Like Toc H, Leeds BLESMA had a veteran library and day out scheme. By 1929 it had lent 1,700 books to its members to help rehabilitation. An example of the day out scheme included when, in 1930, Mr Thompson, a local businessman, wrote to the unemployment committee asking if members would like to visit Golden Acre Park. The committee welcomed the suggestion and Mr Thompson arranged transport for the men.¹²⁰ As was the case with all branches, Leeds relied on public support. In September 1930, Leeds Football Club offered money to BLESMA. As a condition of acceptance, BLESMA had to conduct an interview at the club about the donation and publish the conversation: through media exposure both the charity and football club benefited from the deal.¹²¹

With the support of the management committee, BLESMA member A. Lehan applied to the MOP for a further pensions board in connection with his Tuberculosis in 1930. The MOP affirmed the period that had elapsed since the end of the war was too long to permit considerations of the case and turned the application down. Taylor noted: 'Lehan is under the care of his personal doctor

¹¹⁹ National Record Office, Scotland: BR/LAS/S229, Train Company and Disabled Ex-Servicemen.

¹²⁰ University of Leeds Special Collections: Liddle, General Aspects Wounds, Item 49.

¹²¹ Ibid. The amount of the donation is unknown.

and receives additional milk supplies through the tuberculosis fund'.¹²² Taylor intended to contact the TB authorities of the Dispensary with a view to securing a medical statement that Lehan's present illness was closely linked with his war injuries and to reapply to the MOP: 'The matter was accordingly held in abeyance until the next meeting of the committee.'¹²³ By April 1932, Taylor 'noted with regret Lehan was in advanced stages of consumption and endorsed the expenditure already incurred to the extent 10/- in respect of eggs, fruit and coal'.¹²⁴ Like the help provided by the state, BLESMA's aid was not limitless, but it did what it could, including helping with applications to government departments. Leeds BLESMA representative Mr Stephens visited Mr Dowd, who had similar injuries to Lehan. Mr Stephens reported that Dowd 'wanted a suit, boots, shirt etc. His pension was forty per cent, and the committee had promised him a shirt and boots'. It was decided that he could not be accepted as a member as he was not really a limbless man: he had TB and had lost a finger.¹²⁵ The loss of one finger by itself was not considered severe enough a disability for the MOP to grant a war disability pension.¹²⁶

Dowd's refusal happened despite letters from the Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops (Bradford branch) appealing to BLESMA on his behalf. Just as religious beliefs stopped Toc H accepting members, an amputation that was not a leg or an arm and/or other injuries related to the war stopped BLESMA accepting members in Leeds. As charities which did not focus on a specific disability, Toc H, LWH and NSSU did not have a similar need to defer members to outside interests. Hence, a charity concerned with a specific disability limited

¹²² Ibid. Notes from Leeds BLESMA Management Meeting, April 1932.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ IWM: *Handbook*, pp.4-8.

the help they were able to give. By overstepping the criterion, BLESMA created a problem of identity for themselves in the eyes of the MOP. Conservative MP Sir Joseph Nall, who was awarded the Distinguished Service Order in 1918, wrote in 1930, 'the association is setting out to deal with all disabled ex-servicemen and not with the limbless only – done with honest intention but cuts across the spheres of the British legion'.¹²⁷ A level of state distrust against BLESMA and a confidence instead in the British Legion is highlighted by this remark. Charities could be rivals and competed for men, neither of which 'helped the cause of ex-servicemen'.¹²⁸ These meeting notes outlining Dowd's and Lehan's cases emphasise the impact BLESMA had upon their lives and the continued struggles amputees had with government departments and 'charitable competition'.

In November 1933, Leeds BLESMA created a fund to help limbless servicemen 'who had suffered from the depression of trade' with living costs, such as money for food and clothes, emphasising how veteran welfare was always the focal point of the charity. This included when Mr Taylor tried to get men temporary Christmas employment at the Post Office. In his 1934 unemployment report he said that although several applications had been made and members interviewed by officials at the Leeds office, he had not heard of members receiving employment: 'If we find none have received work during the Christmas period at the Post Office the national council of British BLESMA be requested to take the matter up with the post masters general'.¹²⁹ Demonstrating that individual BLESMA branches did not act independently of one another in the same way Toc

¹²⁷ TNA: PIN 15/1409, Unemployment, treatment, and welfare, 1935-7. For how the British Legion helped disabled ex-servicemen after 1918, see Niall Barr, *The Lion and the Poppy: British Veterans, Politics, and Society, 1921-1939* (London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2005); Brian Harding, *Keeping Faith* (London: Pen and Sword, 1990).

¹²⁸ TNA: PIN 15/1409, Letter from Ramsbottom to Nall, 23 December 1936.

¹²⁹ University of Leeds Special Collections: Liddle; General Aspects Wounds Item 49.

H and LWH did, the national BLESMA branch in Manchester did just that and men in Leeds were employed by the Post Office in 1935. A letter from the postmaster to the Manchester branch at the start of 1936 reinforces how they would consider hiring men who had lost a limb in the war as a postman permanently. Members of the Leeds and Manchester branches further argued that unemployed disabled ex-servicemen could work as part-time night telephonists without prejudice to their unemployment benefits, distinct from the disability pension.¹³⁰

The 1934 Leeds committee report told of Mr Taylor's schemes to enhance the skills of limbless veterans to improve employment chances. These included: poultry keeping, cleaning services in corporation buildings, and watchmen under the corporation estate. He wrote to Leeds Labour Party asking that a percentage of disabled men from service and civilians be given whatever work was available and suitable. He believed that Labour would be more sympathetic to his concerns out of all the political parties as he did not write to the Conservatives or Liberals expressing the same concerns. Hence, BLESMA, at least at a regional level, did pick political sides if it believed doing so would help the conditions of its members. This is despite all BLESMA's official letters saying it was a 'non-political organisation'.¹³¹ While the religious affiliation of Mr Taylor of Leeds BLESMA is unknown, his actions and dogged determination in seeking out employment on a religious or non-religious basis appear unusual in the analysis of Preston and Manchester, where the focus on forcing government change appeared to overrule individual actions of help. The two 'personal stories' in this subsection which provide details on the challenges faced by men after limb amputation are

¹³⁰ TNA: PIN 15/1414, Letter from various Postmasters to BLESMA, 10 January 1936.

¹³¹ TNA: PIN 15/1409-1416, BLESMA correspondence.

unusual in BLESMA records where the charities' disputes with the government are a focal point. The two examples also show how, despite views in BLESMA's executive circles that the government needed to change its attitude to the war limbless for progress to happen, BLESMA was still able to help veterans in many ways without the MOP's or political involvement.

Women

Bill Towers, a BLESMA member from Leeds, had been a Royal Artillery Driver until 'blown up by a shell which burst while he was bringing up ammunition one night in October 1917'. He lost a leg but strove to 'lead a normal life as possible', as he revealed in an interview with the historian Peter Liddle in 1989:

When the war broke out and they were coming to Chapel Allerton, I was a member of BLESMA and they had a hospital visiting section, and I went there. I could walk lovely on my leg and I went up every Sunday afternoon at one o'clock, and sometimes it was seven at night when I got back, helping them chaps with any information and showing them, it was not the end of the world. They could see I had worked for thirteen years during the war and after. I have a certificate for meritorious service for BLESMA. It helped me and it helped them a lot... my girlfriend stuck by me, and I started playing golf, and then I found out I could play snooker. I'm still playing snooker, at ninety-odd.¹³²

As a way of highlighting to younger amputees that limb loss was not 'the end of the world', in his personal story, Bill Towers emphasises the fact that his girlfriend stood by him after his war disability. He suggests that she was instrumental to his recovery by encouraging him to find new activities he could enjoy after amputation. Within BLESMA, women helped to improve the conditions for

¹³² Peter Liddle and Matthew J. Richardson, 'Voices from the Past: An Evaluation of Oral History as a Source for Research into the Western Front Experience of the British Soldier, 1914-18', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 31 (4) (1996), 651-674, pp.665-666.

limbless veterans on a personal level such as this and, also on a more national scale. Alongside clergymen, BLESMA included women's voices in advocating change to unemployment and pensions for disabled veterans. BLESMA worked closely with the National Council of Women and included women in committee meetings, most prominently Dame Alderman Mary Kingsmill-Jones, who was present at the Manchester Deputation. Women had some power over the decisions made by BLESMA's male national executive committee in Manchester. Including women in this chapter develops Reverend Battye's idea that the whole of society had a responsibility to care for veterans, not just government departments, ex-servicemen, or charities. Chapters One and Two addressed gendered care for veterans within religious charities and this subsection looks at state interpretations of gendered care through pensions to the families of the war limbless. Within different institutions, different understandings of the social role of women as a carer affected the care that disabled ex-servicemen received.

BLESMA's opinion on limbless men taking wives, how these women cared for their husbands, and the value of such care were complex issues. BLESMA gained the support of the National Union of Women Workers in its quest to improve the pensions system.¹³³ BLESMA directed two main complaints at the MOP. First, if a man was married and moved to the Dominions after the war, his wife and family would receive concessions under the Widows and Orphans Scheme upon his death. This money was not available for British wives. Arguing that 'if it is given to one, it should be extended to all' BLESMA wanted equality within the system.¹³⁴ BLESMA wanted the Ministry to recognise the position of

¹³³ TNA: PIN 15/1412, Unemployment, treatment, and welfare correspondence, 1937-1938. The National Union of Women Workers changed its name to National Council of Women in 1918. In correspondence, LESMA and BLESMA use both titles interchangeably to describe the same organisation as shown in these examples.

¹³⁴ TNA: PIN 15/1414; *Ibid.*, 1938.

such women.¹³⁵ This provides another example of BLESMA comparing the care for British limbless ex-servicemen (in this case their wives) to those in other countries to strengthen its arguments and to emphasise the 'inadequacies' of British state care for veterans by pointing out that other nations responded differently.

Second, BLESMA disliked how the MOP used age when a man married to determine economic outcomes. Before the 1929 Age of Marriage Act, a male could marry at fourteen and a female could marry at twelve. For males and females, the Act increased minimum age to sixteen with parental consent and twenty-one without parental consent. At the time of service many of the men were under the new marriageable age. BLESMA wanted a revision in the rules so men would not be penalised later in life if war injury and marriage occurred before twenty-one. BLESMA thought this should apply to all men, not just limbless veterans, and made a plea to the government in 1938 against the terms of the 1918 Royal Pensions Warrant on these grounds. It argued that few Acts of Parliament went so long without revision, placing the position of disabled ex-servicemen's wives in the background both politically and socially.¹³⁶ BLESMA justified such a revision by arguing: 'wives have made sacrifices for disabled men, even working for them in cases of unemployment and no allowance for the wife by the MOP. The charge of mercenariness cannot be against them forever. The difference of a year or two in the time of marriage is not sufficient grounds for such drastic difference in the provisions made'.¹³⁷ BLESMA was questioning the Ministry about why women were punished for the age they married and argued

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ TNA: PIN 15/1414, Unemployment, treatment, and welfare, 1938; 'Hardship on War Widows', *The Manchester Guardian*, 1 July 1938; '31,000 Disabled Soldiers Out of Work – War Heroes Being Kept by Wives', *Daily Herald*, 25 March 1937.

that a women deserved her husband's pension because she had cared for him: marriage was a form of care in itself.¹³⁸

BLESMA argued that the state continued to punish women after their husband's death. Pensioners only received allowances for their wives if they married before war-induced disability occurred and there was only a widow's pension in these cases.¹³⁹ Widows' pensions were a costly consequence of the war: by 1921 when LESMA formed, 239,000 widows and 395,000 children had war pensions. Most likely to reduce costs, 'widows' had a strict definition within the MOP. As Janis Lomas notes, 'it heartlessly did not include a widow whose marriage took place after 1918, or after the discharge of the soldier, or if during the service of the soldier after the receipt of the wound or injury which caused his death'.¹⁴⁰ For example, in 1937, 7,635 war disabled pensioners died, and of the 2,150 claims for widow's pensions made that year, only 639 were granted.¹⁴¹ In 1938 there was no improvement: 'of 7,576 deaths, 621 were granted'.¹⁴² Chandley argued that the 'economic disabilities of men lacking limbs were much greater than those acknowledged by MOP' because of the economic problems many disabled ex-servicemen's widows faced at the hands of the state.¹⁴³ Enhancing his stance, the Ministry referred these cases to the 'Widows, Orphans and Old Age Pensions' scheme, but many disabled men would not have been insured for such a scheme because they had been unemployed or were unemployable when they died. These statistics and scheme suggest a problem in how the MOP handled widows' pensions and provides a motivation for why

¹³⁸ Jessica Meyer, *Men of War*, p.118.

¹³⁹ 'A Marriage Disability', *The Manchester Guardian*, 3 June 1938.

¹⁴⁰ Janis Lomas, p.133.

¹⁴¹ 'War-Disabled Men – Pensions Grievances- the Ministry's Attitude', *The Manchester Guardian*, Friday 3 June 1938.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ 'Disabled Veterans Meet MPs', *Daily Dispatch*, 20 July 1938.

women, such as politician Mary Jones, helped BLESMA to campaign against the unemployment problem amongst disabled veterans, as in doing so they wanted to try and improve the economic positions of the disabled veterans' families. Jones was a Conservative politician: BLESMA was making the point that they believed care for disabled ex-veterans was above political divisions.

Because of the MOP's rules surrounding the pensions of wives and widows, many dependants were often without provision beyond the local Public Assistance Committee or Poor Law.¹⁴⁴ In Bristol in 1926, fifty-six ex-soldiers and sailors with 168 dependents were in receipt of poor law relief 'through (war) sickness'.¹⁴⁵ Giving an insight into BLESMA's perception of gendered care for the disabled within the home, the charity expected it would be the disabled man who made enquires to these sources and not his wife: 'while the man is at home he will naturally protect them and attend to the necessary applications to various sources for assistance'.¹⁴⁶ BLESMA did not consider the men who lost a limb but who also suffered from a mental disability: these men would not only find it harder to gain employment but also in seeking available help. BLESMA therefore placed a level of accountability of the unfairness of the treatment of these women on the limbless veteran himself. It thought that disabled veterans and not just the government (as the sources primarily imply) could do more to help themselves and could be doing more to support women as carers for veterans.

Although BLESMA actively campaigned on behalf of ex-servicemen for economic and social independence, it thought that domestic care was the job of

¹⁴⁴ 'A Marriage Disability', *The Manchester Guardian*, 3 June 1938.

¹⁴⁵ TNA: PIN 15/1101, Ex-Servicemen in Poor Law Institutions; Minister of Health Circulars, 1917-1923; 'Pauperising Disabled Ex-Servicemen', *Northern Echo*, 4 April 1939.

¹⁴⁶ TNA: PIN 15/1414, Unemployment, treatment, and welfare, 1938.

a wife and the practical care an amputee required was why BLESMA advocated limbless men 'needed a wife more than an average man'.¹⁴⁷ The BLESMA committee saw that women working when their husbands were unemployed as a 'sacrifice' as by working these women were not providing domestic care. This reinforces Kowalsky's argument that some women felt a loss of femininity when they worked in place of their disabled husband.¹⁴⁸ The working wives of disabled ex-servicemen also counteracts Joan Scott's argument that peace was 'synonymous with a return to traditional gender relationships: the natural order of families, men in public roles, and women at home'.¹⁴⁹ This is despite the dependence on pensions, which BLESMA criticised for its 'unfairness', theoretically allowing women to fulfil this role and care for her disabled husband 'full-time'.

Jessica Meyer develops this gendered argument by demonstrating that many men found it 'frustrating and shameful' that their wives had to work while they received treatment for their disability, and that they wrote to the MOP to ask for a 'favour' (more money) as they felt humiliated that they could not live up to their social and (as argued in Chapters One and Two) religious role as breadwinner.¹⁵⁰ Some men thought that they should provide economic security for their families and viewed the state as a substitute provider when they were unable to work based on war disability, providing a further motivation for the rallies held by BLESMA. Because of its concern over widows' pensions, BLESMA wanted women to have economic independence upon their husband's death but, like many ex-servicemen, thought that it was the man's job to provide this stability

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Meaghan Kowalsky, 'This Honourable Obligation', pp.567-84.

¹⁴⁹ Joan Scott, 'Rewriting History', p.28.

¹⁵⁰ Jessica Meyer, *Men of War*, pp.118-119.

in life. This is because, while granting men's claims on behalf of dependent wives, government policy limited women's independent access to wages and welfare through unequal pay, discriminatory insurance legislation, and the selective use of the marriage bar. BLESMA's main concerns over the MOP's treatment of women did not reflect the fact that a 'women's access to state benefit was independent of her own work or need and mediated entirely by her husband's status'.¹⁵¹ BLESMA's understanding of the pensions system and what it wanted changing thus reflected social perceptions of gendered roles, highlighting how factors other than the economy should be included within the analysis.¹⁵²

Reinforcing the mistrust of the Ministry towards BLESMA and the research it carried out, in 1937, the MOP asked BLESMA to send a sample of case studies, drawn from BLESMA research into the conditions of veterans, to support its claims and figures on the numbers of limbless men receiving a pension. From the 450 sample provided, 'there were only 87 where the men's wives went out to work, and of these 35 were cases where the wife was employed though her husband's income was from 35/- to 60/- a week'.¹⁵³ The Ministry argued that there was no truth in BLESMA's claims that 'in tens of thousands of cases the wives of pensioners were forced to work to keep the home together'.¹⁵⁴ Although the MOP do not provide a figure, they concluded that 'most men have wives or children with an income', placing the financial burden of a man unable to work on his family

¹⁵¹ Susan Pederson, 'Welfare, and Citizenship in Britain during the Great War', *The American Historical Review*, 95 (4) (1990), 983-1006, p.1007, p.1000; TNA: PIN 15/1416, unemployment, treatment, and welfare, 1938-9.

¹⁵² For more on marriage, pensions, and identity conceptions of 'breadwinner', see Marjorie Levine-Clark, 'The Politics of Preference: Masculinity, Marital Status and Unemployment Relief in Post-First World War Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 7 (2) (2010), 233-252.

¹⁵³ TNA: PIN 15/1414, Unemployment, treatment, and welfare, 1938.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

and not the state.¹⁵⁵ This burden was increased as the government made it known that they did not want women receiving parish relief: state initiatives complicated the accessibility of religious aid.¹⁵⁶ To the Ministry, this supported the view that 'the men's troubles were largely common to the population and united able-bodied and disabled veterans and civilians'.¹⁵⁷ High levels of unemployment had affected many households by 1937. Challenging BLESMA's opinion, this suggests that the MOP did not always think the socio-economic conditions a disabled ex-serviceman and his family faced were the result of disability. It also stresses the importance of evaluating state care for veterans within the context of the wider British economy as this provides a different slant to government actions than the overwhelmingly negative picture created through an analysis of BLESMA publications and correspondence.

Royal Patronage

HRH The Duchess of Gloucester received Arthur Baxter and George Chandley at St James' Palace in December 1948. After discussing BLESMA's aims and principles, Baxter reported how 'Her Royal Highness graciously consented to become Patron, giving pleasure to branches and members everywhere'.¹⁵⁸ BLESMA did not get a patron in the 1920s or 1930s, contradicting the national trend outlined by Frank Prochaska.¹⁵⁹ BLESMA's archive does not provide a clear

¹⁵⁵ TNA: PIN 15/1416, Unemployment, treatment, and welfare, 1938-9.

¹⁵⁶ Janis Lomas, 'Delicate Duties', p.136.

¹⁵⁷ TNA: PIN 15/1414, Unemployment, treatment, and welfare, 1938.

¹⁵⁸ IWM: BLESMA, K.35/340, *Handbook*, p.4

¹⁵⁹ Frank Prochaska, *Royal Bounty: The Making of a Welfare Monarchy* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1995), p.217.

reason as to why it had to wait until 1948 for a patron. This chapter suggests that it was because the government perceived the charity as a political organisation and that the government interpreted the rallies of disabled men (such as in Blackpool and Preston) as a 'disturbance' throughout the 1930s. This is because, constitutionally, the monarchy could not openly support a political side or advocate unrest amongst the population. The monarchy was and is, however, openly Christian. BLESMA was not a Christian charity, but by accepting Royal Patronage they gained a religious figure head since the monarch is the head of the Church of England as well as being head of state. The links between BLESMA and Christianity suggest that a delay in Patronage was not the result of a deliberate disassociation with the established Church. An analysis of BLESMA and of Royal Patronage exposes the position of disabled ex-servicemen within the complex relationship between religion, politics, and the state.

During the First World War, the British Royal Family transformed its image through charity work. They developed a more personal relationship with the public to distance themselves from their European relations, as Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany was Queen Victoria's grandson. Royal visitors boosted charity workers' morale and encouraged public donations by meeting troops and volunteers, making personal appeals and giving their names as patrons. Royal visits were also featured in newspapers and cinema newsreels.¹⁶⁰ By 1918, soldiers and the British public had seen the Royal Family acting charitably and caring towards veterans.¹⁶¹ This continued after the armistice. The other four main charities analysed in this thesis gained a Royal Patron in the 1920s and 1930s, while Julie Anderson and Joseph McBrinn have examined the impact of the King and

¹⁶⁰ Carol Harris, 'How Charities Helped to Win WW1', p.1.

¹⁶¹ Judith Muskett, "Deferential or Dazzled?" Rural Cathedral Friends' Associations and Their Royal Patronage', *Past and Present, Rural Theology*, 9 (1) (2005), 7-25, p.9.

Queen's support to charities set up for the war disabled, such as St Dunstan's and The Disabled Soldiers' Embroidery Industry.¹⁶² However, the specific needs of the interwar period, particularly mass unemployment, prompted the monarchy to modify their charitable work.¹⁶³

The King and Queen showed solidarity with the unemployed as visitors to Westminster Abbey during the National Cathedral Pilgrimage in July 1934. Thousands followed their example, visiting at least one cathedral and wearing a badge 'showing they had made a donation for the good of the unemployed in the parts of the country where the burden was especially heavy', such as northern cities where LESMA originated.¹⁶⁴ In doing so, the King and Queen 'sought to present the Royal Family as less aloof from the mass and as caring. They were anxious not to share the politicians' responsibility for the economic crisis but to be working to alleviate it, retaining the image of contact with the people beyond the grasp of politicians'.¹⁶⁵ Through such visits and patronage, the Royal Family created the impression of closeness between monarchy and the working population. This was important to charities with a largely working-class base such as BLESMA as it created the impression that everybody, irrespective of class or politics, counted in the eyes of royalty.¹⁶⁶ While Prochaska's central argument was that the monarchy deliberately sought to enhance its popularity by allying

¹⁶² Julie Anderson, 'Stoics: Creating Identities at St Dunstan's 1914–1920', pp.87-99; Joseph McBrinn, 'The Work of Masculine Fingers': The Disabled Soldiers' Embroidery Industry, 1918–1955', *Journal of Design History*, 31(1) (2016), 1-23.

¹⁶³ Callum Brown, *Religion and Society in Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2014).

¹⁶⁴ Judith Muskett, p.10; Roger Lloyd, *The Church of England, 1900-1965* (London: SCM Press, 1966), pp.399-401.

¹⁶⁵ Pat Thane, 'Review: Royal Bounty: The Making of a Welfare Monarchy by Frank Prochaska', *The Journal of Modern History*, 70 (1) (1988), 165-67, p.167.

¹⁶⁶ Philip Williamson, 'The Monarchy and Public Values 1910-1953', in *The Monarchy and the British Nation 1780 to the Present*, ed. by Andrzej Olechnowicz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) pp.223-57, p.240.

itself with voluntary causes, Olechnowicz develops this and explains how the monarchy remained relevant by creating 'a role as a focus for civil society through its patronage of charities thwarting republicanism and socialism'.¹⁶⁷ This political undercurrent is significant in an analysis of BLESMA in which the government misguidedly identified BLESMA as an organisation of the Left. Royal philanthropy therefore 'serves well the monarchy's wider intention of providing the unifying symbol of the nation' and highlights the difficult relationship between politics and the monarchy, irrespective of religious positioning.¹⁶⁸ Royal Patronages helped the monarchy as well as the charity and society more generally. As Williamson points out, 'in the face of industrial unrest and social distress, governments and voluntary organisations were as eager to exploit the monarchy's ability to inspire loyalty and co-operation as the Palace was to demonstrate its social relevance'.¹⁶⁹ Helping disabled ex-servicemen in religious or secular settings was a means by which both could be achieved.

Owen argues that the main benefit of a Royal Patron was an impressive status for the charity, and Williamson suggests that 'charities identified with royalty because they expected benefits for themselves'.¹⁷⁰ Such benefits included 'status, publicity, increased donations, or honours for their leaders' and broader benefits like 'assistance in preserving or promoting conditions and attitudes which upheld or advanced their own purpose'.¹⁷¹ This suggests that many charities did not associate with the monarchy because of its connections to the Anglican Church. Non-religious organisations used the religious establishment for key

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.; Andrzej Olechnowicz, 'Historians and the Modern British Monarchy', pp.6-44, p.28.

¹⁶⁸ Frank Prochaska, *Royal Bounty*, p.282.

¹⁶⁹ Philip Williamson, p.240.

¹⁷⁰ David Owen, pp.565-567.

¹⁷¹ Philip Williamson, pp.223-57.

appeal not because they necessarily shared the same Christian beliefs. This political undercurrent is significant in an analysis of BLESMA and Royal Patronage: by having a Royal Patron, BLESMA gained all the benefits Williamson suggested. For example, because the Duchess of Gloucester was in attendance when BLESMA opened its first home for limbless war patients in Blackpool on 25 June 1949, the event received local and national press attention, which would have been less likely without a royal connection.¹⁷² Patronage also suggests that BLESMA did not always want to be seen to be arguing with or having tensions with the state, as patronage brings together charity and the state.

Conclusion

The political rallying in towns across Britain and the constant correspondence between BLESMA and the state highlight that disabled veterans were not necessarily passive recipients of charity or state intervention. The support of clergymen in both cases, such as by Canon Reed and Reverend Proctor, suggests that religion had some sway over the 'activeness' of veterans wanting better conditions for themselves and their family after experiencing amputation. Helen Bettinson argues that through their engagement with members of government departments, disabled veterans demonstrated a lack of passivity.¹⁷³ This chapter develops Bettinson's argument by showing that disabled veterans also engaged with men of the Church and charities to help 'secure their rights' in interwar Britain.

¹⁷² Ibid.; Frank Prochaska, *Royal Bounty*, p.282.

¹⁷³ Helen Bettinson, p.252.

Religion was implicit in BLESMA's decision-making process towards care for limbless ex-servicemen at a regional and national level. Because BLESMA did not define itself as a religious organisation, by looking at the connections between BLESMA and the Church, this chapter highlighted how Anglicanism was embedded in post First World War British society. Christianity did not need to be explicit in charitable care for the war disabled to have an impact on those giving and receiving aid. The relationship between BLESMA and government departments, such as the MOP, altered over time. The prominence of religious figures in BLESMA dedicated to helping disabled veterans, including lobbying the government on behalf of these men, remained. Social conditions, such as mass unemployment and the changing leadership of BLESMA and civil servants in the Ministry fuelled tensions and these changing relationships. As this chapter has shown, the non-static relationship between charity and the MOP affected care for disabled veterans, the men both organisations were created to help.

BLESMA focused on limbless men and the two main ways it thought it could help were through campaigning for better employment opportunities and demanding revisions to an 'unfair' pensions system, particularly surrounding the wives and widows of veterans. After it achieved national status in 1932, an annual Church of England service at the national base in Manchester celebrated the 'success' BLESMA achieved in these two areas. This was the established Church and there is no evidence suggesting BLESMA received help from clergymen from any other denomination in its dealings with government departments. The 'politics' of the established Church mixed with the 'politics' of the state regarding care for veterans. Also, the involvement of ex-servicemen in the political rallies highlights that veterans were involved in the 'politics of their own welfare' and

complicates Cohen's claim that disabled veterans were 'uninterested' in politics.¹⁷⁴

After 1948, BLESMA had a Royal Patron. This not only brought more sponsorship, members and publicity, but it was an implicit public acknowledgement that the Church supported BLESMA and its aims, as the King and Queen were head of this family, the nation, and the Church. BLESMA's closeness to the established Church further draws on the idea developed by the previous chapter on Sunday school charity, that religion remained important to all classes in Britain. This is because BLESMA's national base, Manchester, and BLESMA (and LESMA) strongholds such as Blackpool and Leeds, were in northern towns and cities where 'traditions of non-deferential, working class political activism ran deep'.¹⁷⁵ This highlights a connection between regionalism, class and political ideologies in the spread of charitable activity and in the approach charities deployed to create change for disabled veterans. These towns and cities experienced higher levels of unemployment compared to elsewhere in the country, which explains BLESMA's focus on finding employment for veterans in challenging financial times, and reinforces the argument that state and charitable aid (and its success) for veterans after the war should be analysed within the wider context of the British economy and the economy of different regions at the time.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Meaghan Kowalsky, p.199; Deborah Cohen, pp.5-7.

¹⁷⁵ TNA: PIN 15/1409, J. V. Bell to Minister of Pensions, 30 November 1935; Seth Koven, p.1202.

¹⁷⁶ Margaret Mitchell explains this divide by arguing that all prosperous industries in the 1930s were in the South of England, leaving industrial towns in the North and Scotland in 'great distress', with unemployment as high as seventy or eighty per cent in some areas. She examines the impact of mass unemployment on the wives and children of the men 'in the dole queue' or waiting on their pensions. Margaret Mitchell, 'The Effects of Unemployment on the Social Condition of Women and Children in the 1930s', *History Workshop Journal*, 19 (1) (1985), 105-127, p.110.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, these aims – that limbless veterans should not have to ‘suffer unnecessary hardship’ – appeared at odds with the government.¹⁷⁷ Government departments often thought BLESMA was deliberately publishing false facts and figures about the state help available to disabled veterans as a way of undermining the government to make BLESMA appear more successful than it was, and to project the image that disabled veterans were more in need of help than the government believed them to be. Regardless of the ‘accuracy’ of the figures presented by either group, these tensions hindered BLESMA’s research and the help available to veterans, such as the Ministry’s refusal to open an enquiry into their care in 1936. BLESMA officers invited members of the MOP to its rallies such as those held in Preston and Blackpool. The speeches made by BLESMA members and clergymen at such events, along with the response of the Ministry, show that ex-servicemen themselves were undecided on who should rally the call for change and who was responsible for the conditions veterans faced: disabled veterans themselves or government departments.

BLESMA often worked alongside secular organisations such as the Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops and the British Legion to gain support and better outcomes for the men. The Ministry interpreted this as BLESMA having a confused identity and as an organisation ‘competing’ for government and public support. The MOP saw BLESMA as not only an organisation which undermined the government, but one that undermined other charitable organisations. However, this was not a unique view: tensions existed between the MOP and other charities it believed were undermining state efforts (particularly KNRS and

¹⁷⁷ George Chandley, ‘Limbless Ex-Servicemen’, p.300.

pensions) for disabled veterans. The Ex-Services Welfare Society (ESWS) and the recuperative hostels for soldiers and sailors invalided from H.M. Services with nerve strain, faced the same problem. In 1917, the latter approached the MOP, asking it to reconsider a number of their policies, including the need to organise 'large scale treatment facilities' for the men.¹⁷⁸ Charities, the MOP responded, 'should restrict their activities to raising funds, the ministry would deal with treatment as it saw fit'.¹⁷⁹

Hence, it appears that the government did not like charities challenging its position on treatment, which inadvertently lessened the help and/or availability of help (such as refusing BLESMA's 1936 enquiry) for disabled veterans. There is no evidence that the religious charities analysed faced the same opposition. This could be because their focus was not specifically on the war disabled as it was for BLESMA and ESWS, meaning that religious charities had less interaction with the government on the issue. The nature of the relationship between the government and medical charity for ex-veterans was thus less than harmonious because of how the MOP saw its own role and the role of charities in caring for disabled veterans. This complex relationship between disability, charities and the government is developed in the next chapter which examines psychological disability and the ESWS.

¹⁷⁸ Peter Leese, 'Problems Returning Home: The British Psychological Casualties of the Great War', *The Historical Journal*, 40 (4) (1997), 1055-1067, p.1064.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

Chapter Five: Religion, Rehabilitation, and the Ex-Services

Welfare Society (ESWS)

Introduction

Before, during, and after the war, Christianity affected care practices for the physically and psychologically disabled. However, it is an oversimplification to assume that there was continuity within every aspect of British society where religion was dominant before 1914. Christianity was less visible after the war than before it in the specific treatments harnessed by institutions which housed the psychologically disabled. To demonstrate this, the chapter investigates the role of religion in asylums prior to 1914 and then considers how two mental health charities, the Ex-Services Welfare Society (ESWS), and the Mental After-Care Association (MACA), mobilised religion to provide care after 1918. This provides a useful comparison because MACA offers a case study of a religious charity, while ESWS was a secular charity, although both focused on helping the psychologically disabled and their families.

A historiographical debate exists about the extent to which the war was a catalyst in the medical treatment of the psychologically disabled in Britain.¹ There

¹ Martin Stone and Elaine Showalter argue that shellshock had a significant effect on interwar psychological medicine and psychiatric practice. Edward Jones, Ben Shephard and Simon Wessley argue that there was no fundamental shift in psychiatric approaches until the Second World War. Martin Stone, 'Shell Shock and the Psychologists,' in *The Anatomy of Madness*, ed. by William Bynum, Roy Porter and Michael Shephard (London: Taylor and Francis, 1985), pp.242-71; Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture*, pp.168-94; Edgar Jones and Simon Wessely, 'The Impact of Total War on the Practice of British Psychiatry', in *The Shadows of Total War: Europe, East Asia, and the United States, 1919-1939*, ed. by Roger Chickering, and Stig Forester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.129-48, pp.129-130; and Ben Shephard, *A War of Nerves: Soldiers and Psychiatrists in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003).

has been no study on the effect the war exercised on religious practices and treatments for the mentally disabled. An analysis of ESWS and MACA helps bridge the historiographical gap by showing that religion influenced charitable approaches to psychological disability after 1918. The charitable practice and charitable structures of ESWS and MACA show that religion remained socially significant in broader society after the war. Religion continued to influence charitable advertising, networks, and motivations, despite variations in the explicit role of religion in treatments for the mentally disabled across different institutions.

In 1919, middle-class women founded ESWS and divided the work of the charity into eight categories: advice, employment, pensions, legal help, financial aid, assistance in kind, treatment, and asylum cases.² It was the only British charity created to care exclusively for veterans suffering from psychological conditions such as shellshock and war neurosis.³ Men who lived with these conditions were often stigmatised as either mad or degenerate, labels with which men with only physical disabilities did not have to contend.⁴ Because religious work was not a category, it is not surprising that ESWS historians Peter Barham and Fiona Reid do not foreground religion in their analyses.⁵ However, the charity's internal records held at the Combat Stress Archive (the name of ESWS

² TNA: HO 45/12492, Mental Health Proposal to Discharge Conditionally to ESWS; CSA: 1 Executive General Minute Book 1918-1921. For literature on women's networks, see Daniel J. R. Grey, 'Women's Policy Networks and the Infanticide Act 1922', *Twentieth-Century British History*, 21 (4) (2010), 441-463.

³ For more information on the problems relating to diagnostic terms for mental disabilities used at the time, as well as the development of psychiatry from pre-war Britain, see Ana Carden-Coyne, 'Ungrateful Bodies: Rehabilitation, Resistance and Disabled American Veterans of the First World War', *European Review of History*, 14 (4) (2007), 543-565, p.545.

⁴ Fiona Reid, *Broken Men: Shell shock, Treatment and Recovery in Britain 1914-30* (London: A&C Black, 2014), p.98.

⁵ Fiona Reid, 'Distinguishing Between Shell-Shocked Veterans and Pauper Lunatics: The Ex-Services' and Mentally Wounded Veterans after the Great War', *War in History*, 14 (3) (2007), 347-371, p.349; Fiona Reid, *Broken Men*; Peter Barham, *Forgotten Lunatics of the Great War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

in 2020) and the National Archives in Kew reveal that Christianity informed many decisions made by the charity, especially before the mid-1920s.

From the outset, religion constituted an important consideration for MACA in its approach to care. In 1879, the Anglican asylum chaplain the Reverend Henry Hawkins founded MACA to provide an alternative to the workhouse for those discharged from 'lunatic asylums'.⁶ Unlike ESWS, MACA helped disabled civilian men and women. In addition to civilians, MACA helped psychologically disabled veterans and women whose husbands had been killed in conflict by providing emotional and financial support after 1914: like NSSU, the war affected who the charity helped.⁷ The relationship between ESWS and MACA and ESWS and religion support Reid's claim that 'the history of ESWS provides an indication of the adequacy of care for disabled veterans' by examining Christian care and treatments in this context.⁸

The 'adequacy' of asylum care for veterans became a point of contention between ESWS and the government, and to a lesser extent between MACA and the government. It was a point of contention because the primary forms of state care for psychologically disabled veterans after the war were placing veterans in asylums and/or providing veterans and their families with pensions.⁹ Consequently, charities had to appeal to the government to try and change existing policies for ex-servicemen.¹⁰ In the 1920s, ESWS campaigned for

⁶ Reverend Henry Hawkins was chaplain to the Colney Hatch [public] Asylum (1851-1918), which became the Colney Hatch Mental Hospital (1918-1937) in London. MACA was originally called 'The After-Care Association for Poor and Friendless Female Convalescents on Leaving Asylums for the Insane'. In 1940, it became the Mental After Care Association and continues its work as the UK national charity Together.

⁷ WL: SA/MAC/G.3/29, Individual Patient Files, 1929-1931.

⁸ Fiona Reid, *Broken Men*, p.6.

⁹ Peter Barham, p.105.

¹⁰ Fiona Reid, *Broken Men*, p.101.

changes to state-implemented policy for people with mental disabilities to 'break down social barriers between citizens and outcasts in asylums.'¹¹ The Church did not offer ESWS support nor did it openly criticize the MOP or ESWS during these political disputes over asylum care. The Church's support for BLESMA in its disputes with the state over care for veterans appears to have been an anomaly and not a norm.

ESWS criticised state practices, but the state tried to break down barriers within asylums to help veterans. In 1917, the MOP introduced the Service Patient Scheme to help remove the joint identity of 'war hero' and 'poor law' to relieve some of the pressures of the stigma of pauperism from mentally afflicted veterans.¹² The scheme did not guarantee an 'easier stay' for veterans than civilians in the same asylum.¹³ Although the success of the scheme can be questioned, it reveals that within state asylums, conceptualisations of disability altered based on whether the patient had served in the war or not. This change is important because alongside asylum conditions, for ESWS, the incarceration of a veteran in an asylum seemed unfair and inappropriate as 'the local lunatic asylum was the complete antithesis of the "home fit for a hero" which David Lloyd George had promised to all returning servicemen'.¹⁴

As an alternative to asylum care, ESWS opened rehabilitation homes in the 1920s. These were not asylums, hospitals, or local authority institutions, but private charity homes which offered medical treatment and occupational therapy

¹¹ Peter Barham, p.3.

¹² WYAS: C416/1/443, Instructions relating to the classification and treatment of soldiers and sailors as 'service patients' (1917).

¹³ Alice Brumby, 'From "Pauper Lunatics" to "Rate-Aided Patients": Removing the Stigma of Mental Health Care? 1888-1938' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Huddersfield, 2015), pp.127-130.

¹⁴ Fiona Reid, 'Pauper Lunatics', p.353.

for servicemen. As the MOP had intended in 1917, ESWS separated 'pauper lunatics' from ex-servicemen by not admitting civilians into their homes for treatment.¹⁵ Unlike MACA, which helped civilians and veterans, this division highlights that for ESWS, the cause of psychological disability mattered, and the cause of disability affected how those with psychological conditions were socially categorised. Similar to ESWS, in the 1920s MACA opened its convalescent homes with the aim of preparing the psychologically disabled for their return to domestic life.¹⁶ Both MACA and ESWS homes combined domestic and medical concerns and bridged the charitable division between hospital and home care, as shown in Chapter Two.¹⁷

Therefore, by opening its own homes, criticising state asylums, and campaigning against existing government policy, ESWS projected the image that the state system was inadequate and that the charity, rather than the government, was best placed to meet the needs of mentally disabled men. This led to tensions between ESWS and the MOP. MACA did not challenge state practices for the psychologically disabled in the same way ESWS did. The controversial nature of shellshock in wider society in comparison to limb loss cannot fully explain the tensions between the MOP and ESWS or the MOP and BLESMA. The fact that BLESMA and ESWS were challenging state care and decisions seems more prevalent in these tensions than the type of disability the different charities focused on. The chapter suggests that MACA had a more favourable relationship with the MOP than the ESWS, despite both caring for the psychologically disabled. Thus, tensions and interactions between different charities and

¹⁵ TNA: PIN 15/2499, ESWS Minutes, 29 August 1923.

¹⁶ Stephen Soanes, 'Well? Well Almost.....' November 2014.

<<http://blog.wellcomelibrary.org/2014/10/well-well-almost/>> [Accessed 4 September 2018].

¹⁷ Chapter Two, pp.118-123.

government departments highlight the importance of institutional relationships when assessing charitable care for the war disabled.

Chapter Structure

First, this chapter examines parliamentary debates on Christianity within asylums to discover how religion and chaplains influenced asylum practice prior to 1914. Then, the chapter examines MACA's background and approach to religious care, before assessing how ESWS mobilised religion as a form of care. It does this by examining the religious connections formed by ESWS's founding women and by presenting religious and female networks as care practices. As well as providing a contrast between how a religious charity and a secular charity approached care and charity for the psychologically disabled, looking at ESWS and MACA highlights the importance of women in charitable care for the war disabled and the importance of family as a form of care for ex-servicemen.

The chapter then examines the role of religion within ESWS homes and its occupational therapy methods. This shows that religion influenced charitable practice and motivation for ESWS, but that the charity deployed religion differently than pre-war asylums to help patients with similar conditions. It also shows that there were strong connections between the Church and the medical community over mental health concerns after the war. The chapter uses occupational therapy to evaluate the relationship between ESWS and the MOP. Like the relationship between BLESMA and the MOP, relations between ESWS and the MOP were often inharmonious – the closing section of the chapter considers the complex relationship between the MOP, MACA and ESWS. These relationships, as well

as care practices for ex-servicemen, illuminate the extent to which religion remained embedded within post-war society.

Role of Religion in Asylum Care Prior to 1914: WRAB Case Study

Historians have tended to follow Foucault's approach to the study of nineteenth-century asylums by exploring the emergence of modern psychiatry and the professionalisation of the discipline.¹⁸ This explains why David Wright argues that the social role of asylums has been overlooked in the debate over the medical treatment of the insane. Additionally, he suggests that traditional assumptions can be overturned when the history of confinement is separated from the history of psychiatry.¹⁹ Wright and others, such as Marjorie Levine-Clark, use the role of the family in asylum care to make this reassessment.²⁰ This chapter argues that the study of religion is another way historians can explore the social role of asylums and charitable homes for the psychologically disabled outside a psychiatric methodology. This is because Christianity provided a crucial lens through which society understood mental disability as well as how to treat it.²¹ However, an in-depth study of religion and more specifically the influence religion had on staff and patients in asylums in pre-war, wartime, and in interwar Britain is missing from the study of mental health. The use of Christian practice in

¹⁸ Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in an Age of Reason* (New York City: Vintage, 1965). As an introduction to this approach, see the work of Andrew Scull: Andrew Scull, *The Most Solitary of Afflictions: Madness and Society in Britain, 1700-1900* (London: Yale University Press, 1993), pp.1-30.

¹⁹ David Wright, 'Getting Out of the Asylum: Understanding the Confinement of the Insane in the Nineteenth-Century', *Social History of Medicine*, 10 (1) (1997), 137-155, pp.138-139.

²⁰ Marjorie Levine-Clark, 'Dysfunctional Domesticity: Female Insanity and Family Relationships Among the West Riding Poor in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century', *Journal of Family History*, 25 (3) (2000), 341-361, p.343.

²¹ Andrew Scull, *Madhouses, Mad-Doctors, and Madmen: The Social History of Psychiatry in the Victorian Era* (London: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

Yorkshire asylums at the outbreak of war and the actions of the Yorkshire West Riding Asylum Board (WRAB) add insight to this gap by showing that Christianity formed an important part of asylum life and asylum treatments.

By 1914, all but seven of the ninety-four mental asylums in England and Wales housed chapels. The Lunacy Commissioners (later the Board of Control) considered a chapel to form 'an essential part of every properly-equipped asylum'.²² Of the seven asylums without a chapel, two asylums did not have space for a chapel and two asylums had incomplete chapels in their grounds. The remaining three were Storthes Hall, Menston Asylum, and Scalebor Park Asylum in Yorkshire. WRAB decided not to build chapels at these asylums because they all held religious services in other areas of the asylum and the 'proportion of patients attending the services is below the average in asylums generally'.²³ Local clergymen called this decision a 'breach of faith'.²⁴

On 25 April 1912, the Lord Bishop of Wakefield, Rodney Eden, debated the topic of asylum chapels in parliament. He wanted the government to 'compel the Yorkshire council to fulfil its obligation' and commission a paper instructing WRAB to build chapels at the asylums for men of any denomination, not just the Church of England.²⁵ Eden accepted that these asylums had a room for Sunday service but he argued that this was not a satisfactory provision for public worship or for the 'religious care of the inmates'.²⁶ The visiting reports of the 1912 WRAB Lunacy Commission further expressed that a chapel was 'essential equipment' for an asylum. Eden reminded parliament that the Lunacy Act of 1890 stated that

²² House of Lords Debate, 25 April 1912 vol. 11, Asylum Chapels. <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1912/apr/25/asylum-chapels>> [Accessed 3 September 2018].

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

asylums had to have a paid chaplain and the 1910 Lunacy Act stated that all asylums must hold 'divine services in a chapel or some other convenient place'.²⁷ These acts connected religion and mental health in law, but the connection was not always clear in practice. For example, Storthes Hall only appointed a paid chaplain after the issue went to parliament in 1912.²⁸ WRAB's decision not to build chapels raised concerns for clergymen and institutions over what constituted 'decent provision' for public representation of religion and what constituted 'a proper place of worship'.²⁹ It also highlights pre-war problems surrounding the fidelity of public bodies in keeping pledged obligations and with traditions of religious treatment concerning those in asylums.

This political debate reveals how Christian belief and worship played a part in the curative treatment of asylum patients. Eden told parliament that 'a building exclusively set apart for religious purposes keeps alive in the patients, in a way no room occasionally reserved for them but commonly appropriated to secular uses can do, a sense of sanctity and solemnity that is contributory to the restoration of mental equilibrium'.³⁰ Medical superintendents agreed with Eden's assessment. Chapels in asylum grounds close to the main building also maintained the 'homely associations of church-going'.³¹ Eden suggests that sacred music and beautiful interiors proved helpful for the cure of some forms of mental disease. By connecting patients with a church, asylum chapels helped to 'revive dormant social instincts which is a common and painful symptom of mental

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Storthes Hall was the only asylum in WRAB without a chapel that became an MOP Hospital in the late 1920s.

²⁹ Alice Brumby, pp.98-159, p.146; WYAS, C85/1/15/3, Annual Reports of the Board of Control (1914), p.13, p.331; p.333.

³⁰ House of Lords Debate, 25 April 1912.

³¹ Ibid.

malady'.³² Hence, replicating the notion of 'going to church', as men and women would do at home, was an important aspect of asylum care. This emphasises the social role of religion in family life (or at least middle-class family life) before the war, as here clergy and medical men were assuming that all patients had gone to church before their admission into an asylum.

The WRAB case study illuminates how Christianity formed an intrinsic part of the asylum. In Yorkshire at the outbreak of war, a number of clergy and doctors believed that religious care for the psychologically disabled should have been a national government concern and they appealed to parliament for help. This shows that religion was part of the discussion on the treatment of psychological illness/injury from before the war at local and national level: an analysis of ESWS and MACA suggests that religion was less prevalent in these discussions after the war. The contrast with the policies of BLESMA highlights a difference in psychological and physical disability. Clergymen and doctors involved in treating the limbless did not think that any specific religious care for these men was a government concern prior to or after the war. It would seem that whether religion was an accepted use of care for a specific disability prior to the outbreak of war (as the WRAB case study suggest it was in asylums) influenced how the government and society more broadly interpreted the role of religion in that care after the war. Thus, how different organisations cared for the disabled and the way that the British government positioned themselves in relation to Christian practice and belief as a form of treatment are measures of religion within society.

Although not all psychologically wounded soldiers were discharged from the army into asylums, the activities of ESWS and whether it had chapels at its

³² Ibid.

homes or employed chaplains, provide a way for historians to determine whether the emphasis on religion in the treatment of the psychologically disabled occurred after 1918, as does an examination of MACA as a Christian charity.

Mental After-Care Association

In 1879, the Anglican asylum chaplain Reverend Henry Hawkins wrote to the *Journal of Mental Science* on the subject of 'After Care'. He described the urgent need for convalescent homes and job opportunities for asylum leavers. On 5 June that year he organised a meeting of some the most important names in psychiatry, including Drs Daniel Hack Tuke and Charles Lockheart Robertson. Here, the charitable organisation dedicated to 'after care' that his article had advocated was formed. Although founded thirty-eight years earlier than ESWS, MACA, like ESWS, wanted to help those who had been in asylums and to supply alternative accommodation where possible.³³

MACA and ESWS demonstrate the interlinked nature of medicine and religion in approaches to interwar psychological treatments and understandings. When analysing institutions, Anne Borsay argues that 'medical men' in this period were becoming increasingly 'unhappy that philanthropy was pre-occupied with education and occupational training at the expense of medical intervention'.³⁴ However, medical intervention was important to ESWS and MACA. Hawkins' connections with psychiatrists were instrumental in the founding of MACA, and throughout the interwar period, ESWS's committee were keen to learn about medical advancements so that they could provide the best possible care to

³³ WL: SA/MAC/B.1/32, Published Report, 1920, Title Page.

³⁴ Anne Borsay, 'Disciplining Disabled Bodies', p.100.

veterans. For example, ESWS organised a conference for consultants in 1935 and another for psychological specialists in 1936.³⁵ Conferences like these suggest that medical influence remained as important to ESWS in the lead up to the Second World War as it had in 1919, when ESWS founders emphasised that they aimed to improve approaches to psychological medicine as they believed Britain was behind other nations in the treatment of people who had psychological disabilities.³⁶

Like ESWS, for MACA, medicine and religion worked side by side from the outset: the first presidents of MACA were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cannon Manning, and Dr Daniel Halk-Tuke.³⁷ Highlighting the importance of religion to charitable structures, nineteen of the thirty-eight vice presidents were Anglican clergymen, with only one doctor featured in 1938. This suggests an increase in religious emphasis and a decrease in medical emphasis over time.³⁸ However, and further bringing into question whether the giving of money was seen as a charitable act in Anglican belief, MACA received more donations from medical men than it did from the clergy. For example, in 1927, five clergymen donated, compared with twenty medical men, a trend which continued into the 1930s.³⁹ The decline in medical men as vice-presidents was not synonymous with a

³⁵ Medical News, *The British Medical Journal*, 1, (3886) (29 June 1935), pp.348-1349; Medical News, *The British Medical Journal*, 1, (3936) (13 June 1936), p.1237.

³⁶ ESWS originally planned to model care in its homes on the Boston Psychopathic Hospital. 'The hospital was the first mental health hospital, as opposed to an asylum, in Massachusetts. It was a forerunner in treatment for the insane as opposed to custodial care'. In January 1919, one year before the closure of the American hospital, ESWS changed tack. Instead, they resolved to start a home for the mentally disabled based on the Marie settlement in Paris, where patients received payment for their labour. In interwar Britain, ESWS combined the scientific treatment and domestic concerns shown by these institutions. CSA: Meeting Notes, 27 January 1919 and, Lloyd Briggs, *History of the Psychopathic Hospital, Boston, Massachusetts, 1863-1941* (Boston: Wright and Potter, 1982).

³⁷ WL: SAMAC/D/3/1/1, Appeal letters, subscription forms and publicity for fundraising events (1880-1988); WL: SAMAC/A/1/4, Background information on MACA history.

³⁸ WL: SA/MAC/B.1/50, Published Report, 1938.

³⁹ WL: SA/MAC/D.3/1/5, Special Appeal, 1927.

decrease in the value the wider medical community placed on MACA's work for the disabled.

In the 1920s MACA opened its convalescent homes. Ex-mental hospital nursing staff often ran the MACA homes, meaning that the employment histories of those who ran them 'connected the community management of convalescence with memories of the mental hospital system'.⁴⁰ This suggests that for MACA, there was another motivation for opening the homes other than humanitarianism: it could use the patients in these homes to better understand psychological conditions and to advance treatments from a scientific perspective. This idea mirrors Lord Horder's assessment of ESWS homes as a 'field work for medicine to advance', which suggests that care for disabled veterans within ESWS and MACA homes were part of a wider medical development programme.⁴¹

The idea that Christian charities should not differentiate between physical and psychological disability (Chapter One showed this was not always the case) was behind MACA's original aim to provide an alternative to the workhouse for those discharged from mental asylums. Ex-patients were 'befriended' in the homes of private individuals, and given advice, money, and clothing. As with asylum chapels, patients were also encouraged to listen to religious music because of the positive 'effect it had on melancholy states', and (as with ESWS) patients were helped to find suitable work.⁴² For example, George Gunner was a baker before admission into Broadmoor Asylum on 2 February 1913. On his release on 8 June 1914, MACA placed an advertisement in *The Daily Chronicle*: 'respectable young man, 20, seeks situation as an assistant; experienced; good

⁴⁰ Stephen Soanes, p.1.

⁴¹ 'Mental Welfare Of Ex-Service Patients', pp.85-86.

⁴² WL: SAMAC/H/2/11, 'Extracts From Speeches At The Annual Meeting', 1919, p.6.

references'.⁴³ To show he was a respectable citizen despite his stay in an asylum, MACA provided him with these references as well as new clothes. On 18 June he started work as a baker's assistant, a position he would not have obtained without MACA's practical help and use of advertising as a form of care.⁴⁴

Because MACA thought that employment should be sought for those who had already recovered, this approach differed to ESWS. ESWS thought that employment was a method that would help men to recover, as highlighted in the chapter's discussion of occupational therapy. Sir George Savage, M.D. (a MACA Vice-President and co-founder of the *Journal of Mental Science*), noted at MACA's annual meeting in 1919 that 'one wishes it was possible to do away with the words Asylum and Insanity; one can hardly hope to do that, but one can do away with disability after recovery'.⁴⁵ For ESWS and MACA it was 'recovery' which would help disabled veterans to socially reintegrate, and employment offered one way this could be achieved. This shows that religious and secular charities (alongside doctors) engaged with therapy and care for disabled men to pursue a sense of normality after the war for both the disabled person, their body, and the wider society.

Figure 5.1 shows that the demand for MACA's services, including help to find employment, increased during and after the war.

⁴³ WL: SAMAC/G/3/4, Individual Patient Files (1914-1936).

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ WL: SAMAC/H/2/11, 'Extracts From Speeches At The Annual Meeting', 1919, p.8.

Year:	Number of MACA Cases:
1915	373
1916	508
1917	614
1918	670
1919	720
1920	815
1921	874
1922	944

Figure 5.1: Annual Number of MACA Cases: 1915-1922⁴⁶

‘Cases’ refers to the number of people who applied to the charity for any type of help year on year. A 1924 appeal for funds suggests that the number of cases continued to increase as ‘1,042 persons assisted in 1923 many of whom were ex-servicemen’.⁴⁷ The numbers in the appeal can be disputed. Lord Wakefield, President of MACA during the 1930s, reported in 1933 that ‘nearly 3000 patients had been assisted in the past year compared to less than a 1,000 ten years ago’.⁴⁸ He attributed the increase to the work of their Patron, HRH Prince of Wales, supporting the argument made in Chapter Four that Royal Patrons had a positive impact on charitable work.

There are no annual statistics for the number of disabled ex-servicemen included within the new cases. A 1920 published report said that, ‘during the year the Association has helped almost 91 ex-servicemen and the council trusts that this large amount of help to the men who served their country will be an additional basis of appeal for assistance to funds’.⁴⁹ This figure does not seem ‘large’ compared to the 815 cases that year. By suggesting that MACA wanted to advance its ‘social prestige’ by using ex-servicemen to gain funds, the quote

⁴⁶ WL: SAMAC/A/1/4; SA/MAC/H2/12, Extracts from speeches at 12 March 1933 Annual Meeting. In the committee minutes there are no recorded MACA case figures before 1915 or after 1922.

⁴⁷ WL: SAMAC/D/3/1/1, Appeal for Funds, 1924.

⁴⁸ WL: SAMAC/A/1/4; SA/MAC/H2/12, 1933 Annual Meeting Report.

⁴⁹ WL: SA/MAC/B.1/33, Published Reports, 1920.

reinforces Kevin Rozario's suggestion that there was often another reason why a charity specifically helped disabled veterans other than welfare reasons.⁵⁰ An analysis of MACA and ESWS shows that his conclusion is applicable to religious and secular charities, and it is a point of comparison with ESWS, because ESWS was set up specifically to help ex-servicemen.

Moreover, an analysis of 'cases' reinforces the pre-war gendered stereotype that religious women and not men were carers for those in need. An examination of MACA's casebooks suggest that female relatives of disabled veterans or women experiencing psychological distress were more likely to ask MACA for charitable help than male relatives and/or the male disabled veteran. Although historians can only speculate about the extent the toll disability had on domestic relationships, an analysis of gender within MACA demonstrates that women actively sought religious help as a form of care, not just medical care.⁵¹ For example, of the 373 cases asking for help in 1915, 225 were made by women and 148 by men.⁵² MACA helped men and women with mental and (to a much lesser extent) physical disabilities, suggesting that the nature of a mental disability that prevented a disabled veteran applying is insufficient to explain this gendered difference in applications by itself.

Although statistics for the numbers of male and female carers within MACA are unavailable, in 1916 the charity secretary declared that 'MACA's work did not decline in the last year (since outbreak of war) unlike most other charities' because of female involvement as care providers.⁵³ The secretary's assessment suggests that for the middle of the war at least, there was a higher proportion of

⁵⁰ Kevin Rozario, p.420.

⁵¹ Peter Barham, pp.340-342.

⁵² WL: SAMAC/H/1/4, Scrapbooks, 1915.

⁵³ WL: SAMAC/A/1/4, Background Information.

female carers in MACA compared to male, and that female work made a charity successful, which re-emphasises the idea that women were important to the charity profession. However, the gender of carer and patient was less of a concern to MACA than the Christian beliefs of those they helped and those who did the helping. Highlighting how highly MACA prioritised faith, religion was the second question after name on MACA's application form for those wanting aid, and denomination was the second piece of information recorded on patient files after name.⁵⁴ This was still the case at the outbreak of the Second World War, suggesting that MACA's emphasis on religion did not decline in the interwar period despite medical advancements.

MACA also helped female relatives of mentally disabled veterans who later died: the strain of caring for male relatives who were disabled by war service in turn led to the mental and physical breakdown of others.⁵⁵ By helping relatives, MACA was able to help these women (and men) who were traumatised by the impacts of war, despite not fighting at the Front. MACA recognised the trauma inflicted on men and women by their wartime experiences and disability: MACA helped combatant or non-combatant men and women equally, whereas ESWS only helped combatant men and women.⁵⁶ Thus, MACA, unlike other Anglican charities which helped the disabled (such as Toc H, LWH, YMCA and YWCA), did not have female and male branches: it cared for the psychologically wounded together. The decision to divide charitable structures by gender was therefore an individual institutional decision. This individuality reflects how not everyone within the same denomination interpreted gender and religion in the same way.

⁵⁴ WL: SA/MAC/G.3/16, Individual Patient Files, 1916.

⁵⁵ Jessica Meyer, 'Not Septimus Now', pp.117-138; WL: SA/MAC/G.3/29, Individual Patient Files, 1929-1931.

⁵⁶ WL: SA/MAC/B.1/32, Published Reports, 1920, p.5.

MACA did not try to hide its religious background or connections with the Church and clergymen as publicity materials bore the name of Reverend Hawkins. Throughout the interwar period MACA was more open about its religious affiliations and connections than ESWS was. As will be examined below, this is unexpected because of the connections ESWS had to other religious charities, the ways in which ESWS mobilised Christian teachings in its charitable practices and the importance of religion to the charity's founders. The interwar work carried out by MACA, therefore, suggests that mental health charities were already set up in a religious setting, making ESWS's decision not to promote Christianity and mental health a deliberate one.

ESWS: Religious Networks and Female Networks as Forms of Care

ESWS helped to care for psychologically disabled veterans by increasing the support for these men. This subsection looks at this support, first in terms of the religious networks, and then the female charitable networks ESWS created. ESWS hoped that these connections, which show that religion remained embedded within interwar society, would create a more positive reception and profile for psychological injuries and the men who lived with them in the British press and society more generally.

Religion, Charity Networks, and Representation

ESWS initially reached out to women's groups and chose ladies from different branches of Christianity rather than from different political groups. This strategy suggests that the founding women thought Christianity provided a unifying force

within society; the approach also reveals a desire to care for psychologically disabled veterans within a religious framework and through religious networks.

After ESWS's first meeting in November 1918, the honorary organiser, Mrs Clarke, wrote to religious charities to obtain their support. She invited members from the Catholic Women's League, the Church League for Women's Suffrage, the Society of St Vincent De Paul and the Federation of Women's Village Missionaries to be present at the next meeting in early 1919. Her actions suggest that for the founders of ESWS, and for herself particularly as she approached these organisations, it was important to unite Christianity rather than politics.

The organisations ESWS contacted were all formed by members of the middle or upper classes and responded favourably to Clarke. The fact that ESWS only selected middle- or upper-class charities suggests that the choice of charity was politicised. This network brought together different denominations but separated the political left and right: it did not unite the political spectrum. Appealing to middle-class organisations suggests that a central (unpublished) aim of the ESWS was 'to always maintain the respectability of the veteran' against the controversial nature of mental illness.⁵⁷ It also highlights the importance of religion to the governing class. By 1924, of the thirty-six ESWS vice-presidents, all held aristocratic titles such as 'Lord', 'Duke', 'Marquess' and their female equivalents, except for one: the Anglican Reverend R. D. Beloe.⁵⁸

Clarke did not ask charities with the same denominational focus to attend this meeting. In the 1920s, the only denomination with a variety of representatives within ESWS's religious network was Catholicism. These were the Women's

⁵⁷ Fiona Reid, *Broken Men*, p.104.

⁵⁸ TNA: PIN 15/2499, ESWS, public appeal for funds on behalf of mentally broken ex-servicemen, 1922-1924.

Catholic League (CWL) and the Catholic Play Society (CPS). ESWS's connection with the CWL highlights a desire to align with an organisation with Anglican roots, international links, and an international message on the future of religious practices. This is because many of the aristocrats, middle-class professionals, and clergy who led CWL were former Anglicans, as was its founder: Margaret Fletcher (1862-1943).⁵⁹ There is no evidence to suggest that Anglican converts formed CPS like CWL, but by 1926 the latter group was performing plays and teaching the injured men in ESWS homes about Christian beliefs.⁶⁰ CPS, alongside secular charities, such as the Not Forgotten Association and the Vocal Therapy Society, are examples of connections ESWS made to help improve the quality of life of the mentally afflicted men once they were in an ESWS home. These opportunities would not be afforded to 'service patients' in asylums, even if religion was more prominent in that space.⁶¹

When compared to other denominational women's charities, it is less surprising that two female led Catholic societies supported the work of ESWS. 'The church's support for national women's clubs was a major element of a Catholic subculture' at this time.⁶² The CWL interpreted women as spiritually superior, self-sacrificing, and obliged to improve society. Social obligation was not necessarily based on denominational practice, as is mirrored by the Anglican LWH and YWCA, but rather a comment on the social role of women.⁶³ The involvement of Christian women in charity work demonstrates that middle-class women often had duties outside of their family and home. This is particularly apt

⁵⁹ Paula Kane, "'The Willing Captive of Home?': The English Catholic Women's League, 1906-1920', *Church History*, 60 (3) (1991), 331-355, p.331-334.

⁶⁰ CSA: Executive Committee Minute Book (19 June 1925-8 July 1927).

⁶¹ CSA: House Committee Documents, 1 December 1926.

⁶² Paula Kane, p.333.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.334.

in the context of mental health as Victorian doctors in Britain argued that if a woman attempted to function outside of these boundaries it would make her mentally 'sick'.⁶⁴ Suggesting a change, in ESWS and MACA (and LWH), women cared for the psychologically disabled outside of their domestic environment.

However, ESWS did not publicise its links with CWL or CPS in the 1920s and 1930s. The National Sunday League, which donated to ESWS in 1922, went one step further and stated that it would only donate if ESWS did not publicise such a connection as it would 'give money but no speeches'.⁶⁵ CWL, CPS, and the National Sunday League did not want their help for mentally disabled ex-servicemen acknowledged. The exact reason for this reticence remains unknown as no comment was made about it in any committee meeting book.⁶⁶ This represents a change from the pre-war period when the connection between religion and the psychologically disabled was acknowledged by religious charities such as MACA.⁶⁷ Yet, when mentioning funding, MACA stated in 1920 that 'there is no limelight, no pictures in the papers like other societies [ESWS; see figure 5.2] have to help them; we haven't got that...we cannot publicise the disabilities of those we help'.⁶⁸ ESWS did not publicise its links to religious charities and MACA did not publicise information on mental disability or those they helped. This

⁶⁴ Marjorie Levine-Clark, 'Dysfunctional Domesticity', p.342.

⁶⁵ CSA: Executive Committee Meeting Notes, 1921–1931; 4 Jan 1922–7 December 1923; 28 March 1922. The National Sunday League was an anti-sabbatarian alliance of working-class radicals with social reformers, secularists and Unitarians that campaigned for musical performances and museums to be open on Sundays. Simon McVeigh, 'Brightening the lives of the people on Sunday': The National Sunday League and Liberal Attitudes towards Concert Promotion in Victorian Britain', in *Music and Victorian Liberalism: Composing the Liberal Subject*, ed. By Sarah Collins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp.37–59.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ House of Lords Debate, 25 April 1912.

⁶⁸ WL: SA/MAC/B.1/32, Published Reports, 1920, p.5.

highlights a disparity between the approaches practised by secular and religious charities in advertising connections between religion and mental disability.

These connections with religious organisations show that ESWS mobilised religious voices within its 'protests'. As Peter Barham explains, 'ESWS sometimes protested on behalf of "the men" or other rankers and sometimes they protested on behalf of a broader middle-class constituency as a totality against an uncaring... establishment'.⁶⁹ This ability to assume different voices made ESWS a 'strong' charity. By bringing different organisations together, ESWS's charitable network formed part of this 'totality' against the state. Hence, a motivation for the religious bodies not wanting their connection with ESWS made public was because they did not want to be associated with a charity that was critical of the government and one that associated with mentally afflicted men. It was not just 'potential support' or 'medical expertise' that the critical relationship between the two institutions alienated from ESWS as suggested by Fiona Reid: tensions silenced but did not stop religious supporters.

The choice of publicity materials made by the founding women shows the influence of religious motivation within ESWS's network building. ESWS endeavoured to obtain the 'sympathy and co-operation of Sunday papers which would make known the establishment of the Fellowship of Reconstruction and its aims amongst discharged men'.⁷⁰ To gain support, ESWS approached the *News of the World* first, as its editor and sub-editor were 'silver badge men'.⁷¹ The Silver War Badge was issued in Britain and the British Empire to men who had been honourably discharged from military service in the Great War because of sickness

⁶⁹ Peter Barham, p.298.

⁷⁰ CSA: 1 Executive General Minute Book, 1918-1921.

⁷¹ Ibid.

or wounds.⁷² It is possible that ESWS wanted the support of ‘Silver Badge Men’ because ESWS’s belief that a change was needed in how veterans were cared for would seem more plausible to other institutions such as the government. This is because wounded soldiers advocated that the system for mentally disabled veterans did not go far enough, instead of women (such as ESWS founders) who were experiencing the system through caring for disabled men. The Silver Badge and ESWS’ endorsement of it was a public projection that they believed war disability was not cowardly. This (and ESWS more generally) challenged the socially prevalent view that shellshock was a disease of weak men ‘whose nerves gave way under the stress of war’.⁷³

The list of organisations Clarke approached in 1919 also shows that ESWS wanted to forge positive relations with the press, particularly press on the political right. This is because, in addition to religious charities, she contacted The Overseas Club and Patriotic League (which merged in 1922 to become the Overseas League). This organisation was created as the ‘embodiment of Sir Evelyn Wrench’s vision to embrace the British Empire, not just as a political and economic network, but as a far-flung brotherhood of men and women of diverse creed and races living apart under differing conditions in different latitudes’.⁷⁴ Evelyn Welch was the editor of *The Overseas Daily Mail* and later held a position within the Ministry of Information.⁷⁵ The selection of these organisations suggests

⁷² IWM: Silver War Badge. <<https://www.IWM.org.uk/history/silver-war-badge-and-kings-certificate-of-discharge>> [Accessed 21 February 2020].

⁷³ Peter Leese, *Shell Shock: Traumatic Neurosis and the British Soldiers of the First World War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Sir Fredrick Milner, ‘Nerve Wrecks of the War’, *Daily Telegraph*, 4 August 1927.

⁷⁴ The Over-Seas League History. <<https://www.rosl.org.uk/about-rosl/our-heritage>> [Accessed 8 November 2018].

⁷⁵ To explore the role of imperial narratives in philanthropy, see Caroline Shaw, *Britannia's Embrace: Modern Humanitarianism and the Imperial Origins of Refugee Relief* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

that the media portrayal of ESWS nationally and internationally was important to its founders who aimed to gain public support and donations in the face of the controversial nature of mental disability.

ESWS was created to provide care for the disabled, but a religious or secular charity which focused on care for the disabled, such as MACA or St Dunstan's, was absent from the list of initial organisations ESWS contacted. Yet, St Dunstan's influenced the care provided by ESWS throughout the 1920s and 1930s. For example, ESWS often modelled 'fun days for soldiers' on St Dunstan's activities. Therefore, in some cases, charities used the same ideas to help men with mental and physical disabilities. Christian organisations that helped disabled people, but had not formed exclusively to do so, also worked closely with ESWS. For example, in 1919, ESWS negotiated the release of two decorated ex-servicemen institutionalised in Broadmoor Lunatic Asylum and placed them in the care of The Salvation Army. Broadmoor's medical superintendent Dr Sullivan expressed his pleasure at the interest the society was taking to help the ex-servicemen in his institution.⁷⁶ Not all medical men agreed that the asylum was an appropriate method of state care (as largely advocated by the MOP) for these ex-servicemen and favoured Christian charitable approaches as a more appropriate treatment for some patients. Significantly, there are no examples in the sources reviewed of ESWS discharging men into MACA's care or from MACA into ESWS's care. These charities may have carried out similar work, but they often worked independently rather than together. This chapter argues that the charitable detachment was a result of the different relationships each charity had

⁷⁶ TNA: HO 45/12492, Proposal to discharge conditionally to ESWS, 1926.

with the government and not because one charity was religious and the other was secular.

Female Networks and Politics

Alongside approaching charities created and/or run by women, in ESWS's second meeting, Clarke wrote to widows of well-known persons (locally and nationally) to gain support and wider recognition of the work of ESWS. She also wrote to MPs such as Mr Jones (Fulham West) and Mr Kelley (Brixton) to tell them of her intention to form women's political committees in some constituencies to support the soldier candidates.⁷⁷ With the support of Kelley and Jones, ESWS began to organise a protest to the 1919 Mental Treatment Bill. A sub-committee for this included women's suffrage societies, particularly The Church League for Women's Suffrage. Religious organisations supported increasing the disabled veterans' voice in politics, suggesting that ESWS and some religious groups recognised that for men with psychological disabilities, politics could improve their conditions and social placing. Charities involving themselves within political actions and campaigning was a form of care for disabled veterans; this care did not have to be as visible or as public as the political rallies held by BLESMA.

These actions of the founding women show that in ESWS, women wanted political change and committed to challenging policies regarding the treatment of mentally ill people. These actions, for wider society, brought into question the respectability of the organisation. For example, in a letter to the MOP in 1925, Dr Edward Mapother (who joined ESWS in 1925 and remained associated with the charity until his death in 1940) referred to the founders as 'wild people'. He

⁷⁷ CSA: 1 Executive General Minute Book, 1918-1921.

wanted to reassure the MOP that now these 'wild people' had left ESWS, he believed it to be a respectable organisation.⁷⁸ In addition, the female founders also wanted the disabled men they represented to have a political voice. However, gender was a barrier in realising these aims. ESWS was founded by women, but despite the connections ESWS had made with suffrage organisations, these women remained 'tied to male power structures'.⁷⁹ At the 1919 election the founding women chose not to 'lobby the established political parties or put themselves up for election to stand for the cause of veteran welfare. They genuinely believed the soldier's voice was more valuable than any other', including their own.⁸⁰ As Reid argues, 'this was a common motif in interwar European societies (and elsewhere): the belief the veteran's voice should be especially privileged was unparliamentary and undemocratic but not uncommon'.⁸¹ ESWS women were politically mindful but not politically dominant in ex-service affairs. ESWS's relationship with the media, doctors, clergy, and army officers reinforced this reliance on male power structures because men (such as Evelyn Welch) held dominant positions in these industries. As with LWH, through Clarke and the founding women, ESWS demonstrates that it was possible for female networks, and particularly religious female networks, to exist and have power within a traditionally male orientated society.

The actions of the founding women in forming charitable networks and in setting the aims of the charity further quell Mapother's claim that they were 'wild'. Their desire to form religious and charitable networks and willingness to work with MPs suggests that their 'nature was reformist not revolutionary'.⁸² It was not

⁷⁸ TNA: PIN 15/2501/1A, Correspondence, Mapother to Lisle Webb, 17 June 1925.

⁷⁹ Fiona Reid, *Broken Men*, p.104.

⁸⁰ CSA: ESWS Minutes, 4 December 1918.

⁸¹ Fiona Reid, *Broken Men*, p.105.

⁸² Fiona Reid, 'Pauper Lunatics', pp.351-352.

'innate radicalism that led these women to commit to challenging policies regarding the treatment of mentally ill people. It was the belief that in highlighting the failures of the asylum system, they would generate support for their broader aim which was to release all veterans into alternative systems of care'.⁸³ ESWS reiterates the importance of women's networks and religious women in charitable activity after the war, as discussed in Chapter Two. ESWS also illuminates the prevalence of religious groups (separate from the Church of England) within politics surrounding the care of disabled veterans. Hence, different Churches had different approaches to political involvement and care for the psychologically disabled.

Female Networks: The Ladies House Committee and Domesticity

ESWS's religious and female charitable networks highlight the importance of religion to those who founded the organisation. Their religious beliefs did not directly translate into charitable practice because religion was less explicit in treatments for post-war patients than in pre-war asylums. This change suggests a degree of discontinuity in the religious care for the mentally disabled, which as the WRAB case study shows, was a concern prior to 1914. As well as the women who founded the organisation, women enjoyed influence and positions of power in ESWS as care practitioners.

ESWS created the Ladies House Committee in 1925 for matters concerning 'family life' and staff and patient care within ESWS homes. The committee included medical and military men who did not necessarily have to

⁸³ Ibid.

work at the ESWS homes.⁸⁴ The committee agreed that the medical officer's duties were those of a visiting doctor: he could not interfere with the Matron's occupational arrangements for the patients. After March 1925, this position was Mapother's job as he acted as an honorary consultant.⁸⁵ Highlighting the influence of women as care practitioners, the female matron had a degree of control over patients and the male doctor.

ESWS had forged charitable and religious connections but no clergymen were members of the House committee. For example, it was Mrs Fleming, wife of the local Anglican Reverend Fleming, who was asked to be a member of the committee, rather than the Reverend himself.⁸⁶ Although no reason is given, the committee's decision to have many denominations represented in its charitable network suggests that by excluding Reverend Fleming, the committee would not be obliged to find clergymen of all other denominations for the committee. The decision not to have clergymen on the committee was paradoxical as the committee also wanted the clergy to take an interest in the home and the patients, for example, by writing and encouraging clergymen to visit the homes.⁸⁷ As emphasised in Chapter Three, this decision reinforces the idea that many charitable social endeavours had implicit religious underpinnings after the war.

Like Clarke's decision to appeal to Sunday newspapers for support in 1919, the House Committee approved publications that would be received by the national Church membership. Influenced by Reverend Fleming, the Matron advertised for maids in *The Church Times*.⁸⁸ This suggests that she wanted the

⁸⁴ Peter Barham, p.316.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ CSA: House Committee Documents 1926, 2 February 1926.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 25 February 1926.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 11 October 1926.

men to be surrounded by women of faith for companionship as shell-shocked veterans were, as described by Sir Fredrick Milner – a former Conservative MP who had been forced to give up his seat because of deafness – in *The Sunday Herald*, as ‘the loneliest men in the world’.⁸⁹ Additionally, an appeal by ESWS appeared in *St Columba’s Church of Scotland Magazine*, where Reverend Fleming was the editor. The language was critical of government policy and favourable to recovery and faith

It is startling and humiliating that at least 6,000 ex-servicemen are today in pauper lunatic asylums. A serious slight to our defenders, their being grouped with the normal-class of pauper lunatics is a hindrance to their recovery and a stigma handicapping their later return to honourable employment. Sir Frederick Milner has made noble efforts to provide recovery homes for them elsewhere.⁹⁰

These religious magazines and publications reinforce the importance of ‘religious media’ to ESWS. This suggests that ESWS wanted to increase the awareness of its work amongst a Christian audience as it wanted more people from a specifically Christian background to become involved in the work of the charity. By publishing this appeal, it suggests that Fleming and those who worked for the Church magazine agreed with the position of ESWS regarding disabled ex-servicemen in asylums (not wanting them in one) and that the government could do more to help them. The Church and the state did not always agree on how best to care for disabled veterans.

The use of ‘normal-class’ suggests that the writer, an ESWS committee member, thought that treatment for a soldier should be different from that of a civilian suffering from similar conditions. This response differs to that of the NSSU

⁸⁹ CSA: *Sunday Herald*, June 1918; Annual Report 1930, p.7; Peter Tarplee, ‘Remploy at Leatherhead’ (2008) p.8. <<http://www.sihg.org.uk/news/08nov-SIHGnews166.pdf>> [Accessed 4 September 2018].

⁹⁰ Fiona Reid, ‘Pauper Lunatics’, p.361.

and LWH, where people with similar conditions received the same care irrespective of the person's occupation. This comparison shows that different religious charities and even people of the same denomination (Fleming and Macfie were Anglican) placed different emphases on the concept of the 'heroic soldier' deserving different treatment or prioritising treatment over the 'less deserving' civilian.

Also, Milner's concern over the 'loneliness' of men further suggests that it was not just religious charities that believed friendship could be a form of treatment. Friendship was especially important to those with psychological disabilities so that the men had someone they could 'confidently turn to in any later trials of maladjustment or mental difficulties'.⁹¹ In 1919, MACA echoed this sentiment by declaring that 'in this society, they [the mentally disabled] will always have a friend to turn to'.⁹²

In 1929 the Ladies House Committee dissolved and, in its place, Colonel Wood made weekly appointments at Eden Manor so that the matron could refer matters of household management to him: a group of women (and to a lesser extent men by 1926) was replaced by one man. This supports Reid's conclusion that ESWS became 'more masculine' in the late 1920s.⁹³ Religion also became less significant in network building as thereafter there appears to have been no new connections to women's organisations, religious or secular. This suggests that for ESWS at least, it was women and not men who were the driving force behind religious connections within the charity.

⁹¹ WL: SA/MAC/B.1/49, Published Reports, 1937.

⁹² WL: SAMAC/H/2/11, 'Extracts From Speeches At The Annual Meeting', 1919, p.6.

⁹³ Fiona Reid, *Broken Men*, pp.137-138.

The opening of ESWS Homes

Charitable networks and recuperative homes reflect ESWS's desire to provide alternative care to government asylums. ESWS homes were not asylums, but asylum staff and staff working at ESWS homes helped to care for men with similar conditions. In 1920, the first ESWS recuperative house opened on Putney Hill in South West London to provide accommodation and treatment for disabled veterans. A second home in Kent opened on 22 October 1924 named Eden Manor, or more colloquially, the 'Sir Fredrick Milner House'.⁹⁴

ESWS homes offered veterans a choice of new skills to learn, such as choral singing, boot repair, basket weaving and pig rearing.⁹⁵ However, they were more than therapeutic centres: they were the 'idealised picture of the nation'.⁹⁶ An alliance between 'Tory paternalists, liberal modernizers, one-nation conservatives, and medical holists, meant that ESWS homes offered a symbolic vehicle for healing the divisions and shattered homes in the national home'.⁹⁷ Religion, highlighted by the religious network ESWS created, was also a vehicle for healing. Barham does not mention the political left or the working class in his assessment of the ESWS home as a 'national home'. This absence, combined with the fact that ESWS reinforced rank in civilian life, connected with press on the political right, and connected with middle-class charities, suggests that in

⁹⁴ TNA: PIN 15/2501, ESWS Propaganda Materials, 1925-27; TNA: HO45 12492. Proposal to Discharge Conditionally to the Society Ex-Service Inmates of Broadmoor Asylum 1920-1922.

⁹⁵ CSA: House Committee Documents, 25 March 1925; TNA: PIN 15/2501, ESWS Propaganda Materials, 1925-27.

⁹⁶ Peter Barham, p.296.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

trying to de-politicise social relationships, ESWS showed the 'informal Conservative hold over bourgeois associations' in interwar Britain.⁹⁸

In 1930, ESWS developed a 'complex of twelve houses designed to accommodate veterans, their wives and their children'.⁹⁹ At the same time, the 1920s and 1930s was when the MOP endorsed institutional treatment as the recommended form of treatment.¹⁰⁰ It was when they admitted mentally disabled veterans to Ministry hospitals for 'hardening or socialisation into work roles', because the MOP had more control over ex-servicemen under such conditions.¹⁰¹ The MOP losing control over the treatment of ex-servicemen to charities such as BLESMA and ESWS offers another reason for the tensions between charities and the state. Hence, organisations vying for dominance over one another affected care for disabled ex-servicemen, and such care occurred within a broader institutional power struggle.

A primary difference between ESWS and the Ministry hospital was that ESWS, in its homes, did not separate disabled ex-servicemen from their families as the MOP did. As Barham argues, 'separation from families was integral to these regimes because domestic life and influences were perceived as being soft and subversive of the discipline that such regimes were intended to inculcate'.¹⁰² Allowing a man to 'live' with his family suggests that ESWS, like the religious charities analysed in Section One of the thesis, recognised the importance of domestic relationships in treatment and care for disabled veterans. Unlike the MOP, ESWS did not physically separate disabled men from their families. The

⁹⁸ Helen McCarthy, 'Parties, Voluntary Associations, and Democratic Politics in Interwar Britain', *The Historical Journal*, 50 (4), (2007), 891–912, p.901.

⁹⁹ Fiona Reid, *Broken Men*, p.130.

¹⁰⁰ Peter Barham, p.316.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

MOP often sent men to asylums far from home and families could only visit with state permission.¹⁰³ This domestic ideal further allowed ESWS to disagree with the MOP's 'socially dead' interpretation of psychological disability by highlighting that men could be reintegrated back into their family life.¹⁰⁴ Although it was possible only one could be achieved based on individual circumstances, ESWS concurrently helped and encouraged economic (as examined in the discussion of occupational therapy) and domestic reintegration of veterans.

The location of ESWS and MACA homes also brings into question the extent to which the First World War increased the visibility of psychological disability in British society. Both charitable homes typically occupied suburban and coastal areas with patients 'living at the margins of the institutional and the social'.¹⁰⁵ This meant that ESWS and MACA homes typically had large gardens. As examined in Chapters One and Two, charities and medical professionals often viewed gardens and nature as methods which could help treat disabled veterans. However, the importance ESWS placed on family life as a curative method suggests that gardens and outdoor spaces were not just helpful in terms of the health benefits they brought, but they were helpful in replicating family life by replicating the idea of a (particularly middle-class) family home and ideas of family traditions. In 1937, ESWS even fundraised for a permanent home by the sea so that ex-servicemen and their families could have a holiday.¹⁰⁶ Lord Wakefield emphasised the benefits of 'homely associations' to the psychologically disabled in pre-war asylums as it helped 'soothe the mind'.¹⁰⁷ ESWS homes show that kinship and constructions of 'normality' continued to be deployed as methods to

¹⁰³ Fiona Reid, *Broken Men*, p.80.

¹⁰⁴ Peter Barham, p.296.

¹⁰⁵ Stephen Soanes, 'Well? Well Almost.....' November 2014.

¹⁰⁶ TNA: PIN 15/2503, Comments on accounts, 1929-1938, 1937.

¹⁰⁷ House of Lords Debate, 25 April 1912.

help treat the psychologically disabled after the war, despite the explicit role of religion within these constructions of normal family life altering.

An analysis of ESWS homes suggests that religious care in secular institutions which housed the psychologically disabled appeared to be less significant after the war than before it. ESWS homes did not combine the medical and religious treatment practised by pre-war asylums: religion was less explicit in this space. Differing from the WRAB case study, no ESWS home had a chapel and, while chaplains visited, they were not members of paid staff, nor did they hold voluntary committee positions. Religion may have been less significant in curative methods for the psychologically disabled, but ESWS homes show that religion remained embedded within broader social structures because of the influence Christianity had over networks and staff.

Analysis of ESWS homes further highlights how religious and secular charities interpreted differently whether war service identity would bring veterans closer together or separate them in civilian life. ESWS wanted veterans removed from asylums but did not offer a religious alternative to help 'ex-servicemen of all ranks and services'.¹⁰⁸ Reflecting this ethos, ESWS fees for their homes related to a man's ability to pay based on his rank (rank had an impact on his disability pension) and not on his need based on symptoms. This differs from the religious charities analysed in Section One and MACA because their membership fees were the same for all those they helped. However, the ESWS staff and committee still categorised some men in the homes by their position in the forces even in the 1930s, ten years or more since men had re-entered civilian life. ESWS continued to treat men based on their service rank as 'a device to remind men of

¹⁰⁸ TNA: HO 45/12492, Proposal to discharge conditionally to ESWS.

wartime comradeship. By celebrating wartime service identity, ESWS was minimising the possibility of post-war conflict'.¹⁰⁹ Despite the use of rank, the emphasis on replicating 'family life' suggests (in terms of organisation) that family structures were more important to ESWS than military structures.

ESWS's approach was the opposite to Toc H's. Toc H believed that the most appropriate way to remember wartime comradeship was by removing rank and class in its approach to treatment and when referencing the men. These secular and religious charities differed in their approach to using class to determine personal identity. Also, after 1923, ESWS's concern for the 'whole services family' included gender as well as rank. In the armistice leaflets that year, ESWS first publicly acknowledged that service women lived with mental conditions because of the war: 'Lest we forget – 6,000 known warriors and 21 ex-service women nurses in Lunatic asylums'.¹¹⁰ Publicising the position of women in asylums also indirectly suggested to the audience that ex-service women could not always provide care for wounded soldiers in the home or in a hospital in the interwar period, despite their class or positions of care during the war, such as nursing.

Occupational Therapy: Relationship Between ESWS and the MOP

Domestic and medical concerns shaped ESWS's occupational therapy practices. An analysis of occupational therapy does more than reveal how medicine informed charitable structures, it illuminates tensions between ESWS and the MOP and connections between ESWS and the monarchy. These connections

¹⁰⁹ Fiona Reid, *Broken Men*, p.136.

¹¹⁰ TNA: PIN 15/2498 1919-1923, ESWS, activities in connection with mental cases; Sir Frederick Milner's letters to *The Times*.

reinforce the notion that after the war disabled ex-servicemen in Britain received care within a complex network. Regardless of differing methods and questions surrounding the adequacy of care provided by each group, the fact that government departments, charities, scientific and religious communities, the Church, and the Monarchy helped to care for psychologically and physically disabled ex-servicemen in Britain suggests that there was a national response to their care and that such care was a national concern.

The ESWS's stated in its aims that it wanted to 'treat and train' the 'most severe' cases as it did not think any mentally wounded veteran was 'beyond hope'.¹¹¹ Thus, ESWS challenged traditional notions of who was deserving of care. By helping the most severe cases, ESWS wanted to show that society was projecting this harmful image that all mentally disabled men were 'beyond hope'.¹¹² ESWS hoped to give veterans another chance at life both physically and socially. One way it could achieve this was to 'train' disabled men so that they could work again and re-take their place in society. By advocating for this reintegration, ESWS voiced its disagreement with the MOP, which had classified such groups of men as 'socially dead'.¹¹³ ESWS thought its actions had to be independent from government control and administration because it believed the government had placed men in asylums unnecessarily and were too quick to label men as 'incurable'.¹¹⁴

ESWS' occupational retraining programme focused on 'ideas of choice for injured soldiers in keeping with the politically liberal principles of individual

¹¹¹ TNA: HO 45/12492, Proposal to discharge conditionally to ESWS, 1926.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Peter Barham, p.296.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p.294.

freedom and self-determination'.¹¹⁵ ESWS homes offered veterans a choice of new skills to learn, such as choral singing and pig rearing.¹¹⁶ Men had relative independence in a domestic setting rather than dependence as they would have had in an asylum.¹¹⁷ Although they were not necessarily trained to work in specific occupations, by widening the skill set a disabled man had, ESWS tried to increase the disabled man's chances of finding any type of employment and consequently reduce his dependency on the state. Staff taught men these new skills before discharging them from an ESWS home, suggesting that ESWS saw employment as a form of treatment, not just an aim for after medical treatment and rehabilitation had ended. This brings together the categories of 'work' and 'welfare' that historians often separate when looking at social policy and disabled people.¹¹⁸

ESWS's approach suggests it favoured a holistic medical method of care with its 'concern for the whole person and for person-centred approaches as a counter to medical and technological reductionism'.¹¹⁹ ESWS not having a chapel in its homes seems counter-productive to the 'whole person' approach which developed as a branch of medicine after the war. Lord Horder, ESWS vice president, ESWS doctor, and physician to the King, co-authored a book called *The Philosophy of Jesus* in which he argued that this holistic approach applied to physicians as well as patients.¹²⁰ As a combination of a 'dedicated professional

¹¹⁵ Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation*, p.39.

¹¹⁶ CSA: House Committee Documents, 25 March 1925; TNA: PIN 15/2501, ESWS Propaganda Materials, 1925-27.

¹¹⁷ Peter Barham, p.340.

¹¹⁸ Anne Borsay, p.12.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.414. For more on the politics of medical holism, see Christopher Lawrence, 'Still Incommunicable: Clinical Holists and Medical Knowledge in Interwar Britain', in *Greater than the Parts: Holism in Biomedicine, 1920-1950*, ed. by Christopher Lawrence and George Weisz, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp.94-111.

¹²⁰ Thomas Horder and Harry Roberts, *The Philosophy of Jesus* (London, Dent, 1944).

and a civilized human being, the doctor was the successor to the priest'.¹²¹ The doctor 'must needs be a priest as well as a physician' as he 'is in the privileged position of the Almighty'.¹²² Religion may not have explicitly influenced the treatment of the men in ESWS homes, but it did so implicitly through its influence over medical approaches to care in the 1930s and 1940s.

Through the 'medical holistic' approach, ESWS targeted the veterans themselves and not employers in its approach to work as a form of rehabilitation. This was the main difference between ESWS and BLESMA in terms of non-religious work. BLESMA publicly and politically campaigned for better employment rights for disabled ex-servicemen with the main aim of encouraging companies to employ more disabled veterans. ESWS did not encourage political rallies on the issue, instead focusing on increasing the skills of men and using occupational therapy to make men more employable. The approach of BLESMA and ESWS differed. Yet, the MOP applied ESWS methods to help veterans gain employment (as it had with BLESMA) to argue that charitable work for disabled veterans undermined state efforts. By showing psychologically disabled veterans smiling and surrounded by objects they had made, ESWS's publicity pamphlets projected an image that these men were productive and enjoyed learning the new skills taught by ESWS (see Figure 5.2).

¹²¹ Christopher Lawrence, 'A Tale of Two Sciences: Bedside and Bench in Twentieth-Century Britain', *Medical History*, 43 (4) (1999), 421-449, p.433.

¹²² Thomas Horder and Harry Roberts, p.35; p.179.



Figure 5.2: ESWS Propaganda Material ¹²³

These images of men learning new skills present a ‘domesticated and compliant’ masculinity. Peter Barham argues that ESWS did this to ‘distract donors to the society’s cause from apprehensions about clients as potential agitators’ or criminals.¹²⁴ ESWS selected these images to challenge social perceptions of mental disability by highlighting that not everyone with a psychological disability was to be distrusted, caused trouble, or were criminals. Simultaneously, these pamphlets portrayed the idea that the government was not helping these men get back into employment by not mentioning government schemes which helped disabled veterans. Internal MOP correspondence in 1926 argued that ESWS was ‘giving a false idea to public about services and treatment available for mentally ill ex-servicemen because of ESWS propaganda’.¹²⁵ This suggests that the MOP was concerned with treatment and how its efforts were being publicly represented and portrayed. In an internal letter in 1926, an MOP employee declared that ‘they

¹²³ TNA: PIN 15/2501, ESWS activities in connection with mental cases 1925-7.

¹²⁴ Peter Barham, p.296.

¹²⁵ TNA: HO 45/12492, Proposal to conditionally discharge, 1926.

were aware the public is ignorant of what is being done (by the state) for the ex-serviceman'.¹²⁶

Charity workers and charity publications were partly responsible for this 'ignorance'. For example, Fredrick Milner had founded hostels for shell-shock patients, believing that these 'men were the class the government had done the least for'.¹²⁷ His suggestion that the state was not helping the mentally disabled suggests a disparity between what the state did to help and how charity leaders perceived such help. Milner's belief matched that of George Chandley, a disabled ex-serviceman and BLESMA's vice-chancellor in the 1920s and 1930s. Individuals criticised the state for their own charitable agenda: Chandley wanted more state care for the war limbless and Milner wanted more state support for psychologically injured veterans. Both argued that the state was not doing enough to support people with the disability for which they primarily campaigned on behalf. This implies that both men utilised rhetoric and exaggeration, as discussed in Chapter Four.¹²⁸ The government was not solely responsible for the often-inharmonious relationship it had with private charities in the interwar period.

Furthermore, by showing that psychologically disabled men were able to interact with others through images such as in Figure 5.2, ESWS was critiquing the government, which was committed to asylum treatment based on the idea that 'some mentally broken men needed to be isolated for their own sake and that of others'.¹²⁹ While this would depend on the individual, ESWS took men into their care whom the government had confined to asylums, showing the MOP and the

¹²⁶ TNA: PIN 15/759, Savings scheme for disability pensioners: Board of Supervision, 1936-37.

¹²⁷ *The Times*, 23 September 1922.

¹²⁸ Chapter Four, pp.208-210.

¹²⁹ Fiona Reid, *Broken Men*, p.111.

public that not all 'broken men' needed isolation. For example, in 1927, ESWS took the cases of twenty-five psychologically disabled ex-servicemen in asylums to the House of Lords tribunal. After emphasising mistakes in decisions made by the MOP, ESWS won twenty-one of these cases without legal assistance. Consequently, these men had their certified insane certificates revoked and were taken out of asylums, theoretically making it easier for the men to re-train and find employment.¹³⁰ That these decisions were overturned without the need for legal representation highlights that it was not just unsympathetic individuals within the MOP that charities such as ESWS and BLESMA had to contend with to try and improve circumstances for veterans, but rather the broader state bureaucratic system.

Furthermore, looking at ESWS publicity pamphlets alongside BLESMA's concert pamphlets reveals that charity advertisements strongly fuelled tensions between charities and the government after the war. For both charities, the public rather than the government formed the intended audience: BLESMA and ESWS designed these pamphlets to raise public awareness of the charity, the work it did, and/or to raise funds for their causes. The negative reaction of the MOP to both the ESWS and BLESMA pamphlets which 'attacked the administration of the MOP' highlights how close an eye the state kept on the work of private charities helping ex-servicemen. They were private charities, but they were not free from state intervention. This also shows a degree of paranoia over public perceptions of state efforts in comparison to charitable ones.¹³¹

¹³⁰ TNA: PIN 15/2502, ESWS activities in connection with mental cases, 1927-28.

¹³¹ TNA: PIN 15/759, The words of Lieut-Colonel the Hon. George Stanley (MOP) in the shorthand notes of an interview with the ESWS, 12 June 1926.

In addition, the number of men the MOP treated who had a mental disability was far greater than those treated by ESWS. By 1938, the MOP was helping at least 45,000 men.¹³² The MOP did not have the resources or time to 're-train' the psychologically disabled in the same way that ESWS did. The MOP supported ESWS's occupational therapy methods as most MOP hospitals and clinics used a mixture of occupational therapy and psychotherapy.¹³³ In 1938, Sir Adair Hore, Permanent Secretary of the MOP, declared in *The British Medical Journal* that 'occupational interest was emphasized in all (state) treatment as a way of taking the patient out of the "fireside gloom", the besetting danger of the neurasthenic'.¹³⁴ He felt it more beneficial for men to receive social insurance than for them to face the insecurity of awaiting the success of an application for higher pension or for a grant from the Society.¹³⁵ He was publicly suggesting that state aid in the form of pensions was a more sustainable and long-term form of care than ESWS offered.

Sir Adair reached his conclusion after attending a medical conference on 1 July 1938 on head injuries sustained during the war, at which ESWS representatives were present. Lord Horder congratulated the Society on its work for ex-service men in the lunch that followed. He told journalists that ESWS was a 'good story' as it was doing exactly the 'required field work for medicine to advance'.¹³⁶ As an MOP official, he wanted the press to report on this positive aspect of the charity's work. If medicine advanced, more ex-servicemen could gain employment. Hence, the MOP and ESWS agreed and thought that

¹³² 'Mental Welfare of Ex-Service Patients', *The British Medical Journal*, 2, (4044) (July 1938), pp.85-86.

¹³³ Fiona Reid, *Broken Men*, p.133.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ For information on the relationship between the MOP, Treasury, and pensions, see Helen Bettinson, pp.74-92.

¹³⁶ 'Mental Welfare Of Ex-Service Patients', pp.85-86.

occupational therapy improved the mental state of ex-soldiers. This example highlights how the MOP was able to hold differing opinions to the ESWS without mounting an 'attack' on the society or de-valuing the work ESWS performed.

Occupational Therapy: Thermega and Royalty

After 1927, the main example of occupational therapy grew from ESWS's connection with Thermega Ltd., a company which manufactured electric blankets for both personal use and for hospital patients.¹³⁷ In 1927, Thermega Ltd. became a subsidiary company to ESWS and operated a workshop at the ESWS home in Leatherhead, Surrey. Conventionally, items disabled veterans made to sell, such as woven baskets, relied on the charity and the goodwill of customers to buy them: this type of work became a way for the public to offer its support and show gratitude to veterans by keeping them in employment. In this case, the electric blankets were manufactured for commercial use and the men working at the workshop were paid.¹³⁸ Thermega was a business and this development represented a shift in ESWS's work practice. It highlights that humanitarian and business concerns did not always divide charitable practice, but that these concerns could co-exist and successfully work side by side.

This new venture also helped soften the early post-war images of shell-shocked men as being completely dependent on others. These men could provide for those in need, challenging the idea that they were the ones in need.¹³⁹ ESWS was further able to use its connection with Thermega to argue for the worth of mentally disabled veterans and challenge pre-conceptions over their

¹³⁷ CSA: General Committee Book, July 1931-December 1963.

¹³⁸ Fiona Reid, *Broken Men*, pp.158-159.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.162.

'utility' within society as well as their ability to enter the job market. In doing so, they not only challenged the eugenics-based idea that disabled people formed a social 'burden', but also demonstrated that mental disability did not have to be eliminated altogether to build a stronger society.¹⁴⁰ ESWS did this by implying that psychologically disabled veterans became 'useful and normal citizens' by returning to work.¹⁴¹ It is an inherent paradox of the organisation that it wanted to show the usefulness and normalisation of disabled people and reconstitute 'individual and communal worth' in the men through work schemes, but that these schemes happened in sheltered accommodation segregated from the rest of society.¹⁴²

British royalty took an interest in this company: Thermega made electric car mats for King George V of Britain. Alongside showing that psychologically disabled men could work, ESWS mobilised its royal connection to try and end social stigmas surrounding mental disability. The implication was that if the King was able to support and use products made by men with a mental illness, then his people, the British public, should also be able to trust in this connection. Lord Horder, an ESWS vice-president, was also a Physician-in-Ordinary to the King.¹⁴³ The same doctor treated royalty and mentally disabled ex-servicemen, strengthening the idea that psychologically disabled men should not be 'distrusted'. These connections with royalty suggest that the work of psychologically disabled veterans was not 'subnormal' or substandard as Major

¹⁴⁰ Fittingly, by 1936 men at the Thermega workshops were making electronically heated suits for R.A.F machines. 'New Buildings For War Neurotics', *Daily Telegraph*, 8 July 1936.

¹⁴¹ Anne Borsay, p.59.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Peter Barham, p.307.

Todd (who worked for the Board of Pensions Commissioners) implied in his assessment of occupations for disabled veterans.¹⁴⁴

King George V donated twenty-five pounds to support ESWS's charitable work for men in asylums. ESWS's 1924 Armistice leaflets highlighted the donation: which led to tensions between ESWS and the government.¹⁴⁵ A donation from the King to ESWS, a charity which openly criticised government efforts to help disabled veterans, suggested to the government that the King, as head of state, did not agree with the efforts of government on asylum care. Buckingham Palace argued that ESWS was wrong to publish this because the King had not donated the money.¹⁴⁶ A member of the Royal Family could not, from a constitutional point of view, allow their name to be associated with any controversial matter in connection with a government department. Hence, the Prince of Wales, who had become Patron to ESWS in 1924, ended his patronage in 1925 because of the fall-out caused by an assumed donation by the King. The backlash caused by the Armistice Pamphlets strengthens the argument that charitable advertising was a source of contention between charities and the state and reveals the political conflict that lurked below the idea of neutral charitable patronage.

Despite this episode, the Prince of Wales continued to support ESWS after 1925. He gave his name to fundraising events such as a boxing match between the army and other services at the Royal Albert Hall in 1927. The entire proceeds went to ESWS and the Prince donated his box at the Albert Hall to ex-

¹⁴⁴ John L. Todd, 'The Meaning of Rehabilitation: The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science', *Rehabilitation of the Wounded*, 80 (1918), 1-10, p.8.

¹⁴⁵ CSA: Executive Committee Minute Book, 4th Jan 1924-5th May 1925.

¹⁴⁶ Admiral Row, the secretary of the privy purse at Buckingham Palace, informed ESWS that the twenty-five pounds had not come through the privy purse. It was a contribution from a property negotiation which did not materialize.

servicemen.¹⁴⁷ The removal of patronage in 1925 was due to the prescriptive relationship between monarchy and politics. It was not because the Prince disagreed with or was 'uninterested' in the work of the charity or that he thought the government was not doing enough to help these men, supported by the fact that the Prince was patron of MACA in 1924.¹⁴⁸ Hence, the King's position as head of the Church of England (and his family, including the Prince of Wales, as public advocates for this institution) was seemingly less important in the relationship between charities and the state than his position as head of the state: as head of state he was unable to express political opinions or concerns. The King's position as head of the Church and his and his family's commitment to charitable causes through patronage, alongside the fact that the founders of ESWS and MACA were middle-class, emphasises the importance of religion to the British upper classes after the war.

ESWS and the government continued to disagree in the late 1920s. An analysis of occupational therapy suggests that these disagreements were no longer grounded in wider political controversies, such as reform for the mentally disabled, as they were in the early 1920s. This move away from political contention, to a focus on homes and therapy, helps to explain why members of the Royal Family, such as the Duke and Duchess of York, who visited Leatherhead in 1929, found it easier to associate themselves with ESWS after the removal of Royal Patronage.¹⁴⁹ The growing relationship between ESWS and the monarchy not only indicates the monarchy's desire to forge relations with the public (see Chapter Four) but allows conclusions to be drawn about the influence

¹⁴⁷ TNA: PIN 15/2501 (1925-27), ESWS: activities in connection with mental cases.

¹⁴⁸ WL: SAMAC/D/3/1/1, Appeal for Funds, 1924.

¹⁴⁹ CSA: Executive Committee Minute Book: 4 Jan 1924-5 May 1925.

of the state over 'private' (as opposed to state) charities and the precarious place of the Church of England within this complex relationship.

Relationship Between ESWS, the MOP and MACA

An analysis of ESWS's approach to occupational therapy and asylum care shows that the relationship between ESWS and the MOP was often one of mistrust. In comparison, the relationship between the MOP and MACA was more trusting and favourable than that between ESWS and the MOP, despite similarities in the work of the two charities. A meeting between ESWS and the MOP in July 1926 illuminates this difference. In the meeting, the MOP informed ESWS that the 'after-care' of men leaving asylums was not its job, but the task of MACA. Dr Mapother countered to the MOP this could not be the case as MACA 'had very short funds so they could not put much aside for ex-servicemen'.¹⁵⁰ The fact that MACA did not maintain separate funds for civilians and servicemen casts doubt over his claim.¹⁵¹ Mapother's concern suggests that in its co-operation with government departments, ESWS desired to maintain its identity, individuality, and initiative. This is another reason for the separation between MACA and ESWS, despite the similarity of their work. In recommending MACA, the MOP revealed that it 'trusted' MACA but not ESWS with this type of work.

Following the meeting, the MOP wrote to the Board of Trade saying that they 'were doubtful of Mapother's claim' and thought that after-care had 'been satisfactorily dealt with' by MACA.¹⁵² In another letter the MOP noted that it held

¹⁵⁰TNA: PIN 15/759, Dr Mapother's words in the shorthand notes of an MOP interview with the ESWS, 12 June 1926.

¹⁵¹ WL: SA/MAC/D.3/1/2, Correspondence relating to MACA's appeal for funds, 1920.

¹⁵² TNA: PIN 15/759, Letter to MOP from Board of Trade, 8 June 1926.

MACA in 'high esteem', and were 'greatly appreciative of their efforts' with the mentally disabled.¹⁵³ This discussion arose after the ESWS approached the Board of Trade with a request to be granted a company licence. The Board responded that it could only do this when ESWS could show that it had 'abstained for a substantial period of time from basing their appeals for funds on the idea disabled ex-servicemen were been neglected (by the government) and that all the funds they raise will go on the treatment of these alleged neglected men'.¹⁵⁴ After agreeing to this, Sir Fredrick Milner issued a brochure, in 1926, entitled 'Special Appeal on Behalf of Ex-Services Welfare Society'. The MOP felt that this publication 'conveyed a complete misrepresentation of the policy of His Majesty's Government' in their work for the mentally disabled. The MOP felt it could not carry on negotiating for those who 'could not be trusted to carry out what is agreed' and the Board of Trade, which thought that ESWS had been created as an 'opposition to the MOP and Red Cross', refused to grant ESWS a licence in 1927.¹⁵⁵

The government's unwillingness to support two charities caring for the mentally disabled helps explain the distant relationship between ESWS and MACA, especially as both worked with other charities, such as CWL, whose work differed far more greatly than caring for the psychologically disabled. Hence, interwar charities competed for government support alongside competing for custom and public funds. Competition and distance enhances the argument in the previous chapter that state officials disliked charitable criticism of their approach to caring for the war disabled. In the archives there is no evidence to

¹⁵³ Ibid., Letter from the MOP to Board of Trade, 10 June 1926.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., Board of Control Report, May 1926.

¹⁵⁵ TNA: PIN 15/750, Letter from MOP to Board of Trade, 12 August 1926; TNA: PIN 15/749 (1925-6), ESWS application for licence under Section 20 Companies (Consolidated) Act 1908.

suggest MACA criticised the MOP or the MOP criticised MACA in the same way that ESWS did and were criticised. For example, when the King donated £100 to MACA in 1927, such a donation was not questioned by the MOP in comparison to the tensions caused by an assumed donation of twenty-five pounds from the King to ESWS in 1924.¹⁵⁶

The 1926 meeting emphasises the extent to which government departments were involved with and had control over 'private' charities and how the ability of charities to care for the disabled was influenced by such a charity having a friendly relationship with government departments. It was not just that such tensions existed between ESWS and the state as both had different approaches to helping the same 'audience' because the state endorsed the work of MACA, which shared an 'audience' with ESWS. Rather, this suggests that tensions between ESWS and the state were also bureaucratically created. Bureaucracy and the relationships between institutions emphasise the lack of agency ex-servicemen, particularly psychologically disabled veterans, had over their own care in interwar Britain. The fact that the same applies to BLESMA suggests that the structure and practice of the MOP influenced charitable decisions more than on the type of disability these decisions were based.

Conclusion

After the First World War, religion influenced charitable care for the psychologically disabled. This stands for continuity and not change in charitable motivation. What did change was religious practice, such as the projection and

¹⁵⁶ WL: SA/MAC/D.3/1/11, Appeal for Funds, 1927.

advertising of religion in charitable circles, and institutions specifically utilising religious belief and practice as a treatment for the psychologically disabled.

Before 1914, it was common practice to have a chaplain and a chapel within asylum grounds. The idea was to replicate 'going to church' which it was believed 'soothed' the mind and helped patients recover. ESWS homes were not asylums, but they did not offer the patients who lived in them the same type of religious treatment found in pre-war asylums, nor was Christian care mentioned in any of the analysed correspondence between ESWS and the MOP. This discontinuity appears to only have applied in non-religious organisations as MACA endorsed religious practices to help the disabled and their families.

Both ESWS and MACA combined medical and religious approaches to care, emphasising the extent to which Christianity was embedded in interwar British society. While religion did not explicitly influence the treatment of the men in ESWS homes, it did so implicitly through medical interpretations of religion in the 1930s and 1940s. This is because of ESWS's 'holistic' approach to treatment and occupational therapy. Religious practice as a form of treatment might have changed, but religion remained relevant in the treatment of mental health because of the way it influenced the medical community, work therapy, and the charitable structures in which psychologically disabled veterans were cared for. Therefore, through charity work, MACA and ESWS connected the disciplines of medicine (particularly psychiatry) and religion in the networks each charity formed and in approaches to interwar psychological treatments and understandings. Their charity work shows that the Church and clergymen, through their involvement in the treatment of veterans and in associated charitable services, form a part of the 'mixed-economy of welfare' concept historians employ to describe care provision for disabled veterans.

The creation of a religious network by ESWS demonstrates the continued importance of religion in charitable motivation after the war, particularly for women, and the importance of Anglicanism to the upper classes of British society. As ESWS's work with CWL and CPS shows, different religious beliefs did not prevent charities from working together. ESWS highlights that it was not just Christian charities that encouraged social action along ecumenical lines. In wanting to help disabled veterans, ESWS united different Christian factions. This suggests that ESWS thought care for veterans should help unite society. By analysing charitable networks, ESWS homes as 'national' homes and the importance ESWS placed on military rank, this chapter suggests that it was middle-class society that ESWS thought it could unite.

By comparing ESWS and MACA, the chapter highlights that improving conditions for men in asylums, removing them from asylums completely, and providing 'after-care' for institutionalised men was a point of contention between charities and the government. It was not just differing approaches to 'appropriate' treatment choices – with ESWS homes and its charitable network which formed two alternative approaches to state care – that caused tensions between these two institutions. Like BLESMA, the MOP's desire to control charitable publications and its annoyance when a charity did not follow government guidance fuelled unfriendly relations. Through its study of BLESMA and MACA, this thesis argues that it was this desire for control which created tensions between ESWS and the MOP more than the controversial nature of the disability ESWS represented.

Tensions between charities and the state were particularly significant for the psychologically disabled. ESWS and MACA needed the approval of the government more than any other charity analysed in this thesis because of the

controversial nature surrounding the specific type of disability they helped.¹⁵⁷ The embedded social stigmas attached to mental disability within British society (such as a pre-deposition to crime) affected how institutions interacted with one another and how charities gained support for their work with the psychosocially disabled.¹⁵⁸ This differs from the religious understandings of mental disability (as suggested in Section One of the thesis) which affected how some religious charities interacted with disabled men (like an ability to understand God's will as a pre-requisite for help), rather than how charities interacted with other institutions.

As they were in BLESMA, inter-institutional relations based on mistrust explored in this chapter were a disadvantage for the state, charity (and its public perception) and the care charities could provide to disabled ex-servicemen. Within this 'public' argument, religion separates ESWS and MACA. MACA always referred to its Christian background in publicity materials, while ESWS never publicly advertised its religious connections. This shows a deliberate decision to promote religion by one charity and a deliberate decision to hide it from the public by another.

MACA and ESWS both helped care for those with a psychological disability. However, MACA enjoyed a more trusting relationship with the MOP than ESWS because MACA did not try and challenge the state in the same way that ESWS did. This strengthens the argument made in Section One that religious charities did not view challenging the state as the best way forward to improve care for veterans. The different relationships that ESWS and MACA had with

¹⁵⁷ Fiona Reid, *Broken Men*, p.99.

¹⁵⁸ For more information on war, disability, and crime, see Clive Emsley, *Soldier, Sailor, Beggarman, Thief: Crime and the British Armed Services Since 1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

government departments and their desire to remain individual organisations best explains the distance between the two charities rather than one being more religious than the other.

Conclusion

To better understand the continued importance of religious belief and practice within British society after the war, this thesis has shown that scholars need to look beyond the institution of the established Church to other institutions. In its analysis of charitable efforts to help rehabilitate disabled veterans, this thesis has revealed that Christian – particularly Anglican – belief and practice influenced charitable approaches to disability and care for disabled veterans between 1918 and 1939.

Religion is not prominent in analyses of charitable care for veterans. The historiography has approached care practices for disabled ex-servicemen as predominantly secular practices. This thesis challenges this understanding by showing that Christian beliefs and values influenced religious and secular approaches to charitable care and treatment throughout the interwar period. By making religion an explicit consideration, this research develops our understanding of the aftermath of the conflict in Britain and on informal health-care provision before the birth of the welfare state. It shows that the ‘mixed economy of welfare’ concept should include individual and institutional religious belief, the Church, and clergymen, because these were additional ideas and groups which shaped care practices for veterans. By including these within a charitable context, the thesis shows that disability and care provision were not purely medical concepts: religious morality and medicine continued to frame these ideas after the war.

Religion and medicine, just like politics and the Royal Family, occupied quite different roles within society, but by caring for disabled veterans, the roles and relationships between these groups mixed. Relations between different

charities and charities and government departments were complex and dynamic. These relations reveal the extent to which inter-institutional connections and hierarchies, which veterans had little control over, affected care provision. They show that Anglicanism remained significant in the welfare work of a rich variety of organisations and not just Christian charities. Relationships between institutions as well as the activities of individual institutions, demonstrate that religion retained social significance after the conflict.

The thesis also presented a more holistic view of the religious revival concept by arguing that religion in institutional practice, just as with personal religion, was not a fixed concept. This fluidity in religious interpretations affected those giving and receiving charitable care. Toc H, LWH and NSSU did not use religion to frame care in the exact same way, showing that interwar religious charity work was not a prescriptive practice. Despite variations in Biblical interpretations, Christianity continued to affect the social and medical care provided by religious and secular medical charities after the war. Because this care was significant, the thesis highlights that even at a time when the state was becoming more involved with the welfare of disabled people, charity remained important. More broadly, including religious charities within this analysis shows that charities created specifically to help disabled veterans of the war were not the only charities which contributed to their care.

By acknowledging that religion remained important to wider British society after the conflict, asking how this importance manifested itself within British care for veterans, and by using charity work and structures to examine the link between religion and rehabilitation, this thesis reveals that regional specificity, locality, employment, and domestic concerns affected religious and secular charitable aims and methods for disabled ex-servicemen. These themes highlight

the vulnerable position of disabled veterans within interwar British society and emphasise the haphazard nature of charitable care for veterans, both between institutions and within the same institution. Many historians, such as Deborah Cohen and Michael Robinson, have shown that disabled veterans were vulnerable within the state system, whether this be through pension decisions or by showing the lack of control a veteran had over his treatment by the state. These historians have not considered that philanthropy, like the state, suffered systemic weaknesses. These themes connect all the charities analysed and show that it was not just the policies of individual charities but systemic factors which affected care practices for the war disabled.

Religion

The thesis questions the utility of using Church attendance figures to assess religious vitality after the war. It argues that these figures, unlike charitable activity, do not express popular religion. In interwar Britain, religious charities remained significant because of their welfare work and continued commitment to church practice. Therefore, fluctuating Church attendance figures do not correspond with religious institutions losing social significance, despite historians, such as Clive Field, using such figures to argue for the process of secularisation occurring in Britain after the war. Because religious charities were an extension of 'church life', they were an extension of institutionalised Church religion. Hence, Christian charity work for the war disabled highlights how popular religion (religious practice outside of the Church) did not decline concurrently with

institutional religion and, more broadly, that popular religion remained tied to institutionalised religion in the interwar period.¹

The activities of Christian and secular institutions show that the social significance of religion was 'greater than the sum of all those who attended church on a Sunday'.² Throughout the interwar period, religious organisations continued with their aim to help Christianise society. This included raising awareness of Christian practice in industry, telling men and women they had to agree to Christian ideals if they wanted charitable help, and raising the profile of church worship. Religious charities encouraged prayer, celebrated Christian festivals, held religious education groups, and promoted biblical messages: in other words, religious charities formed an extension of church life. In supplying practical and emotional help, such as financial aid, or specific prayers for the sick and disabled, the services offered by religious charities became socially significant to the men and women who received help from them. The same correlation applies to secular charitable aid. However, by showing how disabled veterans engaged with and benefited from the 'religious elements' of religious charities, such as through prayers and church services, the thesis demonstrates that religious practice specifically remained important to charities and their members as a form of help.³

In Anglican charitable practice, the exclusivity of denomination and class (particularly because of the membership fees charities charged to those they helped) limited the help religious charities were able to offer. Denomination and class influenced both who religious charities helped and who did the helping. This is despite Section One showing that religious charities applied universal ideas

¹ Sarah Williams, p.176.

² Matthew Grimley, *Citizenship, Community, and the Church of England: Liberal Anglican Theories of the State Between the Wars* (London: Clarendon Press, 2004), p.13.

³ Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, pp.203-4.

with Christian origins to their welfare work. For example, religious charities promoted fellowship, abstinence, education, and neighbourliness and helped the poor, sick and disabled. Thus, the application of universal ideas in religious charity work was not synonymous with the avoidance of ideas and beliefs associated with the 'exclusivity' of a denomination or class in the interwar period as Matthew Grimley argued.⁴ This thesis shows that interwar Anglican charities proved able to combine religious and universal ideas in their welfare practices without losing their religious exclusivity. Anglican ideas and understandings of the New Testament remained at the forefront of religious charitable practice, even when religious charities such as Toc H moved towards inter-denominationalism in the mid-1920s. For all the religious charities analysed, religious ideals and thinking came before any other concerns, including welfare. Their commitment to Christianity did not waiver even when their charitable focus, whether this be disabled veterans or overseas mission, did.

If religious charities had avoided religious 'exclusivity' then men and women of all Christian denominations, of no Christian denomination or even of another faith would have had the same access to Christian charitable help. In showing that this was not the case for the religious charities (unlike the medical charities), the thesis highlights that religious belief, paradoxically, prevented some men from accessing charity. This highlights the importance of religion in shaping charity policy; that religious exclusivity within charitable institutions meant that religion was a help and a hinderance for veterans seeking charitable care after the war, and that religion adds another dimension to the argument that

⁴ Matthew Grimley, p.14.

men did not approach charity because doing so contradicted Victorian masculine ideals of self-sufficiency.

The influence of religion on membership policies also reveals that some charities applied different rules around who they wanted as members and who they would offer their services to. This presents charitable membership and charitable help as different care methods for disabled veterans, an under-studied division in histories of veterans' organisations. Chapters One and Two highlighted the difficulties recipients faced by showing that it was not just religion which affected membership policies, but perceptions of disability. Toc H and LWH thought that disabled people needed help, but that disabled people should not be the ones to help those in need. Thus, how charities interacted with disabled veterans and disabled people illuminates broader social understandings on disability and the utility of disabled bodies.

The analysis of religious charities further reveals that religion was not just a barrier for many who wanted to access charitable services: it was also a way in which charities could control disabled men.⁵ This finding introduces a different factor into the paternalistic 'social control' argument surrounding interwar charitable care. For example, men and women had to agree to institutionalised versions of Christianity before they could be a member of Toc H and LWH. The Christian standard meant that joining the charity was a form of care for Christian veterans with a physical disability but a form of control for those with a mental disability. Anne Borsay argues that social control of the disabled by organisations altered over time because 'attitudes and policies towards disability are culturally constructed and, consequently, open to change'.⁶ Throughout the interwar period

⁵ Ana Carden-Coyne, p.447.

⁶ Anne Borsay, p.207.

this Christian standard did not alter, suggesting a difference in the ways in which institutions constructed religion and disability. With the MOP as the foundation, historians have also argued that disability after the war was not just socially and medically constructed, but administratively determined.⁷ An analysis of charitable membership policies and how charities controlled recipients develops Borsay's conclusion by showing that charity administration further contributed to disability constructs and religious perceptions of disability.

The Christian standard and an analysis of LWH and NSSU show that, by design, charitable aid often teased apart a veteran's disabled identity and his religious identity. Hence, alongside and separate from ideas already examined by historians (such as class, eugenics, and differing social constructs of the disabled body), religious belief and interpretation help to explain why institutions within society treated and/or controlled the physically and psychologically disabled veteran differently.⁸ As Chapter Five highlights, psychological disabilities carried social stigmas before and after the war, but looking at religious charitable responses to this care suggests that it was not necessarily these stigmas, such as distrust, that warranted differences in the treatment of the physically and psychologically disabled. The ability of a person to understand God's will was more important to Toc H and LWH's willingness to help the disabled than any broader social stigmas surrounding mental disability.

The thesis also reveals that war experience complicates the relationship between religion and domesticity after 1918. The LWH founders worked as nurses on the Western Front and this helps to explain why LWH structured its

⁷ Deborah Stone, *The Disabled State* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), pp.26-27.

⁸ Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation*; David Gerard, *Conservatism or Change?*

care for disabled ex-servicemen in a hospital setting, while YWCA and MACA, which did not have origins in the Great War, chose instead to focus their efforts towards disabled veterans when they returned home from the hospital. This suggests that war experience had a role to play in the separation of medical and domestic charitable care after 1918. War experience challenges the idea that Christian women engaged in charity work because it was a 'religious calling'. The founding women of LWH were nurses and their medical profession motivated them more than charity work. The founding women of ESWS did not serve in the First World War or hold professional medical positions. Often their 'career' became charity work for the mentally disabled. These comparisons based on female professionalisation after the war imply that female war experience changed, to some extent, the assumed relationship between religion and domestic care in interwar Britain.

Regionalism and Locality

Regionalism affected the ability of charities to give care to veterans in terms of denominational dominance, resources, charitable aims, and charitable approaches to care. The socio-economic situation of where a charity branch was located influenced religious and secular approaches to care for veterans.

In the case of BLESMA, heavy unemployment in northern industrial towns explains why this charity for the disabled formed where it did and why it formed at all. Industrial regions often suffered high rates of unemployment. Jobs and financial security were especially important in these areas as a result, and veterans looked to charities and the state to provide financial security. This explains why unemployment was a primary concern for BLESMA. The economic

situation of individual disabled veterans also affected their ability to access charitable services. Those with a limited income, irrespective of religious belief, would less likely be able to afford charity membership fees. Middle and upper-class veterans would be less likely to look for charitable aid which focused on employment if they had family money or businesses in which they could work after disability, which would be less probable in more deprived industrial areas.⁹

Despite regional variations, religion remained important to the charity work of all classes within society. Charities created by the middle and working classes, such as Toc H and LESMA respectively, engaged with religious practice in their approach to care for the disabled. Toc H formed to remember the war dead and LESMA formed to challenge the conditions limbless veterans faced – not all charities which helped the disabled formed for the same reasons. Consequently, it is ‘inadequate and insensitive’ to assume that all charitable care for the disabled in interwar Britain can be ‘reduced to a form of middle-class social control which was unresponsive to genuine complaints’ from disabled people and those who cared for them.¹⁰ LESMA restricted its membership to the working class by only including limbless ‘rankers’ within the organisation. For disabled veterans specifically then, the argument of ‘social control’ is too simplistic both in terms of charitable motivation and class. Religious charities add nuance to this argument, because across Britain they were able to separate conversion and disability welfare as motivations, despite wishing to help ‘Christianise society’ and using religion within care practices for the disabled. Hence, regionalism highlights that class and economics had an impact on who did the helping, who received

⁹ Meaghan Kowalsky, ‘This Honourable Obligation’, p.575.

¹⁰ Brian Harrison, *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p.224.

charitable care, and it affected the aims and motivations of individual charities, which were varied and complex.

Across regions, the local structure of the religious charities and BLESMA shaped their welfare practices. A 'post-code lottery' determined the availability of charitable help and the type of help offered to disabled veterans. For example, the Toc H CEC acted separately from individual Toc H and LWH branches, which in turn acted differently whether in a rural or urban location. Not all priests or lay members agreed with one another in the same branch, let alone across branches. This meant that some groups focused more on care for disabled ex-servicemen than others, and that different branches had different welfare schemes based on the needs of their local community. These needs differed based on factors such as poverty, Church membership and employment, and the local structure highlights that there was an element of luck behind charitable care for veterans.

The focus on locality further reveals that the onus on care often fell on an individual within a branch rather than the charity more broadly, as shown by Mrs Birkin's leadership of the Nottingham YWCA branch. This idiosyncratic rather than structural approach explains why religious charities struggled to co-ordinate a centralised response to care for disabled veterans. When looked at alongside the problems many men experienced in receiving disability pensions through the MOP (the government's centralised and structured response to care for disabled veterans), the thesis highlights that the nature of care after the war was precarious and that care was chaotically implemented across institutions.

The differences in care across branches of the same charity and the disconnect between the national branch or committee and its regional and local counterparts emphasises a methodological limitation in just looking at the care practice of one branch and using these findings to argue on behalf of the entire

charity. When studying how charities helped rehabilitate disabled veterans, it is necessary to look at relations within an organisation as well as between organisations to present a more balanced interpretation of care.

Social Reintegration

The social reintegration of disabled veterans through employment forms an overarching theme of this research. Each chapter considered how charities helped disabled veterans gain new skills and how charities helped them find work. This ranged from allotment schemes, re-joining the army, and poultry farming. Because these are different examples of charities providing men with skills for work, they develop the economic and physical historiographic focus on rehabilitation. However, the foregrounding of religion in this analysis highlights less studied forms of rehabilitation, such as friendship schemes to combat loneliness seen in Chapter One and religious education in Chapter Three. Religion adds moral and emotional rehabilitation into the traditional economic and physical picture.

Moral and emotional rehabilitation reveals that not all charitable efforts to help veterans socially reintegrate were designed to help them find paid employment. It also shows that despite medical advancements, religious morality continued to frame charitable responses for the disabled after the war. However, care for veterans cannot be placed within a binary medical and moral divide. In analysing holistic approaches to interwar medicine and rehabilitation for the psychologically disabled, Chapter Five showed that religious belief continued to influence medical care for veterans. This reveals that the provision of medicine

for disabled war veterans was not wholly a secular practice as the historiography often assumes, particularly during the war years.¹¹

Furthermore, local case studies reveal that religious charities had their own methods of finding disabled men work which existed alongside government schemes. The government did not criticise these 'competitive efforts' of religious charities as it did with BLESMA, which emphasises the different relationship the MOP had with religious and medical charities. It is not that the MOP was unaware that religious charities or clergymen aided veterans finding employment, as some wrote statements and supported disabled veterans through the pension process, but the MOP did not see them as a challenge to state aid for veterans. After all, religious charities had no national approach to disability welfare, including unemployment, despite the Anglican Church being the established Church. Inter-institutional relationships affected employment opportunities for disabled veterans.

Chapter Three showed that the Church and the state did not always agree on the 'usefulness' of employing a disabled person in the same profession. The state would only allow a disabled man or woman to teach in a school if they had an 'accepted disability' which the state did not think would impede their ability to teach. While the state's list of disabilities altered before and after the war, an analysis of NSSU shows that the Church considered disability less of a determining factor in a man or a women's ability to teach a class than the state did. An analysis of teachers and disability demonstrated that religion continued to affect wider society and gender relations after the war as it helped frame and separate professional practice, which in turn impacted on the ability of a disabled

¹¹ Roger Cooter, *Surgery and Society in Peace and War: Orthopaedics and the Organisation of Modern Medicine 1880–1948* (London: MacMillan, 1993).

man to enter this profession. Because the historiography has focused on how teachers helped disabled children and not on how disabled teachers helped or influenced non-disabled children, this link between gender, disability, and the teaching profession provides a platform for further study.¹²

Alongside employment, charities exercised friendliness as a form of care to encourage social reintegration. As rehabilitation initiatives, friendship and overcoming loneliness were not a critique on the help offered by interwar governments - they were measures to help veterans based on compassion and morality. This is in conflict with Deborah Cohen's conclusion that 'when an injured man is remaking his future, he wants more than the most benevolent state can give – he wants a friend'.¹³ She uses the idea of friendship through charity as a critique on state aid to veterans by implying that the state should have been the 'friend' veterans needed. The fact that many charities became this 'friend' suggests a degree of separation between the British state and society, and that disabled veterans needed more than practical benevolence. Veterans needed emotional kindness, which the state – as a far bigger organisation than any of the individual charities analysed – was not able to give on an individual or community basis. Cohen argues that this 'community' approach separated charitable and state help. This thesis shows that Cohen's separation exists amongst charities because 'friendliness' was not promoted as a form of care or emphasised in the charitable structures of BLESMA and ESWS in the same way it was with the religious charities.

Friendship and employment highlight charitable commitment to self-help for disabled veterans. Examining self-help alongside the continuing influence of

¹² Anne Borsay, 'Disability and Education in Historical Perspective', pp.7-21.

¹³ Deborah Cohen, p.37.

religion within charity work emphasises that the First World War did not end Victorian and Edwardian philanthropic traditions, just as it did not end Christianity within society. The focus on who received care may have altered, but interwar religious and medical charities committed to traditional charitable templates. To help explain this continuity in ideas, social historian John Stevenson pointed out that until 1945, British society was largely made up of people whose habits and attitudes had been forged in the late Victorian or Edwardian eras.¹⁴ This is not to say that charities did not adapt this template, particularly in the ways in which they engaged with the medical community and technological advancements. Thus, in addition to the continued influence of religion in society, this thesis argues that charity work for those in need was an area where the First World War did not create a new era or a complete break from the past.¹⁵

Recreating the bonds men formed with one another at war and re-instilling these familial bonds of friendship in civil life, is another way that charities, particularly religious charities, encouraged social reintegration. Unlike the medical charities, religious charities used the term ‘family’ interchangeably to mean friends, a group of charity members, a group of veterans, those they helped, and when referencing blood-kinship. In acknowledgment of fictive and blood kin, and in their attempt to redirect previously existing social practices during the war, charities – Toc H in particular – created a ‘living memorial’ to those who died in conflict. In both instances, charitable work for the war disabled was a form of commemoration for the war dead. Physical monuments, material objects or ‘ritualised Armistice Day Church services’ (as emphasised by BLESMA’s services at St Ann’s Church) have been widely analysed, but these

¹⁴ John Stevenson, *British Society 1914-1945* (London: Penguin Books, 1985), p.17.

¹⁵ Rich Schwitzer, p.3.

were not the only ways in which the war dead were remembered in Britain.¹⁶ in their efforts to socially reintegrate, the actions of the war disabled and veterans – including those who created charitable organisations - not just their recollections of the war, meant that disabled veterans were ‘living memorials’.¹⁷

The interchangeability of how charities defined friendship and family shows that ‘family’ is an interesting construct within the interlinked themes of religion and domesticity. As Section One showed, religious charities separated help for their ‘families’ by gender and type of disability. Yet, they did not prioritise or treat veterans differently from civilians because of their war service. This is despite charity being a way for civilians, which many charity workers were, to show gratitude to the men who had fought on their behalf. This differs from the medical charities which prioritised care for disabled veterans. The idea that war identity and service should guarantee preferential treatment, however, led to tensions between disabled veterans and the state.¹⁸

By looking at the relationship between charity and domesticity, the thesis reveals that war experience and notions of the ‘veteran family’ affected those supplying charitable help and those seeking aid. It marked how soldiers perceived their entitlement to medical charitable and state help after 1918. This relationship did not necessarily affect charitable or state distribution of aid, particularly in a religious context. Although more work is needed to provide reasons why, this highlights a division in the way medical and religious charities positioned war identity or the ‘veteran family’ as a reason for why disabled men ‘deserved’

¹⁶ Carolyn Malone, ‘The Art of Remembrance: The Arts and Crafts Movement and the Commemoration of the British War Dead, 1916–1920’, *Contemporary British History*, 26 (1) (2012) 1-23.

¹⁷ Deborah Cohen, p.102.

¹⁸ Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p.45.

treatment. Religious and medical charities viewed the role of the state in its quest to provide care for veterans differently: charity and the state did not form one continuum of care.

To show that gendered care for veterans often had religious undertones, the thesis also looks at the relationship between religion and domesticity and how this affected female charity workers. Susan Mumm argues that historians have looked at religious women's charities because 'their existence refutes the assumption that all religiously-motivated charities were dominated by a male clerical class'.¹⁹ This thesis challenges this assumption by showing that interwar Anglican (and non-Christian) charities founded and led by women were never entirely separate from male input. The existence of female religious charities did not guarantee, for the women who worked for them, liberation from the dominant male clerical class in interwar Britain. The religious ideal of men and women working together as equals did not fit neatly with the patriarchal nature of society as reinforced by the structure of the Church – a structure which the religious charities often replicated. Yet, as Chapter Two illustrated, it was because of religious beliefs that not all female charity workers wanted 'liberation' from male control. There was not a consensus amongst Anglican men and women about the religious role of women in society. By considering the influence of religious teachings on gendered roles, the thesis adds nuance to existing ideas on identity and the impact this had on those accessing and those providing charity.

Moreover, by considering ESWS alongside MACA in Chapter Five, it becomes clear that kinship, women as carers, and equality of treatment to all ranks of the British Army were important for the development of mental health

¹⁹ Susan Mumm, p.24.

charities and the response of British society to them. This develops the idea that within LWH and YWCA, female carers were specifically important in the treatment of psychologically disabled veterans. It appears that this link between gender and domestic labour and care for specific disabilities had religious motivations.

In emphasising the importance of female networks in care for the disabled, ESWS highlights the continued influence of religion in female charity work after the war, particularly as ESWS was not a Christian charity. The fact that the founding women of ESWS wanted to include charities that stood for different denominations over charities with different political associations highlights the importance of religion to the founders and the unifying role they believed it played in British society at this time. Different from the denominational exclusivity of religious charities, this suggests that care for ex-servicemen united different denominations in secular charities. The creation of charitable networks was a form of care for the disabled. Collaborations between charities helped improve the awareness of disabled veterans as a cause and the impact of charity work at a local and national level.

Charity-State Relations

The state engaged with medical charities that helped disabled veterans in a way that it did not with Christian charities that did not specialise in care for the disabled. The MOP did not interfere with religious approaches to welfare or in the welfare policies of the established Church. Thus, charity-state relations show the special position of religion within the wider British establishment. An analysis of care for disabled ex-servicemen reveals that the state did not actively contest this positioning of religion in the interwar period. However, the Church and clergymen

appealed to the state to change government policies: the MOP may have acted independently from the Church in its response to disabled veterans, but the Church did not have the power, in the way that the government did, to alter national policies which affected the care provision for veterans. The fact that these appeals to the state were evident only within analyses of medical and not religious charities suggests that religious belief and practice had some sway over whether an interwar charity adopted the role of social agitator and campaigner.

Interactions between veterans, charity, and government departments show that disabled veterans were not always submissive recipients of state or charitable help. The speeches made by BLESMA members and clergymen at BLESMA's regional rallies, along with the response of the MOP to them, highlight two key points. First, the Church supported veterans who wanted better conditions for themselves and their family after amputation. The Church of England had not lost its voice or initiative in trying to combat national concerns, despite any decline in membership figures.²⁰ The prominence of religious individuals in BLESMA dedicated to helping disabled veterans remained throughout the interwar period. This is despite the relationship between BLESMA and government departments, such as the MOP, altering over time. Social conditions, such as mass unemployment, and the changing leadership of BLESMA and civil servants in the Ministry fuelled such tensions and these changing relationships. Religion was resilient against social changes, as it was a constant in the ever-varying relationships between medical charities for veterans and the MOP: religion – or disagreements between Church and state responses to care – was not a cause of these tensions.

²⁰ Matthew Grimley, p.14.

Second, the speeches at the rallies show that ex-servicemen were unclear about who was responsible for the conditions they faced: charities, disabled veterans or government departments. The confusion meant that the MOP saw BLESMA as an organisation which undermined the government and other charitable organisations as it 'competed' for public and state support and approval. BLESMA was not an isolated case. Tensions existed between the MOP and other charities the MOP believed were undermining state efforts for disabled veterans, including ESWS. This reveals that an institutional hierarchy existed and exposes an inherent paradox: the state was happy to limit its obligations to disabled veterans in the hope that charity would fill the gap, but the state did not appreciate – or arguably even want – charity or ex-servicemen to challenge the help they provided.

As shown in Section Two of the thesis, often at the expense of disabled veterans, charities and the state wanted to prove to one another that their approach to care was the right one as they competed against each other. This institutional competition shows that care was not the only motivation for institutions which helped disabled veterans. The 'mixed economy' concept argues that groups competed against each other to care for veterans. Section Two adds nuance to this idea by showing that even within the same group (charities), organisations competed against one another. More broadly, the sense of competition and tensions with the government shown in Chapters Four and Five, reveal that charity work in interwar Britain was a way in which social change could be secured. This is because charities took on the roles of social agitator and campaigner. Therefore, charities, like disabled veterans, were not necessarily 'passive recipients' of state control. This highlights the continued social sway of the Church, which differs from the religious charities which were

seemingly 'passive recipients' of Church control as they reinforced church practices and did not try and change them.

The religious charities also accepted state aid for veterans and viewed their position as being to supplant the state and not act against it. They did not 'urge for a greater role of the government', which is how Cohen interpreted charities which did not 'see their work as a permanent substitute for state intervention'.²¹ This suggests a difference in the way that medical and religious charities understood disability. Unlike the religious charities, BLESMA and ESWS appealed to the government for better 'rights' for disabled veterans and thus displaced the responsibility of disability onto society rather than the individual. This also shows that disabled veterans (BLESMA members) and charity officials (ESWS) both began to conceptualise disability as a social problem before the birth of the welfare state. More work needs to be done on the relationship between the government and religious charities to determine whether a 'submissive' attitude had a religious or social motivation. A religious motivation would be the ultimate belief that it was God and not the government or charity who determined the outcome of welfare for individual men, as implied in Chapter One. A social motivation would be that they understood their charitable role as a 'care-giver to society' as simply that – people who gave care to someone else, and challenging laws or the government, as highlighted by an analysis of BLESMA and ESWS, was not an act of giving. This work would develop existing links between religion, politics, and charity by providing a broader insight into the position of religion and the Church within British society. By looking at 'giving' in terms of acts of service and fundraising, Chapters One to Three questioned

²¹ Deborah Cohen, p.37.

whether financial donations to disabled veterans, like political campaigning, were acts of Christian charity. This complicates notions of what constituted Christian charity in the interwar period.

Furthermore, it was not just Christian soldiers who returned to Britain who became disabled by war or who accessed charitable services. Studies exist on the importance of Muslim and Jewish practices to soldiers during the war.²² As with Christianity, these studies do not extend into the twentieth century to include the importance of these religions to the rehabilitation practices of disabled soldiers, such as treatment and charity work. Time and study restrictions meant it was not possible to adopt a multi-faith approach for the present research. The study of the Abrahamic faiths would develop this thesis' idea that religion remained important to British society after the war and in care practices for veterans. It would do this by broadening the definition of 'religion' and the scope of 'society' to which the idea applies.

By recognising the influence Christianity had, however implicit, on the type of help religious and medical charities offered to disabled ex-servicemen, this thesis presents a picture of religious vitality in interwar Britain. Religious and secular charities continued to supply essential help to disabled ex-servicemen throughout interwar Britain. The state's growing assumption of responsibility in the social sphere, therefore, did not completely undercut the welfare services provided by the Church or religious organisations.²³ After 1918, religion continued to influence charitable aims, methods, and networks. Religion held social

²² Martin Watts, *The Jewish Legion and the First World War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Mehmet Beşikçi, *The Ottoman Mobilization of Manpower in the First World War: Between Voluntarism and Resistance* (London: Brill, 2012).

²³ Peter Catterall, 'Morality and Politics: The Free Churches and the Labour Party between the Wars', *The Historical Journal*, 36 (3) (1993), 667-685, p.672.

significance within charitable practice, wider society, and in care practices for disabled veterans.

By examining religion and themes which connect charity work for the disabled, this thesis shows that a study of charitable care for disabled veterans is also a study of the social construction and mobilisation of religion in post-war Britain. Social and religious histories of the war have analysed religion and disabled veterans separately, but in bringing these ideas together, the thesis highlights that Christianity deserves a much greater space in the narratives of social reconstruction and welfare practices after the war than historians have awarded so far.

Bibliography

Unpublished Archival Material

Combat Stress Archive

CSA: 1 Executive General Minute Book, 1918-1921

CSA: Annual Report, 1930

CSA: ESWS Minutes, 4 December 1918

CSA: Executive Committee Meeting Notes, 1921-1931

CSA: Executive Committee Minute Book, 4 Jan 1924-5 May 1925

CSA: Executive Committee Minute Book, 19 June 1925-8 July 1927

CSA: General Committee Book, July 1931-December 1963

CSA: House Committee Documents 1926, 1 October 1926

CSA: House Committee Documents 1926, 2 February 1926

CSA: House Committee Documents 1926, 25 February 1926

CSA: House Committee Documents 1926, 1 December 1926

CSA: House Committee Documents 1925, 25 March 1925

CSA: Meeting Notes, 27 January 1919

CSA: *Sunday Herald*, June 1918

Greater Manchester County Record Office

2296: Photographs Relating to David Burman, 1924-30

Imperial War Museum, London

LBY K.84/1448: Is this a Fit Country for Heroes to Live In? Government Injustices to Heroes. Brochure by William Robertson, 1919

LBY K.85/3403: The British Limbless Ex-Service Men's Association Brochure, 1968

LBY K.89/1326: George Chandley, *Thirty Years of BLESMA. The Work and History of the British Limbless Ex-Service Men's Association* (London: BLESMA, 1962)

LBY K.35053: BLESMA Handbook for the War Limbless, 1955

LBY15081: Soldiers What Next! 1934

LBY3510: The Future of the Disabled Soldier, 1917

LBY60037: BLESMA Handbook for the War Limbless, 1970

LBY68531: The Ex-Soldier by Himself: A Practical Study of the Past and Future of the Ex-Soldier Problem with Special Reference to the Situation Created by the World War

John Rylands Library, Manchester

PP/A: Letters from Fellow Students at the Home of the Missionary College Manchester to Reverend J. Arthur Pearson, 1892-1947

PP/A: Reports of Unitarian and Related Bodies 1899-1946, Stoke Newington Green Church, Annual Report, 1920

PP/B: Unitarian Sunday School Printed Matter, 1884-1930

PP/C: Material on the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, and its Relationship to the Presbyterian Fund, 1927-1945

PP/D: Unitarian Church Calendars, Accounts and Order of Services, 1896-1946

PP/E: Committee Papers and Accounts of The Dr Williams Trust, 1910-1947

PP/J: Memorandum, Meetings and Resolutions of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, 1915-1937

PP/K: Printed Material of The Fellowship of Youth, 1928-1934

GB 135 DDEy/2/1-3: Young People's & Temperance Committee [UMC] Minute Books, 1908-1918, 1919-1926, 1927-1932

**League of Women Helpers Archive, University of Birmingham,
Cadbury Research Library (all found under Section Four of the Toc
H archive)**

WA1: Constitution of the Toc H League of Women Helpers, 1922

WA1: Constitution of the Toc H League of Women Helpers, 1937

WA1: Festival Minutes/ Festival Programmes

WA1: Royal Albert Hall – Festival of Toc H Women's Section – Saturday 30
October 1948

WA1: The Eleventh Festival of Toc H Women's Association, 2/3 June 1956

WA1: Toc H 1924 Resolution: Letter from George Davis (Toc H committee) to
Rita Fowler (Toc H Women's branch general committee member), 22
April 1966

WA1: Toc H Incorporated: Royal Charter and Byelaws, 14 December 1922, as
amended to 31 January 1929

WA1: Toc H Women's Association: The Main Resolution: An Introduction

WA1: Toc H Women's Section: Form of Application for Membership

WA1: Toc H: The Torch – Scottish Newsletter, New Year 1952 – Should
Women be members of Toc H?

WA1: 'We Are Agreed' Pamphlet – Explanatory Memorandum by the Central Executive Committees of Toc H and Toc H (Women's Section) – February 1952

WA1: Women's Section – Constitution, 1948

WA2: Joint Advisory Committee (Joint Units), 1924-1951

WA2: Pier Head Wapping/ Crutches Friars House

WA3: Literature and Publicity Committee – Minutes from February 1948-1966

WA3: Toc H Women's Association Annual Report, 1963

WA3: Women's Section Scrap Books, 1929-1949

WA3: Women's Staff Committee Minute Book, 12 July 1934-24 July 1936

WA6: Alison Macfie Photographs

WA6: Farnborough Club Toc H – Scrapbook

WA6: Toc H Women's Association in the Community. A Series of Articles Originally Appearing in 'The Log' and Subsequently Re-Printed as 'The Family in the Community', 1947

WA9: Bound Volumes of 'The Log', 1926-1934

WA9: Bound Volumes of 'The Log', 1935-1939

WA12: Logbook of LWH, 1924

WA21: Cardiff book, 1929-1930

WA23: League of Women Helper's Volume Relating to the Beginnings of the Association

Leeds Minister Archive

Leeds Parish Magazine: Monthly Editions, October 1914-June 1924

National Sunday School Union Archive, University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library

A6: Council and Annual Meeting Minutes [17], 3 May 1909-4 May 1917

A7: Council and Annual Meeting Minutes [19], 4 May 1923-9 May 1930

A8: Council and Annual Meeting Minutes [20], 19 May 1930-27 April 1939

A17: Papers of Business for and Digest of Minutes of Council, 15 Nov 1918-16
February 1934

A18: Board of Management Minutes, 20 January 1927-20 December 1928

A19: Board of Management Minutes, 15 January 1931-2 November 1933

A20: Board of Management Minutes, 16 November 1933-5 March 1936

A32: Secretarial Board Meeting Minutes, 2 January 1917-18 December 1917

A33: Secretarial Board Meeting Minutes, 1 January 1918-17 December 1918

A49: Home Missions Committee Minutes, 12 February 1937-8 November 1940

A66: Ladies Sunday School Extension Committee Minutes, 17 July 1917-12
October 1927

D: Annual Reports: 1915-1934

D69-D79: Sunday School Chronicle Editions, 1917-1927

D121: Notes on the Scripture Lessons

D158: Adolescent Campaign Pamphlets

D161: NSSU Publications:

- Rev Ernest F. H. Capey, *Young People's Worship. Responsive Services Arranged for Sunday Schools and Leagues of Worshipping Children and Societies of Christian Endeavour* (London: The National Sunday School Union, 1920)
- Rev J. Eaton Feasey, *The Greater Things of the Sunday School. Familiar Addresses on the Work of an Evangelical Sunday School in a Time of Reconstruction* (London: The National Sunday School Union, 1920)
- Harris, Melville W., *The Purpose of Prayer. A Study for Young People* (London: The National Sunday School Union, 1929)
- Hayes, Ernest H., *A Guide to Junior Hymns* (London: The National Sunday School Union, 1928)
- Hoatson, Florence, *The Junior Play-Hour Book. Games and Play-Work for the Juniors* (London: The National Sunday School Union, 1922)

D163 Year books: J2 Convalescent Home, Bournemouth Visitors' Book, 1916-1944

Mental After-Care Association Archive, Wellcome Library

WL: SAMAC/A/1/4, Background Information on MACA History

WL: SA/MAC/B.1/32, Published Report, 1920

WL: SA/MAC/B.1/33, Published Reports, 1920

WL: SA/MAC/B.1/49, Published Reports, 1937

WL: SA/MAC/B.1/50, Published Report, 1938

WL: SAMAC/D/3/1/1, Appeal Letters, Subscription Forms and Publicity for Fundraising Events, 1880-1988

WL: SA/MAC/D.3/1/2, Correspondence Relating to MACA's Appeal for Funds, 1920

WL: SA/MAC/D.3/1/5, Special Appeal, 1927

WL: SA/MAC/D.3/1/11, MACA's Appeal for Funds, 1927

WL: SAMAC/G/3/4, Individual Patient Files, 1914-1936

WL: SA/MAC/G.3/29, Individual Patient Files, 1929-1931

WL: SAMAC/H/1/4, Scrapbooks, 1915

WL: SAMAC/H/2/11, Extracts from Speeches at The Annual Meeting, 1919

WL: SA/MAC/H2/12, Extracts from Speeches at The Annual Meeting, 12 March
1933

National Record Office of Scotland

BR/LAS/S/229: NBR/LNER General Manager's Papers on Various Staff
Matters: Employment of Disabled Ex-Servicemen, 1917-1924

E824/555: Agriculture (Land Settlement) Files Damhead, Midlothian: Scheme
for Settlement of Disabled Ex-Servicemen, 1922-1923

HH16/157: Criminal Case File: William Scott, 1919-1935

St Dunstan's Homes Archive, London

Letters to the Editor, *St Dunstan's Review*, 1933

Toc H Youth, *St Dunstan's Review*, 1920

The National Archives, Kew

ADM 1/8774/115: Board of Admiralty: Board Policy with Regard to the
Formation of a Branch of Toc H within the Fleet, 1934

BN 75/68: Reports on Artificial Limbs by British Limbless Ex-servicemen
Association and National Association for Limbless Disabled

Charity 3/92: Church of England Assembly Act 1919/ Parochial Church Councils
(Powers) Measure 1921 and other Measures

Charity 3/108: Charity Trusts Acts, Church of England, Assembly Measures, 1
January 1926-31 December 1929

Charity 3/193: Charities for Blind Bill in Parliament – Blind Persons Act 1920

Charity 7/50: Blind Persons Act 1920 – Charity Commission

ED 21/32244: Rochdale Road Christian Church School, 1920-25

ED 22/130/482: Asks for List of Schools with which Committee of Toc H Might
Get in Touch, 1926

ED 23/105: Office committees on recognition of ex-servicemen as certificated or
uncertificated teachers; training of disabled ex-servicemen as teachers in
public elementary schools; supply and training of teachers of special
subjects in public elementary schools; training of teachers for nursery
schools; organisation and conditions of grant for post-certificate courses
for teachers in public elementary schools; preliminary education of
intending public elementary school teachers in urban areas where
secondary school provision was inadequate, 1917-1918

ED 24/1896: Training of Disabled Soldiers: Reports and Papers, 1916-1920

ED 27/7205: The Barrington Society for Promoting Religious Education and
Christian Piety (Durham Branch) (S3281): Application for Scheme, 1923-
1924

ED 35/830: Bristol Christian Brothers' College (S.3646): General, 1904-1920

ED 49/218: Sulhamstead Abbotts and Sulhamstead Bannister Upper End,
Thoyts's School, 1872-1935

ED 49/7394: Esher a) Petre's Sunday School b) Foundation for the Benefit of Sunday School in Connection with the Parish Church, 1914-1917

ED 49/7429: Kingston upon Thames: St Luke Charity for Sunday School and other purposes, 1910-1925

ED 49/7537A: WELSTEAD Charitable Fund. South Croydon Methodist Sunday School, 1924

ED 49/8865: Thirsk: Church of England Sunday School

ED 49/9092: Idle in Calverley: George Garnett's Charity for the Idle Congregational Sunday School, 1918

ED 49/10376: Church of England Sunday School Institute Incorporated, 1917-1926

ED 50/183: Employment of Teachers Suffering from Physical and Mental Disabilities, 1914-73

ED 70/ 218: Gunnislake, Wesleyan Sunday School, 1926-1927

ED 70/631: Brandon Colliery Primitive Methodist Sunday School Proposed, 1923

ED 70/2525: Christian Malford Sunday School Room

ED 109/1555: Bristol: Christian Brothers' College: Full Inspection 1-3 October 1922

FO 916/2578/12: Welfare of Members and Staff of Toc H, 1940

HO 45/11952: Charters: Toc H. Charter of Incorporation, 1922-25

HO 45/12492: Mental Health, Proposal to Discharge Conditionally to the Ex-Services Welfare Society, 1926

IR 40/14012: Questions raised whether some religious ministers' retirement and pension funds could be considered to be a charity, 1925-60

LAB 20/52: Report by Everett Howard of the Ex-Services Welfare Society,
1936-1946

MA F 33/77: Training of Men. Training of Disabled Ex-Service Officers, 1922-30

MH 106/753: Admission and Discharge Book: 34th Lancs Casualty Clearing
Station

MH 150/236: Request for free chiropody for war pensioner arm amputees:
discussions with British Limbless Ex-Servicemen's Association

PC 8/961: Charter: Toc H (Talbot House Association), 1922

PIN 15/759: Board of Control Report, May 1926.

PIN 15/749: Ex-Services Welfare Society: Application for Licence under Section
20 Companies (Consolidated) Act 1908, 1925-1926

PIN 15/750: Ex-Services Welfare Society: Application for Licence under Section
20, 1926-1928

PIN 15/750: Letter from the MOP to Board of Trade, 12 August 1926

PIN 15/759: Letter to the MOP from Board of Trade, 8 June 1926

PIN 15/759: Letter from the MOP to Board of Trade, 10 June 1926

PIN 15/759: The words of Dr Mapother in the shorthand notes of an MOP
interview with the ESWS, 12 June 1926

PIN 15/1409-1416: British Limbless Ex-Servicemen's Association:
Correspondence and Resolutions relating to Unemployment, Treatment
Allowances, Welfare, etc.

PIN 15/2498: Ex-services Welfare Society: Activities in Connection with Mental
Cases; Sir Frederick Milner's Letters to *The Times*, 1919-1923

PIN 15/2500: Ex-services Welfare Society: Activities in Connection with Mental
Cases, 1924-1925

PIN 15/2501: Ex-services Welfare Society: Activities in Connection with Mental Cases, 1925-1927

PIN 15/2502: Ex-services Welfare Society: Activities in Connection with Mental Cases, 1927-1928

PIN 15/2503: Ex-services Welfare Society: Comments on Accounts, 1923-1938

PIN 15/3090: Appeals to public charity by persons representing themselves as ex-service officers or men: instructions to police regarding itinerant musicians and street hawkers, 1919-1952

PIN 15/3144: Ex-Services Welfare Society: Activities in Connection with Mental Cases, 1937-71

PIN 15/3659: Treasury Solicitor's Opinion on Registration under War Charities Act, 1916-1936

PIN 15/5077: British Limbless Ex-Service Men's Association (BLESMA): Correspondence and Resolution of Various Cases

PIN 18/323: British Limbless Ex-Service Men's Association (BLESMA): Claims for Improved Pensions on Behalf of Members

PIN 26/10004: Corporal Matthew Mills, Royal Army Veterinary Corps

PIN 67/223: British Limbless Ex-Service Men's Association (BLESMA): Proposals for Amputation Allowance

PIN 87/5: Skelton Parochial Church Council's concerns for the Ex-Services Mental Welfare Society, 1966

PIN 88/96: British Limbless Ex-Service Men's Association (BLESMA)

Toc H Archive, University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library

Section 2, SP1: Area Chairman's Conference – Vice Chancellors Report, 1967

Section 2, SP1: Health and Safety

Section 2, SP1: Jewish Membership

Section 2, SP1: London Development Committee

Section 2, SP1: Papers Relating to Policy on 'People with Disabilities and Handicaps in Toc H'

Section 2, SP1: SPI Peace and Disarmament

Section 3, Membership and Branches, M1: 'The Bridge Builders' (Regarding Work with Branches) Booklet

Section 3, M2: State of Branches and Groups, 1924-72

Section 3, M2: Toc H Work in Affiliated Schools, 1921-1966

Section 3, M66: 'The Power Loom', 1938. A Booklet on the Activities of Toc H in Yorkshire

Section 5, PC4: Press Cuttings, 20th April 1921-9th December 1922

Section 5, PC5: Newspaper Cuttings, 1925-1928

Section 5, PC6: (Book One) Press Cuttings, January 1929-March 1930

Section 5, PC6: (Book Two) Press Cuttings, 1930-1932

Section 5 PC6: (Book Three) Press Cuttings, 1932-1935

Section 6, G1: Toc H General, 'Under Weigh in War Time', Twenty-First Annual Report of Toc H, 1941

Section 6, G5: Early material – Toc H Poperinge

Section 6, G5: Booklet: The League of The Lamp of Maintenance and How to Lead Religious Life Under Toc H

Section 6, G5: Keeping In Touch Booklets, 1970-1990

Section 6, G5: Miscellaneous Material relating to the history of Toc H; list of Toc H Prisoners of War; books for the Blind; Cheshire Homes

Section 6, G5: Newspaper Cuttings, 1920s

Section 6, G5: Partnerships Between Toc H and Other Organisations

Section 6, G5: Policy

Section 6, G5: The Torch of Toc H (Booklet – no date given) Number Eight

Section 6, G11: Church Baptist Union, 1925. Presbyterian/Church of England, 1928

Section 6, G15: Toc H, section six: 'Something Constructive': A Series of Talks or Discussions by Group Officers of Toc H

Section 6, G15: World Chain of Light and Lamps - First World War Group Leaders Pack and 'Peace Tours' Timetable

Section 6, History/POW: B.T.D., *The Story of Toc H* (London: Toc H Press, n. d)

Section 6, History/POW: *For Your Information Booklet* (London: Toc H Press, 1930)

Section 6, History/POW, *Toc H in the Countryside* (London: Toc H Publications, n. d)

Section 6, History/POW: *What Does Toc H Do?* (London: Toc H Press, 1936)

Section 10, B1: 'The Case for Toc H', circa 1958

Section 10, B1: 'The Man Christ Jesus', E. V. Rieu, Private Circulation to Toc H from Penguin Classics

Section 10, B2: A Treasury of Prayers and Praises for Use in Toc H', 10 copies, various editions, 1924-1965

Section 10, B2: A Treasury of Prayers and Praises for use in Toc H: The Spirit of the Man is the Lamp of the Lord – reprint of the 1924 edition – July 1926

Section 10, B2: Four Letters, published by Toc H, 1927

Section 10, B2: H.P.S., *The Toc H Padre* (London: Toc H Press, 1933)

Section 10, B2: John MacDonald, *Compass Points: In Prose and Verse* (Toc H Publishers, date unknown)

Section 10, B3: Annuals 'The Gallant Adventure', various copies including one Braille, 1928 /'The Gallant Adventure', supplement, A. A. Milne, 1928 /'The Christmas Spirit', bound editions, 1920-1921

Section 10, B6: Journal, Volume One, June 1922

Section 10, B6: Journal, Volume Two, June 1924

Section 10, B6: Journal, Volume Three, 1925

Section 10, B6: Journal, Volume Four, 1926

Section 10, B12: Toc H Newssheets, May 1921-May 1922

C1: Central Council Minutes, 1923-1950

C3: Central Executive Committee Minutes: volumes 1-2, 1922-1927

C24: Finance Committee Minutes, volume 1, 1922-1938

University of Dundee Archive Services

GB254/MS93/I/8/2/9/3: Election Speeches and Communications of D.J. MacDonald, 1921-1922

GB254/MS93/I/8/2/9/7: Election Speeches and Communications of D.J. MacDonald, 1921-1924

GB254/MS93/I/8/2/9/8/6: Copy of Speech Regarding Matters Which Affect Pensioners Disabled in the War, 1922

University of Leeds, Special Collections

BAMJI/CAM: Campus, Jean, *Physical and Occupational Re-Education of the Maimed* (New York: W. Wood and Co, 1919)

BAMJI/MAW/: Mawson, Thomas, *An Imperial Obligation: Industrial Villages for Partially Disabled Soldiers & Sailors* (London: Richards, 1917)

BC/Gen2/WRI: Wright, Marjory Beatrice, *The Hands of Jesus, and Other Lessons: A Lent Course for Children* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929)

BC/Mattison/LAB: Labour Pamphlets Volume 24: Children Socialist Sunday Schools: Aims, Objects, and Organisation/National Council of British Socialist Sunday Schools, 1914

Cookery A/POO: Pool Wesleyan Sunday School Book of Cookery and Household Hints/ Pool Wesleyan Sunday School, 1930

LIDDLE/ C-50/ TOC: Toc H Defined: Some Brief Notes on the History, Aims and Methods of Toc H (London: Toc H, 1948)

LIDDLE/ C-80/GOO: The Blinded Soldiers and Sailors Gift Book

LIDDLE/D-0/POL: Pollard, Francis E., *Christian Victory (1872-1951)* (Leeds: Friends Peace Committee, date unknown)

LIDDLE/4/5/7: Fund Raising and Comforts: Items and War Charities Plee

LIDDLE/GA: General Aspects Pensions: Items 1-10

LIDDLE/GA: General Aspects Wounds, Item 49 – photocopies of minutes of Leeds BLESMA committee meetings, 1920s-1930s

LIDDLE/GA/PEN/1: The Disabled Soldiers Handbook, 1918 (Produced by Ministry of Pensions)

LIDDLE/GA/REL/17: Reverend Andrew L. Robins, Religion, and the Forces in the First World War

LIDDLE/GA/SVA: Salvation Army – Item One – Church Army Fund Raising Flag

LIDDLE/GA/WOU/50: Brochure and Annual Report of the Sir Oswald Stoll Foundation, 1966

MS 1314/PA/308: TS Carbon Copy Article “Sunday Schools and the State”, 1913

MS 1314/PA/431: TS Carbon Copy Article “The Future of Religious Education, Particularly in Regard to Church Schools”, 1921

Pamphlets BC: Yorkshire H-Hal: Toc H Bazaar, October 26 -28 1926, Victoria Hall

Pamphlets BC Yorkshire H-Hor-7.6/BRO: Dramatic, Humorous and Character Recitals from Literature by Edward R. Broadhead - St Margaret's Sunday School (Horsforth, England), 1929

Pamphlets BC: Yorkshire H-Lee-5.3/JEF: Jeffrey's Charity

Pamphlets BC: Yorkshire H-Lee-5.3/WES: The Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School in School Street

Pamphlets BC: Yorkshire H-Lee-5.3/YOR: The York Road Baptist School; Wylde's Charity

YAS/MS1309/2: Account book of Ventnor Street United Methodist Sunday School Bazaar Account, 1920-1921

University of Warwick, Modern Records Centre

MSS. 292/107/4/11: Trades Union Congress Archive; 'A Speech on behalf of Mentally Disabled Ex-Service Men by the Rt. Hon Winston Churchill', 1934

MSS. 292/107/4/11: Trades Union Congress Archive; Broadcast Appeals by an Unknown Soldier, 1935 and 1938

MSS. 36/D24: The Archive of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, 'A National Scheme for the Employment on a Percentage Basis of Disabled Ex-Service Men', 1919

MSS. 36/D24: The Archive of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, 'The Future of our Disabled Sailors and Soldiers, 1917

MSS. 21/4571: Miscellaneous Collection; 'The Unemployed Ex-Serviceman's Appeal', undated

West Yorkshire Archives, Leeds

LLC60/1/S: City of Leeds Public Assistance Committee Minutes, November 1929, December 1931-January 1938

LMT/MO/TCC/303/8: Disabled Persons Employment Act 1944 – Correspondence, 1946-1948

PL4/1/67: General Letter Book (Leeds), 1919

PL/4/5/4: Letter Book – Superintendent R. H. Jackson, 1915-1918

PL/4/5/11: Officers Letter Book, 1926

RDP2/97: Adel Parish – Minutes of Trustees Meetings, 1901-1938

RDP2/97: Adel Parish- Kirke's Charity, Saltergate Hill, 1809-1946

RDP4/317: Armley Parish, Parish Magazines/ Armley Church Magazine,
Volume 37, No.5, May 1916

RDP4/320: Armley Parish, Parish Magazines/ Armley Centenary Church
Magazine, 1877-1977

RDP4/194: Eyres Park Charity, 1916-1918

RDP4/195: Harriet Gotts Charity – Gotts Almshouses (Armley), 1935-1936

RDP68/120/26: 'The Scientific Background of Religion In Light of Modern
Psychology', Read Before the Leeds Clergy Chapter Church Institute, 12
June 1922, by W. H Maxwell Telling (Lecturer on Pharmacology and
Therapeutics and Clinical Lecturer in Medicine in the University of Leeds.
Honorary physician to Leeds General Infirmary and the Leeds Hospital
for Women and Children)

RDP32/94/5: Harrogate Alms Book, 1919

RDP13/11/15: Bazaar Accounts Book for St Giles Church in Bramhope, 1921-
1929

RDP25/62: Reverend Joseph Swain Charity

RDP68/87B/12/1-2: Church of England Men's Society. Report of the Annual
Conference Held at Bradford, 17-18 June 1924

RDP68/87B/13: Church of England Men's Society. Report of the Annual
Conference Held at Bristol, 16-17 June 1925

RDP68/87B/13: Church of England Men's Society. Report of the Annual
Conference Held at Sheffield, 8-9 June 1926 – The Church of England
Men's Society and The World Call

RDP68/87B/15: Church of England Men's Society – General Handbook, 1937

RDP68/87B/1/2: CofE Men's Society. St Clements.

RDP68/87A/1/2: Leeds Parish Church, Guild of St Elizabeth

RDP105/957/95-96: Church of England, Women's Help Society Records,
Wetherby, 1919-1923

RDP73/82: The Journals of The Manston Parochial Lay Society

RDP68/87: Leeds Parish Church War Savings Association – Minute Book and
Papers

RDP68/87C/2: Leeds Parish Church 'A Division' (Men's Division), 1907-1920

RDP55/126: YMCA Pocket Book Bible, From All Souls Church, Leeds, 1915

RDP92/7/2: Parish Magazines – St Edmund's, Roundhay, Leeds, January
1919-1921

RDP32/96: York, W.R. Harrogate Church – 'The Peach Charity' – Declaration of
Trust, 13 November 1923

RDP42/293 and 294: Roll of Honour and Record of Service for St Matthews
Church, Hollbeck

RDP64/151: Soldiers and Sailors Charities, 1915-1932

RDP16/21/1: June 1919, Parish Magazines for St Agnes

RDP16/21/2-6: Parish of St Agnes, Burmantofts, Parish Magazine, 1928

WYL1988/4/2: Doles Trust Accounts Book for Berwick Charities, 1910-1939

WYL2130/1/1/3: Memorandum and Articles of Association of Myer Bros.
Limited, Incorporated 29 March 1933

WYL2276: Apprentices, 1917-1920

**Yorkshire Women's Christian Association, Cadbury Library,
University of Birmingham (all from Section G of the YMCA Archive:
Women's Auxiliary Group)**

G2: National Women's Auxiliary, Committee Correspondence, and other
Papers, 1930s

G3: National Women's Auxiliary, Annual, 1933-1939

G9: National Women's Auxiliary, Minutes of Quarterly, Biannual, Annual
Meetings, July 1918-December 1924

G10: National Women's Auxiliary, Minutes of Quarterly, Biannual, Annual
Meetings, March 1925-December 1939

G12: National Women's Auxiliary, Executive Committee Minutes, October 1919-
May 1921

G13: National Women's Auxiliary, Executive Committee Minutes, May 1921-
October 1925

G14: National Women's Auxiliary, Executive Committee Minutes, January 1933-
June 1939

G18: Printed material of Miss W. Taylor of Hendon Relating to her Service in
the National Women's Auxiliary, 1919

Published Primary Sources

Books

Baden-Powell, Robert, *Girl Guiding: A Handbook for Brownies, Guides,
Rangers, and Guiders* (London: Arthur Pearson, 1931)

Baron, Barclay, *Letters from Flanders. Some War-time Letters of the Rev. P. B.
Clayton, to his Mother* (London: Toc H Press, 1932)

B.T.D, *The Story of Toc H* (author only given as B.T.D and no date – printed in London)

Chandley, George, *Thirty Years of BLESMA* (London: BLESMA Publishers, 1962)

Clayton, Philip B., *Plain Tales from Flanders* (London: Toc H Press, 1930)

Clayton, Philip B., *Tales of Talbot House* (London: Toc H Press, 1920)

Clayton, Philip B., *To Conquer Hate* (London: Toc H Press, 1963)

Graves, Robert, *Goodbye to All That* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1929)

Harcourt, Melvin, *Tubby Clayton. A Personal Saga* (London: Toc H Press, 1956)

Howson, G., *Handbook for the Limbless* (London: The Disabled Society, 1922)

IWM, *BLESMA's Handbook for the War Limbless* (London: Ferndale Marshall, 1955)

Macfie, Alison B. S., *Tower Hill* (London: Toc H Press, 1942)

Macleod, George, F., 'What is Toc H?' in *The Smoking Furnace and the Burning Lamp: Talks on Toc H*, ed. by Philip B., Clayton (London: Longmans, 1927), pp.55-80.

Maurice, E.S., *Octavia Hill. Early Ideals* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1928)

Monie, Peter, *Toc H Under Weigh, Eighth Edition* (London: Toc H Press, 1946)

Porter, George R., *The Progress of the Nation, in its Various Social and Economic Relations from the Beginning of the 19th Century* (London: John Murray, 1851)

Potter, G.W., *Toc H, 1915-1936: A Birthday Book* (London: Toc H Press, 1936)

Richards, Leyton, *Christian Pacifism After Two World Wars: A Critical and Constructive Approach to the Problems of World Peace, (1879-1948)* (London: Independent Press, 1947)

Sassoon, Siegfried, *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* (London: Faber and Faber, 1930)

Slater, R., *The Padre in Toc H. A Little Guide for all Toc H Padres* (London: Longmans, 1929)

Stone, Gilbert, 'War Organizations for Women', in *Women War Workers: Accounts Contributed by Representative Workers of the Work Done by Women in the More Important Branches of War Employment*, ed. by Gilbert Stone (London: GG Harrap, 1917), pp.281-310

Toc H Association, *The Case For Toc H* (London: Toc H Press, 1958)

Unwin, George, Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights, *The Industrial Revolution at Stockport and Marple* (London: The University Press, 1924)

Journals

Baird, H. H. C., 'The End of Wooden Legs', *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps*, 41 (3) (1923), 211-214

Barnette Jr, W. Leslie, 'A Report on Disabled Veterans Who Completed Training', *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 36 (1) (1952), 35-44

'Certification of The Insane and The Hume-Spry Case', *The British Medical Journal*, 1 (3456) (2 April 1927), 632-633

Chandley, George, 'Limbless Ex-Servicemen,' *The British Medical Journal*, 2 (4673) (29 July 1950), 300

Clayton, Philip B., 'A Movement or a Society', *Toc H Journal*, 5 (6) (June 1932) Special Supplement: The Family Coach, 10-15

Holland, Penelope, 'Two Views of the Convent Question', *MacMillan's Magazine*, 19 (1869), 536-537

'Incidence of War Neurosis', *The British Medical Journal*, 2 (3991) (3 July 1937), 27

Inge, W.R., 'Some Moral Aspects of Eugenics', *The Eugenics Review*, 1 (1) (1909), 34

Medical News, *The British Medical Journal*, 1 (3886) (29 June 1935), 1348-1349

Medical News, *The British Medical Journal*, 1 (3936) (13 June 1936), 1237

Medical Notes in Parliament, *The British Medical Journal*, 2 (4951) (26 November 1955), 1337-1338

'Mental Welfare of Ex-Service Patients', *The British Medical Journal*, 2 (4044) (9 July 1938), 85-86

Mess, Henry, "C. O. P. E. C.' - A Landmark in Church History', *Dalhousie Review*, 4 (3) (1924), 271-280

'Psychotherapy and the Church', *The British Medical Journal*, 2 (4045) (16 July 1938), 149

'Should Women Become Members of Toc H?', *The Torch*, (1 January 1952)

The International Labour Office, 'Studies and Reports: The Compulsory Employment of Disabled Men', *The International Labour Office*, 2 (June 1921), 2

Todd, John, L., 'The Meaning of Rehabilitation: The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science', *Rehabilitation of the Wounded*, 80 (1) (1918), 1-10

Newspapers

'A Marriage Disability', *The Manchester Guardian*, 3 June 1938

'Disabled Men in Street Bands', *The Times*, 23 June 1938

'Disabled Veterans Meet MPs', *Daily Dispatch*, 20 July 1938

'Ex-Servicemen's Association', *The Windsor Express*, 5 May 1939

'Fight For The Legion', *News of the World*, 5 December 1937

'Girls Seek Glamour at Blackpool', *Evening Gazette*, 11 March 1939

'Hardship on War Widows', *The Manchester Guardian*, 1 July 1938

'MPs Ask Deputation of Ex-Soldiers', *Daily Herald*, 20 July 1938

'New Buildings For War Neurotics', *Daily Telegraph*, 8 July 1936

'Pauperising Disabled Ex-Servicemen', *Northern Echo*, 4 April 1939

'Plight of the War Disabled', *Northern Daily Telegraph*, 26 November 1938

Sir Fredrick Milner, 'Nerve Wrecks of the War', *Daily Telegraph*, 4 August 1927

'Talbot House', *The Times*, 29 October 1920

'The Salute of Gratitude', *Daily Mirror*, 12 November 1918

'The Young Man in Alan's Room', *Cambridge Daily News*, October 1921

'31,000 Disabled Soldiers Out of Work – War Heroes Being Kept by Wives',
Daily Herald, 25 March 1937

Secondary Sources

Books

Alberti, Johanna, *Beyond Suffrage: Feminists in War and Peace 1914-1928* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1989)

Anderson, Julie, *Soul of a Nation: War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011)

Andrews, Maggie, *The Acceptable Face of Feminism: The Women's Institute as A Social Movement* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2015)

Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas, *Faith in the City. A Call for Action by Church and Nation* (London: Church House Publishing, 1985)

Baden-Powell, Robert, *Girl Guiding: A Handbook for Brownies, Guides, Rangers, and Guiders* (London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd., 1931)

Barham, Peter, *Forgotten Lunatics of the Great War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004)

Barr, Niall, *The Lion and the Poppy: British Veterans, Politics, and Society, 1921-1939* (London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2005)

Bashford, Alison, and Philippa Levine, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Beşikçi, Mehmet, *The Ottoman Mobilization of Manpower in the First World War: Between Voluntarism and Resistance* (London: Brill, 2012)

Best, Geoffrey, *Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-75* (London: Flamingo Books, 1971)

Betts, Robin, *Dr. Macnamara, 1861-1931* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999)

- Borsay, Anne, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain Since 1750: A History of Exclusion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)
- Bourke, Joanna, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996)
- , *Working Class Culture in Britain, 1890-1960* (New York City: Psychology Press, 1993)
- Briggs, Lloyd, *History of the Psychopathic Hospital, Boston, Massachusetts, 1863-1941* (Boston: Wright and Potter, 1982)
- Brown, Callum, *Religion and Society in Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2014)
- Brown, Callum, and Michael Snape (eds.) *Secularisation in the Christian World* (New York City: Routledge, 2016)
- Brown, Callum, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000* (London: Routledge, 2009)
- Butler, Judith, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York City: Routledge, 1990)
- Cahalan, Peter, *Belgian Refugee Relief in England during the Great War* (Garland: Garland Publishing, 1982)
- Carden-Coyne, Ana, *Reconstructing the Body: Classicism, Modernism, and the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Clifford, Joan, *For the Service of Mankind: Furley, Lechmere and Duncan, St John Ambulance Founders* (London: Robert Hale, 1971)
- , *A Good Uniform: The St John Story* (London: Robert Hale, 1967)
- Cohen, Deborah, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001)

- Connell, Robert William, and Raewyn Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005)
- Cooter, Roger, *Surgery and Society in Peace and War: Orthopaedics and the Organization of Modern Medicine 1880–1948* (London: MacMillan, 1993)
- Cowman, Krista, *Mrs Brown is a Man and a Brother: Women in Merseyside's Political Organisations, 1890–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
- , *Women in British Politics, 1689-1979* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)
- Cox, Jeffrey, *English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth 1870 – 1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987)
- Crockford, *Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1971-72* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973)
- Crofts, Bruce, *At Satan's Throne: The Story of Methodism in Bath over 250 Years* (Bristol: White Tree Books, 1990)
- Currie, Robert, Alan Gilbert and Lee Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles Since 1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977)
- Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London: Routledge, 2002)
- Davies, Owen, *A Supernatural War: Magic, Divination, and Faith during the First World War* (Oxford: University Press, 2018)
- Dawson, Graham, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994)
- Douch, Phillip, *Toc H: A Model for Living* (London: Toc H Publishers, 1989)
- Durflinger, Marc., *Veterans with a Vision: Canada's War Blinded in Peace and War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010)

Durham, J., *Tubby on Toc H* (London: Toc H Press, 1962)

Eichenberg, Julia and J. Newman, *The Great War and Veterans' Internationalism* (New York City: Springer, 2013)

Elliott, Dorice Williams, *The Angel Out of the House: Philanthropy and Gender in Nineteenth Century England* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002)

Emsley, Clive, *Soldier, Sailor, Beggarman, Thief: Crime and the British Armed Services Since 1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Fell, Alison S. and Ingrid Sharp, eds., *The Women's Movement in Wartime: International Perspectives, 1914-19* (London: Springer, 2007)

——, and Christine E. Hallett, eds. *First World War Nursing: New Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2013).

——, *Women as Veterans in Britain and France after the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)

Ferguson, Niall, *The Pity of War* (London: Allen Lane, 1998)

Ferguson, Ron, *Daily Readings with George MacLeod: Founder of the Iona Community* (Glasgow: Wild Goose Publications, 2001)

Fischer, Claude S., *America Calling: A Social History of the Telephone to 1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994)

Foucault, Michel, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in an Age of Reason* (New York City: Vintage, 1965)

Friedland, J., *Restoring the Spirit: The Beginnings of Occupational Therapy in Canada, 1890-1930* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011)

Fussell, Paul, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York City: Sterling Publishing Company, 2009)

- Gerard, David, *Charities in Britain-Conservatism or Change?* (London: Bedford Square Press, 1983)
- Gilbert, Alan, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change 1740–1914* (London: Longman, 1976)
- Gilbert, Sandra M., and Susan Gubar, *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century-Letters from the Front*. Vol. 3 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996)
- , *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980)
- Ginswick, Jules, *Labour and the Poor in England and Wales, 1849-1851: The Mining and Manufacturing Districts of South Wales and North Wales*. Vol. 3 (London: Psychology Press, 1983)
- Graves, Robert, *Goodbye to All That* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1929)
- Green, S. J.D., *Religion in the Age of Decline: Organisation and Experience in Industrial Yorkshire, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- , *The Passing of Protestant England: Secularisation and Social Change (c. 1920-1960)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)
- Gregory, Adrian, *The Last Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- Grimley, Matthew, *Citizenship, Community, and the Church of England: Liberal Anglican Theories of the State between the Wars* (London: Clarendon Press, 2004)
- Groce, Nora Ellen, *From Charity to Disability Rights: Global Initiatives of Rehabilitation International 1922-2002* (New York City: Rehabilitation International, 2002)

Gulliver, Tom, *The Way of Friendship – A Toc H Anthology* (London: Toc H Press, 1980)

Hallett, Christine E., *Containing Trauma: Nursing Work in the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004)

Harcourt, Melville, *The Impudent Dreamer: The Story of 'Tubby' Clayton* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953)

Harcourt, Melville, and Philip Thomas Byard Clayton, *Tubby Clayton. A Personal Saga* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1953)

Harding, Brian, *Keeping Faith* (London: Pen and Sword, 1990)

Harris, Alana, *Faith in the Family: A Lived Religious History of English Catholicism, 1945-82* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013)

Harrison, Brian, *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982)

Hastings, Adrian, *A History of English Christianity 1900-2000* (London: SCM Press, 1991)

Hemmingway, Laura, *Disabled People and Housing: Choices, Opportunities and Barriers* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2011)

Himmelfarb, Gertrude, *The De-Moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values* (London: IEA Health and Welfare Unit, 1995)

Hobsbawm, Eric, *Worlds of Labour: Further Studies in the History of Labour* (London: Littlehampton Book Services, 1984)

Horder, Thomas, and Harry Roberts, *The Philosophy of Jesus* (London: Dent, 1944)

Hunt, Karen, *Equivocal Feminists: The Social Democratic Federation and the Woman Question 1884-1911* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

- Inglis, Kenneth, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London: Routledge, 1963)
- Ishkanian, Armine, and Simon Szreter, *The Big Society Debate: A New Agenda For Social Policy?* (London: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2012)
- Jenkins, Philip, *The Great and Holy War: How World War I Became a Religious Crusade* (New York City: Routledge, 2014)
- Jones, Gareth Stedman, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society* (London: Verso Books, 1974)
- Kinder, John M, *Paying with their Bodies: American War and the Problem of the Disabled Veteran* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015)
- King, Alex, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (New York City: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014)
- Koven, Seth, and Sonya Michel, *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* (London: Routledge, 2013)
- Laslett, Peter, *The World We Have Lost* (England Before the Industrial Age) (London: Scribner, 1971)
- Law, Cheryl, *Suffrage and Power: The Women's Movement, 1918-1928* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997)
- Leese, Peter, *Shell Shock: Traumatic Neurosis and the British Soldiers of the First World War* (London: Springer, 2002)
- Lever, Tresham, *Clayton of Toc H* (London: John Murray Publishers, 1971)
- Levine-Clark, Marjorie, *Unemployment, Welfare, and Masculine Citizenship: So Much Honest Poverty in Britain, 1870-1930* (Basingstoke: Palgrave McMillan, 2015)
- Lewis, Clive Staples, *The Four Loves* (London: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1991)

- Lewis, Jane, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Edward Elgar, 1991)
- Leyton, Richards, *Christian Pacifism after Two World Wars: A Critical and Constructive Approach to the Problems of World Peace (1879-1948)* (London: Independent Press, 1947)
- Lloyd, Rodger, *The Church of England, 1900-1965* (London: SCM Press, 1966)
- Macfie, Alison, *The Curious History of Toc H Women's Association: The First Phase 1917-1928* (London: Toc H Women's Association Press, 1956)
- , *The Further History of Toc H Women's Association. Onwards from 1928* (London: Toc H Women's Association Press, 1960)
- Machin, George Ian Thom, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977)
- Mack, Phyllis, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment: Gender and Emotion in Early Methodism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- MacLeod, Hugh, *Religion and the People of Western Europe: 1789-1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981)
- Madigan, Edward, *Faith Under Fire: Anglican Army Chaplains and the Great War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)
- Mahood, Linda, *Feminism and Voluntary Action – Eglantyne Jebb and Save The Children, 1876-1928* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)
- Marrin, Albert, *The Last Crusade: The Church of England and the First World War* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1974)
- Maurice, Emily Southwood, *Octavia Hill. Early Ideals* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1928)
- Mazumdar, Pauline, *Eugenics, Human Genetics and Human Failings: The Eugenics Society, Its Sources and Its Critics in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2005)

- McCartney, Helen, *Citizen Soldiers: The Liverpool Territorials in the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- McLeod, Hugh, *Secularisation in Western Europe, 1848–1914* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2000)
- Meyer, Jessica, *An Equal Burden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019)
- , *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (London: Springer, 2016)
- Mitchell, David T., and Sharon L. Snyder, *The Body and Physical Difference: Discourses of Disability* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1997)
- Morgan, Sue, *Women, Religion and Feminism in Britain 1750–1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002)
- Morgan, Sue, and Jacqueline de Vries, *Women, Gender, and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940* (New York City: Routledge, 2010)
- Moss, Mark, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2001)
- Moyse, Cordelia, *A History of the Mothers' Union: Women, Anglicanism and Globalisation, 1876-2008* (Lancaster: Boydell & Brewer, 2009)
- Nicolson, Juliet, *The Great Silence: 1918-1920. Living in the Shadow of the Great War* (London: John Murray Publishers, 2009)
- Offen, Karen, *European Feminisms, 1700-1950: A Political History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000)
- Orchard, Stephen, and John Briggs, *The Sunday School Movement: Studies in the Growth and Decline of Sunday Schools* (London: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2007)
- Owen, David, *English Philanthropy 1660-1960* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964)

- Parker, Linda, *A Fool for Thy Feast: The Life and Times of Tubby Clayton, 1885-1972* (Leeds: Helion, 2015)
- Patrick, Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics: The Culture of the Factory in Later Victorian England* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980)
- Phillips, Gordon Ashton, *The Blind in British Society: Charity, State, and Community, c.1780-1930* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2004)
- Phillips, Gordon, *Best Foot Forward: Chas. A. Blatchford & Sons (Artificial Limb Specialists), 1890-1990* (London: Granta Editions, 1990)
- Pick, Daniel, *The Faces of Degeneration – A European Disorder c. 1848- c. 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- , *War Machine: The Radicalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age* (London: Yale University Press, 1993)
- Pirie, Gordon, *Air empire: British Imperial Civil Aviation, 1919–39* (Manchester: Hive, 2017)
- Prideaux-Brune, Kenneth, *A Living Witness, A Personal Memoir of Philip Clayton* (London: Wendover, 1983)
- Pritchard, David G., *Education and the Handicapped 1760-1960* (New York City: Routledge, 2013)
- Prochaska, Frank, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
- , *Royal Bounty: The Making of a Welfare Monarchy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995)
- , *The Voluntary Impulse. Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988)
- , *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980)

- Pugh, Martin, *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000)
- Reid, Fiona, *Broken Men: Shell shock, Treatment and Recovery in Britain 1914-30* (London: A&C Black, 2014)
- Reiss, Matthias, *Blind Workers Against Charity: The National League of the Blind of Great Britain and Ireland, 1893-1970* (London: Springer, 2015)
- Reznick, Jeffrey S., *Healing the Nation: Soldiers and the Culture of Caregiving during the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004)
- , *John Galsworthy and Disabled Soldiers of the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009)
- Rice, Judith, and Kenneth, Prideaux-Brune, *Out of A Hop Loft: Seventy-Five Years of Toc H* (Darton: Longman and Todd, 1990)
- Robbins, Keith, *History, Religion, and Identity in Modern Britain* (London: Bloomsbury, 1993)
- Robert, Alan Gilbert and Lee Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977)
- Roberts, Elizabeth, *A Women's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women 1890–1940* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984)
- Roper, Michael, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010)
- Rosen, Christine, *Preaching Eugenics: Religious Leaders and the American Eugenics Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
- Rosman, Doreen, *Evangelicals and Culture* (London: Croom Helm, 1984)
- Rowntree, Benjamin Seebohm, and George Russell Lavers, *English Life and Leisure: A Social Study* (Longmans: Green, 1951)

- Russett, Bruce, *International Regions and the International System. A Study in Political Ecology* (Chicago: Rand & McNally & Co., 1967)
- Ryde, Peter, *Out on a Limb: A Celebration of the British Limbless Ex-Service Men's Association Golden Jubilee* (London: BLESMA Press, 1982)
- Sassoon, Siegfried, *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* (London: Faber and Faber, 1930)
- Schweitzer, Rich, *The Cross and the Trenches: Religious Faith and Doubt among British and American Great War Soldiers* (London: Praeger, 2003)
- Scott, Gillian, *Feminism, Femininity and the Politics of Working Women: The Women's Co-Operative Guild, 1880s to the Second World War* (London: Routledge, 2005).
- Scott, Joan, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York City: Columbia University Press, 1988)
- Scull, Andrew, *Madhouses, Mad-doctors, and Madmen: The Social History of Psychiatry in the Victorian Era* (London: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015)
- , *The Most Solitary of Afflictions: Madness and Society in Britain, 1700-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993)
- Sedwick, Eve Kosofsky, *Between Men: English Literature and Homosocial Desire* (New York City: Columbia University Press, 1985)
- Segal, Lynne, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men, 2nd ed* (London: Virago Press, 1997)
- Shaw, Caroline, *Britannia's Embrace: Modern Humanitarianism and the Imperial Origins of Refugee Relief* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)
- Shephard, Ben, *A War of Nerves, Soldiers, and Psychiatrists 1914–1994* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003)

- Showalter, Elaine, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830–1980* (New York City: Pantheon Books, 1985)
- Smith, Frank, *A History of English Elementary Education, 1760-1902* (London: University of London Press, 1931)
- Smyth, John, *Leadership in Battle, 1914–18: Commanders in Action* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1975)
- Snape, Michael, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (London: Routledge, 2007)
- Soloway, Richard A., *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in Twentieth Century Britain* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: UNC Press Books, 2014)
- Stempel, Lewis, *Where Poppies Blow: The British Soldier, Nature, The Great War* (London: W and N Books, 2017)
- Steinbach, Susie, *Women in England 1760-1914: A Social History* (London: Hachette UK, 2013)
- Stevens, John and Caroline, and Kate Luard, *Unknown Warriors – The Letters of Kate Luard RRC and BAR, Nursing Sister in France 1914-1918* (London: The History Press, 2002)
- Stevenson, John, *British Society 1914-1945* (London: Penguin Books, 1985)
- Stewart, James and John Buchan, *The Fifteenth (Scottish) Division: 1914–1919* (Bedford: Andrews UK Limited, 2012)
- Stone, Deborah, *The Disabled State* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986)
- Takken, Hanneke, *Churches, Chaplains, and the Great War* (London: Routledge, 2018)
- Taylor, A. J. P., *The First World War, An Illustrated History* (New York City: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1970)

- Tosh, John, *A Man's Place – Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London: Yale University Press, 1999)
- Turpin, Jennifer, *Many Faces: Women Confronting War. The Women and War Reader* (New York City: New York University Press, 1998)
- Tylee, Claire, *The Great War and Women's Consciousness: Images of Militarism and Womanhood in Women's Writing* (California: University of Iowa Press, 1990)
- Valenze, Deborah, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters: Female Preaching and Popular Religion in Industrial England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985)
- Watson, Andrew, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- Watts, Martin, *The Jewish Legion and the First World War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004)
- Who's Who Autobiographies, 1971-1980 (London: A and C Black, 1981)
- Wickham, Edward, *Church and People in an Industrial City* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957)
- Wilkinson, Alan, *Dissent or Conform? War, Peace, and the English Churches 1900–1945* (Cambridge: Lutterworth-Press, 2010)
- , *The Church of England and the First World War* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2014)
- Williams, Sarah, *Religious Belief and Popular Culture in Southwark c. 1800-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Wilson, Trevor, *The Myriad Faces of War: Britain and the Great War 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986)

Winter, Jay, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Wolffe, John, *God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life of Britain and Ireland, 1843–1945* (London: Routledge, 1994)

Wootton, Graham, *The Official History of the British Legion* (London: Macdonald & Evans, 1956)

Edited Chapters

Altholz, Josef, 'The Warfare of Conscience with Theology', in *The Mind and Art of Victorian England*, ed. by Joseph Altholz (Minneapolis-St Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), pp. 58-77

Anderson, Julie, 'Stoics: Creating Identities at St Dunstan's 1914–1920', in *Men after War*, ed. by Stephen McVeigh, and Nicola Cooper (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 87-99

Borsay, Anne, 'Disciplining Disabled Bodies: The Development of Orthopaedic Medicine in Britain, c. 1800-1939', in *Social Histories of Disability and Deformity*, ed. by David Turner and Kevin Stagg (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 111-130

——, 'Disability and Education in Historical Perspective', in *Education, Disability and Social Policy*, ed. by Steve Haines and David Ruebain (Bristol: Policy Press, 2011), pp. 7-21

Brodie, Marc, and Barbara Caine, 'Class, Sex and Friendship: The Long Nineteenth Century' in *A History of Friendship*, ed. by Barbara Caine (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 223-277

Chapman, Chris, 'Five Centuries' Material Reforms and Ethical Reformulations of Social Elimination', in *Disability Incarcerated*, ed. by Ben-Moshe L., Chris Chapman and A. C. Carey (New York City: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 25-44.

- Cooter, Roger, 'The Disabled Body' in *Companion to Medicine in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Roger Cooter and John V. Pickstone (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 367-83
- Gregory, Adrian, 'Britain and Ireland' in *A Companion to World War I*, ed. by John Horne (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 403-417
- Hall, Donald E., 'On the Making and Unmasking of Monsters: Christian Socialism, Muscular Christianity, and the Metaphorization of Class Conflict', in *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*, ed. by Donald E. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 46-65
- Hally, Mike, 'The Deep Roots of the British Legion: The Emergence of First World War Veterans' Organisations', in *Veterans of the First World War: Ex-servicemen and Ex-servicewomen in Post-war Britain and Ireland*, ed. by David Swift and Oliver Wilkinson, (London: Routledge, 2019), pp. 17-33
- Jones, Edgar, and Simon Wessely, 'The Impact of Total War on the Practice of British Psychiatry', in *The Shadows of Total War: Europe, East Asia, and the United States, 1919–1939*, ed. by Roger Chickering and Stig Förster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 129-48
- Kienitz, Sabine, 'Body Damage: War Disability and Constructions of Masculinity in Weimar Germany', in *Home/Front: The Military, War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. by Hagemann, Karen, and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002), pp. 181-204
- Lauer, Laura, 'Soul Saving Partnerships and Pacifist Soldiers: The Ideal of Masculinity in the Salvation Army', in *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture*, ed. by Andrew Bradstock, Sean Gill, Anne Hogan and Sue Morgan (London: MacMillan Press, 2000), pp. 194-209
- Lawrence, Christopher, 'Still Incommunicable: Clinical Holists and Medical Knowledge in Interwar Britain', in *Greater than the Parts: Holism in*

Biomedicine, 1920-1950, ed. by Christopher Lawrence and George Weisz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 94-111

Lewis, Jane, 'The Voluntary Sector in the Mixed Economy of Welfare', in *Before Beveridge: Welfare Before the Welfare State*, ed. by David Gladstone (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1999), pp. 10-17

Mack, Phyllis, 'Religion, Feminism and the Problem of Agency: Reflections on Eighteenth-Century Quakerism', in *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, ed. by Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 434-459

Mangion, Carmen M., 'Women, Religious Ministry and Female Institution Building', in *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940*, ed. by Sue Morgan, and Jacqueline DeVries (Oxford: Routledge, 2010), pp. 72-93

McVeigh, Simon, 'Brightening the lives of the people on Sunday': The National Sunday League and Liberal Attitudes towards Concert Promotion in Victorian Britain', in *Music and Victorian Liberalism: Composing the Liberal Subject*, ed. by Sarah Collins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 37-59

Mitchell, David, and Sharon Snyder, 'The Materiality of Metaphor', in *Disability Studies Reader 2nd Edition*, ed. by Lennard J. Davis (New York City: Routledge, 2006), pp. 205-217

Nielsen, Caroline, 'Continuing to Serve: Representations of the Elderly Veteran Soldier in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', in *Men after War*, ed. by Stephen McVeigh, and Nicola Cooper (New York City: Routledge, 2013), pp. 26-43

Olechnowicz, Andrzej, 'Historians and the Modern British Monarchy', in *The Monarchy and the British Nation, 1780 to the Present*, ed. by Andrzej Olechnowicz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) pp. 6-44

- Pitt-Rivers, Julian, 'The Kith and the Kin', in *The Character of Kinship*, ed. by J. Goody (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 89-105
- Randolph Higonnet, Margaret, and Patrice L. R. Higonnet, 'The Double Helix', in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, ed. by Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel, and Margaret Collins Weitz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 31-47
- Roberts, Elizabeth, 'The Recipient's View of Welfare', in *Oral History: Health and Welfare*, ed. by Joanna Bornat, et al (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 215-238
- Scott, Joan, 'Rewriting History', in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, ed. by Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel, and Margaret Collins Weitz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987) pp. 21-30
- , 'Experience', in *Feminists Theorize the Political*, ed. by Judith Butler and Joan Scott (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 22-40
- Springhall, John, 'Building Character in the British Boy: The Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to Working-Class Adolescents, 1880-1914' in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, ed. by James., A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 52-74
- Stone, Martin, 'Shell Shock and the Psychologists', in *The Anatomy of Madness*, ed. by William Bynum, Roy Porter, and Michael Shephard (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 242-271
- Summers, Ann, 'A Home from Home-Women's Philanthropic Work in the Nineteenth Century', in *Fit Work for Women*, ed. by Sandra Burman (London: Croom Helm, 1979), pp. 33-63
- Watson, John R., 'Soldiers and Saints: The Fighting Man and the Christian Life', in *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture*, ed. by Andrew

Bradstock, Sean Gill, Anne Hogan and Sue Morgan (London: Palgrave MacMillan Press, 2000), pp. 10-26

Williamson, Pat, 'The Monarchy and Public Values 1910-1953', in *The Monarchy and the British Nation, 1780 to the Present*, ed. by Andrzej Olechnowicz, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 223-57

Winter, Jay, 'Spiritualism and the First World War', in *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian Society*, ed. by Richard W. Davis and Richard J. Helmstadter (London-New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 185-200

Wolffe, John F., 'Religion and Secularization', in *Twentieth-Century Britain: Economic, Cultural, and Social Change*, ed. by Francesca Carnevali, and Julie-Marie Strange (Harlow: Pearson Education, 1994) pp. 323-338

Journals

Alexander, Kristine, 'The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism during the 1920s and 1930s', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 2 (1) (2009), 37-63

Anderson, Julie, and Ana Carden-Coyne, 'Enabling the Past: New Perspectives in Disability Studies', *European Review of History*, 14 (4) (2007), 447-457

——, "'Jumpy Stump': Amputation and Trauma in the First World War", *First World War Studies*, 6 (1) (2015), 9-19

Andree, Courtney, 'Non-Combatants and Other Peace Activists: "Everyday" Disability in a Time of War', *Disability Studies Quarterly*, 34 (3) (2014), 1-32

Beaumont, Caitríona, 'Fighting for 'Privileges of Citizenship': Young Women's Christian Association, Feminism and the Women's Movement, 1928–1945', *Women's History Review*, 23 (3) (2014), 463-479

- Biernoff, Suzannah, 'The Rhetoric of Disfigurement in First World War Britain', *Social History of Medicine*, 24 (3) (2011), 666-685
- Bingham, Adrian, "An Era of Domesticity"? Histories of Women and Gender in Interwar Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 1 (2) (2004), 225-233
- Bloomfield, Anne, 'Muscular Christian or Mystic? Charles Kingsley Reappraised', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 11 (2) (1994), 172-90
- Bogacz, Ted, 'War Neurosis and Cultural Change in England, 1914-22: The Work of the War Office Committee of Enquiry into 'Shell-Shock'', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 24 (2) (1989), 227-256
- Boulton, Frank, and David Roberts, 'Blood Transfusion at the Time of the First World War—Practice and Promise at the Birth of Transfusion Medicine', *Transfusion Medicine*, 24 (6) (2014), 325-334
- Bourke, Joanna, 'Effeminacy, Ethnicity and the End of Trauma: The Sufferings of "Shell-Shocked" Men in Great Britain and Ireland, 1914–39', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 35 (1) (2000), 57-69
- , 'Love and Limblessness: Male Heterosexuality, Disability, and the Great War', *Journal of War & Culture Studies*, 9 (1) (2016), 3-19
- Boylan, Anne M., 'Evangelical Womanhood in the Nineteenth-Century: The Role of Women in Sunday Schools', *Feminist Studies*, 4 (3) (1978), 62-80
- Burdett, Emmeline, 'Comment From the Field: Disability History: Voices and Sources, London Metropolitan Archives', *Journal of Literary & Cultural Disability Studies*, 8 (1) (2014), 97-103
- Carden-Coyne, Ana, 'Ungrateful Bodies: Rehabilitation, Resistance and Disabled American Veterans of the First World War', *European Review of History*, 14 (4) (2007), 543-565

- , 'Painful Bodies and Brutal Women: Remedial Massage, Gender Relations and Cultural Agency in Military Hospitals, 1914-18', *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, 1 (2) (2008), 139-158
- Catterall, Peter, 'Morality and Politics: The Free Churches and the Labour Party between the Wars', *The Historical Journal*, 36 (3) (1993), 667-685
- Chauncey, George, 'Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion? Homosexual Identities and the Construction of Sexual Boundaries in the World War One era', *Journal of Social History*, 19 (2) (1985), 189-211
- Colpus, Eve, 'Preaching Religion, Family and Memory in Nineteenth-Century England', *Gender & History*, 22 (1) (2010), 38-54
- , 'Women, Service and Self-Actualization in Interwar Britain', *Past and Present*, 238 (1) (2018), 197-232
- Davenport, Paul, 'Remaking the Fighting Man: Martial Masculinity and the British Army's Command Depots, 1915-1918', *Contemporary British History*, 30 (3) (2016), 349-367
- Day, A. J. T., 'The Principles of Whitleyism.' *Public Administration* 26 (4) (1948), 234-249
- Dick, Malcolm, 'The Myth of the Working-Class Sunday School', *History of Education*, 9 (1) (1980), 27-41
- Dickie, Jane, 'Mother, Father, and Self: Sources of Young Adults' God Concepts', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 45 (1) (2006), 57-71
- Dunbar, Holly, 'Women and Alcohol during the First World War in Ireland', *Women's History Review*, 27 (3) (2018), 379-396
- Elsy, Ena, 'Disabled Ex-Servicemen's Experiences of Rehabilitation and Employment after the First World War', *Oral History*, 25 (2) (1997), 49-58

- Feudtner, Chris, 'Minds the Dead Have Ravished: Shell Shock, History, and the Ecology of Disease Systems', *History of Science*, 31 (4) (1992), 377-420
- Field, Clive, 'Keeping the Spiritual Home Fires Burning: Religious Belonging in Britain during the First World War', *War & Society*, 33 (4) (2014), 244-268
- Freedman, Ariela, 'Dorothy Sayers and the Case of the Shell-Shocked Detective', *Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas*, 8 (2) (2010), 365-387
- Freeman, Mark, 'Fellowship, Service and the Spirit of Adventure: The Religious Society of Friends and the Outdoors Movement in Britain, c. 1900–1950', *Quaker Studies*, 14 (1) (2009), 72-92
- , 'Victorian Philanthropy and the Rowntree's: The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust', *Quaker Studies*, 7 (2) (2014), 193-213
- Gagen, Wendy, 'Remastering the Body, Renegotiating Gender: Physical Disability and Masculinity during the First World War, the Case of J. B. Middlebrook', *European Review of History*, 14 (4) (2007), 525-61
- Gellner, Ernest, 'The Concept of Kinship: With Special Reference to Mr. Needham's Descent Systems and Ideal Language', *Philosophy of Science*, 27 (2) (1960), 187-204
- Gerber, David A., 'Heroes and Misfits: The Troubled Social Reintegration of Disabled Veterans in The Best Years of Our Lives', *American Quarterly*, 46 (4) (1994), 545-574
- Gerrard, Jessica, 'Little Soldiers for Socialism: Childhood and Socialist Politics in the British Socialist Sunday School Movement', *International Review of Social History*, 58 (1) (2013), 71-96
- Gilbert, Sandra, 'Soldier's Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War', *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 8 (3) (1983), 422-450

- Gill, Rebecca, 'The Rational Administration of Compassion: The Origins of British Relief in War', *Le Mouvement Social*, 2 (227) (2009), 9-26
- Goodhew, David, 'Working-Class Respectability: The Example of the Western Areas of Johannesburg, 1930-55', *The Journal of African History*, 41 (2) (2000), 241-266
- Gosling, George Campbell, 'The Patient Contract in Bristol's Voluntary Hospitals, c.1918-1929', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 11 (1) (2009), 1-16
- Granqvist, Pehr, Mario Mikulincer, and Phillip R. Shaver, 'Religion as Attachment: Normative Processes and Individual Differences', *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 14 (1) (2010), 49-59
- Granqvist, Pehr, 'Religiousness and Perceived Childhood Attachment: On the Question of Compensation or Correspondence', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 37 (2) (1998), 350-367
- Grant, Peter, 'An Infinity of Personal Sacrifice': The Scale and Nature of Charitable Work in Britain during the First World War,' *War & Society*, 27 (2) (2008), 67-88
- Grey, Daniel J. R, 'Women's Policy Networks and the Infanticide Act 1922', *Twentieth Century British History*, 21 (4) (2010), 441-463
- Guyatt, Mary, 'Better Legs: Artificial Limbs for British Veterans of the First World War,' *Journal of Design History*, 14 (4) (2001), 307-325
- Hagekull, Berit, and Granqvist, Pehr, 'Religiousness and Perceived Childhood Attachment: Profiling Socialized Correspondence and Emotional Compensation', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 38 (2) (1999), 254-273
- Hale, Frederick, 'Debating the New Religion of Eugenics: Catholic and Anglican Positions in Early Twentieth-Century Britain', *The Heythrop Journal*, 52 (3) (2011), 445-457

- Halfacree, Keith, 'Locality and Social Representation: Space, Discourse and Alternative Definitions of the Rural', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 9 (1) (1993), 23-37
- Harvey, David, Catherine Brace, and Adrian R. Bailey, 'Parading the Cornish Subject: Methodist Sunday Schools in West Cornwall, c. 1830–1930', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 33 (1) (2007), 24-44
- Harvey, Elizabeth, "'Liminal Figures": The Role of Female Employees Within Charities in Birmingham and Sydney, 1860–1914', *Midland History*, 37 (1) (2012), 45-62
- Heft, James, 'Religion, World Order, and Peace: Christianity, War, and Peace Making', *Cross Currents*, 60 (3) (2010), 328-331
- Hellawell, Sarah, 'Antimilitarism, Citizenship and Motherhood: The Formation and Early Years of the Women's International League (WIL), 1915–1919', *Women's History Review*, 27 (4) (2018), 551-564
- Hughes, Annmarie, 'Representations and Counter-Representations of Domestic Violence on Clydeside Between the Two World Wars', *Labour History Review*, 69 (2) (2004): 169-184
- Humphries, Mark, 'War's Long Shadow: Masculinity, Medicine, and the Gendered Politics of Trauma, 1914–1939', *Canadian Historical Review*, 91 (3) (2010), 503–531
- Isben, Charles A., and Patricia Klobus, 'Fictive Kin Term Use and Social Relationships: Alternative Interpretations', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 34 (4) (1972), 615-620
- Jones, Edgar, and Nicola Fear, 'Alcohol Use and Misuse Within the Military: A Review', *International Review of Psychiatry*, 23 (2) (2011), 166-172
- Jones, Edgar, and Simon Wessely, 'A Paradigm Shift in the Conceptualization of Psychological Trauma in the 20th Century', *Journal of Anxiety Disorders*, 21 (2) (2007), 164-175

- Jones, Gareth Stedman, 'Class Expression versus Social Control? A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of Leisure,' *History Workshop*, 4 (1977), 162–170
- Kane, Paula M., "'The Willing Captive of Home?': The English Catholic Women's League, 1906-1920', *Church History*, 60 (3) (1991), 331-355
- Kent, Susan Kingsley, 'The Politics of Sexual Difference: World War I and the Demise of British Feminism,' *Journal of British Studies*, 27 (3) (1988), 232-253
- Kinch, Kevin, and Jonathan Clasper, 'A Brief History of War Amputation', *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps*, 157 (4) (2011), 374-380
- Kinnison, Quentin P., 'Shepherd or One of the Sheep: Revisiting the Biblical Metaphor of the Pastorate', *Journal of Religious Leadership*, 9 (1) (2010), 59-91
- Koven, Seth, and Sonya Michel, 'Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880-1920', *The American Historical Review*, 95 (4) (1990), 1076-1108
- Koven, Seth, 'Remembering and Dismemberment: Crippled children, Wounded Soldiers, and the Great War in Great Britain', *The American Historical Review*, 99 (4) (1994), 1167-1202
- Kowalsky, Meaghan, 'This Honourable Obligation: The King's National Roll Scheme for Disabled Ex-Servicemen 1915-1944', *European Review of History*, 14 (4) (2007), 567-84
- Kushner, Tony, 'Local Heroes: Belgian Refugees in Britain during the First World War', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 18 (1) (1999), 1-28
- Larsson, Marina, 'Restoring the Spirit: The Rehabilitation of Disabled Soldiers in Australia after the Great War', *Health and History*, 6 (2) (2004), 45-59

- , 'A Disenfranchised Grief: Post-War Death and Memorialisation in Australia after the First World War', *Australian Historical Studies*, 40 (1) (2009), 79-95
- Lawrence, Christopher, 'A Tale of Two Sciences: Bedside and Bench in Twentieth-Century Britain', *Medical History*, 43 (4) (1999), 421-449
- Leese, Peter, 'Problems Returning Home: The British Psychological Casualties of the Great War', *The Historical Journal*, 40 (4) (1997), 1055-1067
- Levine-Clark, Marjorie, 'Dysfunctional Domesticity: Female Insanity and Family Relationships among the West Riding Poor in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Family History*, 25 (3) (2000), 341-361
- , 'The Politics of Preference: Masculinity, Marital Status and Unemployment Relief in Post-First World War Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 7 (2) (2010), 233-252
- Liddle, Peter, H. and Matthew J. Richardson, 'Voices from the Past: An Evaluation of Oral History as a Source for Research into the Western Front Experience of the British Soldier, 1914-18', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 31 (4) (1996), 651-674
- Linker, Beth, 'Healing the Nation: Soldiers and the Culture of Caregiving in Britain during the Great War', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 81 (4) (2007), 880-881
- Lomas, Janis. 'Delicate Duties': Issues of Class and Respectability in Government Policy towards the Wives and Widows of British Soldiers in the Era of the Great War', *Women's History Review*, 9 (1) (2000), 123-147
- Loughran, Tracey, 'A Crisis of Masculinity? Re-Writing the History of Shell-Shock and Gender in First World War Britain', *History Compass*, 11 (9) (2013), 727-738

- Macnicol, John, 'Eugenics and the Campaign for Voluntary Sterilization in Britain Between the Wars', *Social History of Medicine*, 2 (2) (1989), 147-169
- Makin, Simon, 'Memory Games: Conflicting Results Are Expected in a Young Field, but What Do you Do When Even the Meta-Analyses Do Not Agree?' *Nature*, 531 (7592) (2016), 1-10
- Malone, Carolyn, 'A Job Fit for Heroes? Disabled Veterans, the Arts and Crafts Movement and Social Reconstruction in Post-World War I Britain', *First World War Studies*, 4 (2) (2013), 201-217
- Mangion, Carmen, 'Faith, Philanthropy and the Aged Poor', *European Review of History*, 19 (4) (2012), 515-530
- Mansfield, Edward and Etel Solingen, 'Regionalism', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 13 (1) (2010), 145-163
- Mantin, Mike, 'Coalmining and the National Scheme for Disabled Ex-Servicemen after the First World War', *Social History*, 41 (2) (2016), 155-170
- Marler, Penny Long, and C. Kirk Hadaway, 'Back to the Future: Why Sunday School is Key to Denominational Identity and Growth', *Review and Expositor*, 111 (1) (2014), 17-32
- Martin, Bernice, 'Secularisation in the Christian World. Essays in Honour of Hugh McLeod', edited by Callum Brown and Michael Snape, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 62 (4) (2011), 845-847
- Matthews-Jones, Lucinda, '"I still remain one of the old Settlement boys": Cross-Class Friendship in the First World War Letters of Cardiff University Settlement Lads' Club', *Cultural and Social History*, 13 (2) (2016), 195-211
- McBrinn, Joseph, '"The Work of Masculine Fingers': The Disabled Soldiers' Embroidery Industry, 1918–1955', *Journal of Design History*, 31 (1) (2016), 1-23

- McCarthy, Helen, 'Parties, Voluntary Associations, and Democratic Politics in Interwar Britain', *The Historical Journal*, 50 (4), (2007), 891–912
- McCartney, Caitriona, 'British Sunday Schools in the era of the First World War, 1900–1939', *Ecclesial History Society*, 1 (1) (2017), 1-3
- McLeod, Hugh, 'New Perspectives on Victorian Class Religion: The Oral Evidence', *Oral History*, 14 (1) (1986), 31-49
- Merricks, Patrick, "God and the Gene": EW Barnes on Eugenics and Religion', *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 13 (3) (2012), 353-374
- Meyer, Jessica and Alison Fell, 'Introduction: Untold Legacies of the First World War', *War and Society*, 34 (2) (2015), 85–89
- Meyer, Jessica, "“Not Septimus Now”: Wives of Disabled Veterans and Cultural Memory of the First World War in Britain', *Women's History Review*, 13 (1) (2004), 117-138
- Meyer, Jessica, 'Separating the Men from the Boys: Masculinity and Maturity in Understandings of Shell Shock in Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, 20 (1) (2009), 1-22
- Minns, Chris, and Marian Rizov, 'The Spirit of Capitalism? Ethnicity, Religion, and Self-Employment in Early 20th Century Canada', *Explorations in Economic History*, 42 (2) (2005), 259-281
- Mitchell, Margaret, 'The Effects of Unemployment on the Social Condition of Women and Children in the 1930s', *History Workshop Journal*, 19 (1) (1985), 105-127
- Morgan, Sue, 'Wild Oats or Acorns? Social Purity, Sexual Politics and the Response of the Late-Victorian Church', *Journal of Religious History*, 31 (2) (2007), 151–68
- Muskett, Judith, "“Deferential or Dazzled?” Rural Cathedral Friends' Associations and Their Royal Patronage Past and Present', *Rural Theology*, 9 (1) (2015), 7-25

- Noakes, Lucy, 'Demobilising the Military Woman: Constructions of Class and Gender in Britain after the First World War', *Gender & History*, 19 (1) (2007), 143–162
- Nye, Robert A., 'Western Masculinities in War and Peace', *Army History Review*, 112 (2) (2007), 417-438
- O'Leary, Paul, 'Networking Respectability: Class, Gender and Ethnicity among the Irish in South Wales, 1845–1914', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 23 (2-3) (2006), 255-275
- Parr, Linda J., 'Sunday School Libraries in Halifax and Huddersfield before Public Libraries', *Library & Information History*, 25 (1) (2009), 50-67
- Pedersen, Susan, 'Welfare, and Citizenship in Britain during the Great War', *The American Historical Review*, 95 (4) (1990), 983-1006
- Perry, Matt, 'Unemployment, Welfare, and Masculine Citizenship: So Much Honest Poverty in Britain, 1870–1930', *The American Historical Review*, 121 (2) (2016), 652–653
- Piliavin, Jane Allyn, 'Why Do They Give the Gift of Life? A Review of Research on Blood Donors Since 1977', *Transfusion*, 30 (5) (1990), 444-459
- Porter, Patrick, 'Beyond Comfort, German and English Military Chaplains and the Memory of the Great War, 1919–1929', *Journal of Religious History*, 29 (3) (2005), 258–289
- Pryce, W., 'Industrialism, Urbanization and the Maintenance of Culture Areas, North-East Wales in the mid-Nineteenth-Century', *Welsh History Review*, 7 (1) (1974), 307-320.
- Purseigle, Pierre, 'A Wave on to Our Shores': The Exile and Resettlement of Refugees from the Western Front, 1914–1918', *Contemporary European History*, 16 (4) (2007), 427-444

- Ramsay, Laura Monica, 'The Relation of the Sexes': Towards A Christian View of Sex and Citizenship in Interwar Britain, *Contemporary British History*, 34 (4) (2020), 555-579
- Reid, Fiona, 'Distinguishing between Shell-Shocked Veterans and Pauper Lunatics: The Ex-Services' and Mentally Wounded Veterans after the Great War', *War in History*, 14 (3) (2007), 347–371
- Reid, Fred, 'Socialist Sunday Schools in Britain, 1892–1939', *International Review of Social History* 11 (1) (1966), 18-47
- Robert, Krisztina, 'Gender, Class, and Patriotism: Women's Paramilitary Units in First World War Britain', *The International History Review*, 19 (1) (1997), 52-65
- Robinson, Michael, "Nobody's Children?": The Ministry of Pensions and the Treatment of Disabled Great War Veterans in the Irish Free State, 1921–1939', *Irish Studies Review*, 25 (3) (2017), 316-335
- , 'Definitely Wrong? The Ministry of Pensions' Treatment of Mentally Ill Great War Veterans in Interwar British and Irish Society', *War in History*, (2019): 0968344519827034
- Roper, Michael, 'Between the Psyche and the Social: Masculinity, Subjectivity and the First World War Veteran', *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 15 (3) (2007), 251-270
- Rozario, Kevin, "Delicious Horrors": Mass Culture, the Red Cross and the Appeal of Modern American Humanitarianism', *American Quarterly*, 55 (3) (2003), 417-455
- Schneider, William, 'Blood Transfusion between the Wars', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 58 (2) (2003), 187-224
- Schuelka, Matthew J., 'A Faith in Humanness: Disability, Religion and Development', *Disability & Society*, 28 (4) (2013), 500-513

- Schweitzer, Rich, 'The Cross and the Trenches: Religious Faith and Doubt Among Some British Soldiers on the Western Front', *War and Society*, 16 (2) (1998), 33-57
- Scott, Joan, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review*, 91 (5) (1986), 1053-75
- Scott, Peter, 'Still a Niche Communications Medium: The Diffusion and Uses of the Telephone System in Interwar Britain', *Business History*, 53 (6) (2011), 801-820
- Seddon, Rachel L., Edgar Jones and Neil Greenberg, 'The Role of Chaplains in Maintaining the Psychological Health of Military Personnel: An Historical and Contemporary Perspective', *Military Medicine*, 176 (12) (2011), 1357-1361
- Snape, Michael, 'Church of England Army Chaplains in the First World War: Goodbye to "Goodbye to all that"', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 62 (2) (2011), 318-345
- Snell, Keith D. M., 'The Sunday-School Movement in England and Wales: Child Labour, Denominational Control and Working-Class Culture', *Past & Present*, 164 (1) (1999), 122-168
- Stansbury, Lynn G., and John R. Hess, 'Blood Transfusion in World War I: The Roles of Lawrence Bruce Robertson and Oswald Hope Robertson in the Most Important Medical Advance of the War', *Transfusion Medicine Reviews*, 23 (3) (2009), 232-236
- Thane, Pat, 'Review: Royal Bounty: The Making of a Welfare Monarchy by Frank Prochaska', *The Journal of Modern History*, 70 (1) (1998), 165-67
- Tosh, John, 'Methodist Domesticity and Middle-Class Masculinity in 19th Century England', *Studies in Church History*, 34 (1) (1998), 323-45
- Turner, David, 'Disability History: Looking Forward to A Better Past', *History Workshop Journal*, 71 (1) (2011), 283-287

- Verstraete, Pieter, Martina Salvante, and Julie Anderson, 'Commemorating the Disabled Soldier: 1914–1940', *First World War Studies*, 6 (1) (2015), 1-7
- Wadsworth, Alfred P., 'The First Manchester Sunday Schools', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 33 (2) (1951), 299-326
- Walker, Stephen, 'Philanthropic Women and Accounting. Octavia Hill and the Exercise of 'Quiet Power and Sympathy'', *Accounting, Business & Financial History*, 16 (2) (2006), 163-194
- Ward, Stephen R., 'Intelligence Surveillance of British Ex-Servicemen, 1918-1920', *The Historical Journal*, 16 (1) (1973), 179-188
- Watson, Janet S.K., 'Khaki Girls, VADs, and Tommy's Sisters: Gender and Class in First World War Britain', *The International History Review*, 19 (1) (1997), 32-51
- Watson, Nick, Stuart Weir, and Stephen Friend, 'The Development of Muscular Christianity in Victorian Britain and Beyond', *Journal of Religion and Society* 7 (1) (2005), 1-21
- West, Edwin, George, 'Education and The Industrial Revolution', *British Journal of Education Studies*, 24 (1) (1976), 89-90
- Wilhoit, James, 'The Bible Goes to Sunday School: An Historical Response to Pluralism', *Religious Education*, 82 (3) (1987), 390-404
- Winter, Jay, 'Shell-Shock and the Cultural History of the Great War', *Journal of Contemporary history*, 35 (1) (2000), 7-11
- Withers, A. J., '(Re) constructing and (Re) habilitating the Disabled Body: World War One era Disability Policy and its Enduring Ramifications', *Canadian Review of Social Policy / Revue Canadienne de Politique Sociale*, 75, (2016), 30-58
- Woollacott, Angela, 'From Moral to Professional Authority: Secularism, Social Work, and Middle-Class Women's Self-Construction in World War I Britain', *Journal of Women's History*, 10 (2) (1998), 85-111

Wright, David, 'Getting out of the Asylum: Understanding the Confinement of the Insane in the Nineteenth-Century', *Social History of Medicine*, 10 (1) (1997), 137-155

Zald, Mayer N., and Patricia Denton, 'From Evangelism to General Service: The Transformation of the YMCA', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 8 (2) (1963), 214-234

Unpublished Dissertations and Chapters

Adonis, Dan Frederick, "Today's Boys, Tomorrow's Men': A Short History of the Boys' Brigade of Britain, with further reference to the Boys' Brigade in South Africa (c. 1880-1980)'. (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cape Town, 1995)

Barr, Niall J.A., 'Service Not Self: The British Legion, 1921-1939.' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1994)

Bettinson, Helen, 'Lost Souls in the House of Restoration'? British Ex-Servicemen and War Disability Pensions, 1914-1930.' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 2002)

Brown, Andrew, 'Army Chaplains in the First World War.' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 1996)

Brumby, Alice, 'From "Pauper Lunatics" to "Rate-Aided Patients": Removing the Stigma of Mental Health Care? 1888-1938.' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Huddersfield, 2015)

Burgess, Marolyn Joy, 'A Study of the Origins, History, Essence and Legacy of Toc H, a Christian, Voluntary, Social Welfare Services Organisation in Twentieth-Century Britain.' (Unpublished master's thesis, University of Birmingham, 2017)

Clements, Samantha, 'Feminism, Citizenship, and Social Activity: The Role and Importance of Local Women's Organisations, Nottingham 1918-1969.' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Nottingham, 2008)

Coulter, David, 'Church of Scotland Army Chaplains in the Second World War.' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1998)

Elsy, Ena, 'The Rehabilitation and Employment of Disabled Ex-Servicemen after the Two World Wars.' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Teesside, 1997)

Kim, Victoria, 'Re-making a Nation: How Social Roles Defined Access to Physical Disability Resources in Great Britain, 1888-1946.' (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 2015)

Kowalsky, Meaghan, 'Enabling the Great War: Ex-Servicemen, the Mixed Economy of Welfare and the Social Construction of Disability, 1899-1930.' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, August 2007)

Laqueur, Thomas, W., 'Religion and Respectability: The English Sunday School and the Formation of a Respectable Working Class.' (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, 1977)

McCartney, Caitriona, 'British Sunday Schools in the Era of the First World War: 1900–1939.' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 2018)

McKay, Cameron Graham, 'Ex-Servicemen and Crime in Interwar Scotland.' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Stirling, 2019)

Nielsen, Caroline Louise, 'The Chelsea Out-Pensioners: Image and Reality in Eighteenth-Century and Early Nineteenth-Century Social Care.' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Newcastle, 2014)

Parker, Linda, 'Shell-Shocked Prophets: The Influence of Former Anglican Army Chaplains on the Church of England and British Society in the Interwar Years.' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 2013)

——, 'A Living Memorial – The Toc H Movement and Talbot House as 'Living Memorials.' (Unpublished chapter, University of Birmingham, 2017)

Purdy, Martin, 'Westfield War Memorial Village: Disability, Paternalism, and Philanthropy, 1915-2015.' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Lancaster, 2017)

Schwizer, Rich, 'The Cross and the Trenches: Religious Faith and Doubt Among Some British Soldiers on the Western Front.' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds 1993)

Websites

Anonymous, 'Definition of 'Whitleyism.'

<<https://www.thefreedictionary.com/Whitleyism>> [Accessed 03 February 2019]

Anonymous, 'Diary of a Nursing Sister on the Western Front 1914-15' [Online, Bibliolife, 2010]

Anonymous, 'Leading Thought: Horses and Chariots of Fire.'

<<http://www.swedenborgdigitallibrary.org/sower/jj12/2kings2tn.htm>> [Accessed 20 February 2020]

Anonymous, 'A Tribute to Arthur Herbert Proctor' 'The Tameside Citizen.'

<<https://www.tameside.gov.uk/blueplaque/arthurproctercvc>> [Accessed 28 August 2019]

Asylum Chapels, House of Lords Debate, 25 April 1912 (vol. 11 cc825 37825).

<<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1912/apr/25/asylum-chapels>> [Accessed 03 September 2018]

Baird, H.C.C., Debate on Limbless Veterans.

<<https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1920-11-18/debates/10bb5e0f-7304-419e-8d4d-c034c0db678c/WrittenAnswers.>> [Accessed 21/01/2020]

Baird, H. H.C., Information. <<https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1920-11-18/debates/10bb5e0f-7304-419e-8d4d-c034c0db678c/WrittenAnswers>> [Accessed 21 January 2020]

BLESMA, 'BLESMA History', <<https://blesma.org/about-us/our-history/>> [Accessed 04 February 2020]

Erdozain, Dominic, 'The Twentieth Century: Secularisation and Revival.' Lecture at Kings College London, March 2008.
<<https://www.kcl.ac.uk/aboutkings/principal/dean/akc/.../AKCSpring-Lecture9.doc> > [Accessed 23 April 2016]

Field, Clive, D., Historical Religious Statistics, 19th October 2012.
<<http://www.brin.ac.uk/2012/some-historical-religious-statistics/> > [Accessed on: 06 January 2017]

Grant, Peter, 'Philanthropy and Voluntary Action.'
<<http://www.vahs.org.uk/2014/04/philanthropy-and-voluntary-action-in-the-firstworld-war>> [Accessed April 19 2017]

Harris, Carol, '1914-1918: How Charities Helped to Win WW1', (Online: 27 June 2014) <<http://www.thirdsector.co.uk/1914-1918-charities-helped-win-ww1/volunteering/article/1299786>> [Accessed 17 October 2016]

Haslam, Sara, 'Contested Ground: Alcohol, Attachment, and the Hut Habit at War.' (University College, Dublin. Humanities Institute, 2015) UCD Humanities Institute Podcast Series.
<<http://oro.open.ac.uk/44524/1/Sara%20Haslam,%20Contested%20Ground%20.pdf>> [Accessed 04 January 2018]

Hasted, Rachel, 'The Untapped Stories of Disability and the First World War.'
<<https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/news-features/untapped-stories-disability-and-first-world-war>> [Accessed 06 February 2017]

Healey, Jonathan, 'Why Local History Matters.' Lecture Delivered at the Oxford University Department for Continuing Education, 14 November 2012.

<https://www.academia.edu/2550380/Why_Local_History_Matters>
[Accessed 07 October 2017]

ICF. <<http://www.icf-online.org/info.php?ident=history>> [Accessed on:
19/12/2019]

Imperial War Museum, Silver War Badge.

<<https://www.IWM.org.uk/history/silver-war-badge-and-kings-certificate-of-discharge>> [Accessed 21 February 2020]

Imperial War Museum, Lives of The First World War: 'Sister in Charge No. 32 Casualty Clearing Station.'

<<https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/lifestory/5386864>> [Accessed 22 September 2018]

Mills, John, 'Sister Kate Luard, Green Howard Museum.'

<<https://greenhowards.org.uk/announcement/sister-kate-luard/>>
[Accessed: 12 March 2019]

Prochaska, Frank, 'The Monarchy and Charity'. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (2006).

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/search?q=monarchy+and+charity&searchBtn=Search&isQuickSearch=true>> [Accessed 10 June 2018]

Reagan, David, 'Charity or Love.' <<http://www.learnthebible.org/charity-or-love.html>> [Accessed 28 January 2019]

R.O.S.L, The Over-Seas League History. < <https://www.rosl.org.uk/about-rosl/our-heritage>> [Accessed 08 November 2018]

Soanes, Stephen, 'Well? Well Almost...' (Online: November 2014).

<<http://blog.wellcomelibrary.org/2014/10/well-well-almost/>> [Accessed 04 September 2018]

Tarplee, Peter, 'Remploy at Leatherhead' (2008) . <

<http://www.sihg.org.uk/news/08nov-SIHGnews166.pdf>> [Accessed 04 September 2018]

The Not Forgotten Association, 'The Not Forgotten Association'

<<http://www.greatwar.co.uk/organizations/not-forgotten-association.htm>>

[Accessed 09 November 2018]

The Pilgrim Trust, 1931. <<https://www.thepilgrimtrust.org.uk/about-us/history/>>

[Accessed 12 July 2019]

White, Kathryn, 'The Way of Peace They Have Not Known: The Peace Programme of YMCA.'

<<https://www.kathrynshistoryblog.com/2019/07/ymca-peace-programme.html>> [Accessed 08 August 2019]

Yokohama Union Church, The Years of Disaster: 1923-1945. (2020)

<<http://www.yokohamaunionchurch.org/YUC-Histories/%281923-1945%29.html>> [Accessed 10 May 2019]

Newspapers

'County heroes who won the Victoria Cross', *Shropshire Star*, 1 July 2016

Bible

King James Bible, Luke 12:32

1 Corinthians 6:19

Ibid, 9:24-25

2 Timothy 4:7