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Charity, Material Culture and Disabled Ex-Servicemen in Britain, 1914-1929

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the fluctuating relationship between charity, material culture, and disabled ex-servicemen in Britain from 1914-1929. It adopts a cross-disciplinary approach to draw attention to the importance of 'things' within charitable efforts to assist maimed soldiers after the First World War, and explore the impact of 'stuff' upon post-war perceptions of disability and war-disabled bodies. It focuses upon a number of specific every-day objects to examine the ways that charities adopted and adapted existing conceptions of these items for the benefit of disabled ex-servicemen, including cigarettes, artificial flowers, eggs, and chickens. By tracing the 'social life' of charitable artefacts at various stages throughout their production, consumption, and eventual (traceable) use, it examines the fluctuating cultural meanings and materialities of these things, and highlights the various ways that the changing cultural and material characteristics of objects contributed to popular perceptions of disability and charity. Significantly, this study views war-disabled bodies as material remnants of the First World War that were intimately, and indistinguishably, incorporated into a variety of charitable activities and encounters, and were likewise shaped by charitable action, as well as physical and social interactions with other things.

In so doing, this thesis reveals that disabled ex-servicemen and non-human 'charitable objects' were inextricably entangled things that were each physically and symbolically shaped in relation to the other. Encounters between war-disabled men and charitable stuff both represented, and physically mediated, disabled ex-servicemen's reintegration into British society. Material culture offered opportunities for employment, financial independence, and physical intimacy with nondisabled members of the public. Moreover, object encounters between maimed soldiers and charitable items incorporated disabled ex-servicemen into numerous bodily interactions that shifted perceptions of corporeal 'difference' and distinguished masculine, heroic disabled ex-servicemen from idle, dependent, and isolated disabled civilians. Charitable objects consequently elevated the social status of disabled ex-servicemen upon a 'hierarchy of disablement' that conceptualised certain types of war-disabled bodies as masculine and heroic, and especially privileged war-maimed bodies over those of 'crippled' and invalid civilians. Material encounters between disabled ex-servicemen and non-human objects likewise reconceptualised these particular items as desirable consumer products, and in a number of cases, physically altered the materiality of things according to the emergent needs of deserving disabled ex-servicemen and British society.

Finally, this thesis suggests that the use of things for charitable purposes more broadly altered the role of charity within British society, and raised the profile of a number of organisations upon a 'hierarchy of charity'. Charitable activities involving 'valuable' objects encouraged members of the public to contribute to these particular schemes over others, and further incorporated charitable action into the broader social reconstruction of Britain in the immediate post-war period. This thesis ultimately demonstrates that the social and commercial values attached to charitable organisations, 'everyday' material culture, and war-disabled bodies were inextricably connected, and each fluctuated according to the conceptions and materialities of the other. This thesis offers the first full length study of disabled ex-servicemen and material culture in the aftermath of the First World War, and underscores the significance of studying things to illuminate the histories of disability and conflict.

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Glossary of Terms

<i>AM</i>	<i>Adair Monthly</i>
AWF	Adair Wounded Fund
BLAP	British Legion Appeals Department
<i>BLJ</i>	<i>British Legion Journal</i>
BoA	Board of Agriculture
BPA	British Pathé Archive
BT	Records of the Board of Trade and of Successor and Related Bodies 1919-1932
BVUK	Blind Veterans United Kingdom Archive
EPH	Souvenirs and Ephemera Collection
HMTC	Records Created or Inherited by Her Majesty's Treasury
IWM	Imperial War Museum
JGA	John Groom's Association for Disabled People Collection
KMHS	Kingston Museum and Heritage Services
KNRS	King's National Roll Scheme
LAB	Records of Departments Responsible for Labour and Employment Matters
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
LRMW	Lord Robert's Memorial Workshops
LWF	Lest We Forget Association
MoL	Ministry of Labour
MoP	Ministry of Pensions
NEC	National Egg Collection for the Wounded
NFA	Not Forgotten Association
PST	Poster Collection
<i>PW</i>	<i>Poultry World</i>
<i>SDR</i>	<i>St Dunstan's Review</i>
<i>SGM</i>	<i>Star and Garter Magazine</i>
SSHS	Soldiers and Sailors Help Society
TNA	The National Archives (Kew)
<i>TTR</i>	<i>Tobacco Trade Review</i>
WHA	Wigmore Hall Archive

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Introduction: 'Objectifying' Disability and Charity

[T]he unbreakable dolls are made in sections. All [a]round, like a weird toy battlefield, limbs are lying by the thousand, tended by men who have been on the bitter battlefields beyond. Later, the various limbs are assembled, and become a complete doll

Margaret Chute, 'Tommy Atkins as Toy Maker', *Graphic*, 6 October 1917, p. 22.

In this October 1917 article, journalist and philanthropist Margaret Chute described one aspect of the toy making process undertaken at the Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops (LRMW) on the Fulham Road in west London. The Workshops were originally established by the Soldiers and Sailors Help Society (SSHS) in 1904, to train men disabled in the South African War in 'handicrafts of all kinds'.¹ During the First World War, the Society expanded the scheme to incorporate the huge influx of limbless ex-servicemen returning to Britain from the fighting fronts.² By 1917, the SSHS had received over £250,000 in public donations to the 'Lord Roberts Memorial Workshop Fund', and employed '1029 badly disabled men' in full-time paid work at LRMW branches throughout the country.³

The LRMW was just one of countless charitable schemes organised (or reorganised,) for the benefit of disabled ex-servicemen during this period. From 1914-1918 over 750,000 soldiers sustained permanent disabilities as a result of the First World War, and returned

¹ George Howson (ed.), *Handbook for the Limbless* (London: The Disabled Society, 1922), p. 107

² Howson, p. 107. The SSHS began collecting public donations to expand its existing workshop scheme to 'all the provincial centres' from 1915 onwards. Before this time, the workshops were known simply as the SSHS workshops, but were renamed upon their expansion to commemorate the former Commander-in-Chief of the British army (1900-1904), and Colonel-in-Chief of empire troops in France (August 1914-November 1914), Frederick Roberts, (First Earl Roberts), who died shortly after the outbreak of the First World War in November 1914. 'Lord Roberts Memorial Fund', *Linlithgowshire Herald*, 26 March 1915, 3; Brian Robson, 'Roberts, Frederick Sleigh, First Earl Roberts, army officer (1832-1914)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)
<<http://www.oxforddnb.com.chain.kent.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-35768>> [accessed 11 August 2018] (paras. 24-25 and 29 of 31).

³ Margaret Chute, 'Tommy Atkins as Toy Maker', *Graphic*, 6 October 1917, p. 22.

to Britain with irreparable physical and emotional injuries.⁴ As Joanna Bourke has demonstrated: ‘the male body during the Great War [...] was *intended* to be mutilated’; technological advances in warfare were designed to cause the maximum damage to the human body.⁵ Weapons such as pointed bullets, hand grenades, and artillery fire shattered bones, tore soft tissue, and forced dirt and debris into soldiers’ wounds.⁶

Toy-makers at the LRMW were consequently among 41,000 men who, (as Chute explained,) ‘left’ their limbs ‘lying on the bitter battlefields’; 272,000 who suffered permanent injuries to their arms and legs; 60,500 ‘wounded in the head or eyes’, and a further 89,000 with irreparable physical injuries.⁷ The sight of formerly fit young men with horrific physical wounds and missing body parts was shocking to a public primarily accustomed to witnessing disability among industrial workers, the elderly, and impoverished children.⁸ As Bourke has further determined, ‘the war spread the experience of disability to a wider section of the population’; ‘throughout Britain — in every town and on every street — someone was affected [...]. Mass mutilation was there for all to see’.⁹ Soldiers’ shattered bodies were made more alarming by the process of their disablement: disabled ex-servicemen were physically altered by war *matériel* and thus embodied the destruction caused by war.¹⁰ War-disabled bodies became a ‘living commemoration of the war’, and an enduring reminder of the personal and social trauma elicited by mechanised conflict.¹¹ The British state, charities, and nondisabled civilians were forced to configure

⁴ Meaghan Kowalsky, ‘Enabling the Great War: Ex-Servicemen, the Mixed Economy of Welfare and the Social Construction of Disability, 1899-1930’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2007), p. 1.

⁵ Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men’s Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), p.31.

⁶ Bourke, *Dismembering*, p. 31.

⁷ Chute, p. 22; Bourke, *Dismembering*, p. 33.

⁸ According to Bourke, over 70 per cent of war-amputees were less than 30 years of age. Bourke, *Dismembering*, p. 37.

⁹ Bourke, *Dismembering*, p. 37.

¹⁰ Bourke, *Dismembering*, pp. 35-38.

¹¹ Nicholas J. Saunders, ‘Crucifix Cavalry and Cross: Materiality and Spirituality in Great War Landscapes’, *World Archaeology*, 35.1 (2003), 7-21 (p. 15).

new ways to deal with the influx of disabled men into British society, and resolve the sense of public anxiety and uncertainty that surrounded mass-disability.

Chute's October 1917 report – and the workshops that inspired it – exemplified widespread attempts to make sense of disability in relation to everyday objects in the aftermath of the First World War.¹² By training amputees to produce various 'things', the LRMW sought to resolve a number of 'problems' allegedly faced by disabled ex-servicemen, and thus alleviate widespread public concerns surrounding the future of these heroic and deserving men. Chute revealed that, although '[m]any [disabled] heroes of pre-war days' were 'starving in proud silence', the LMRW had 'buil[t] up [...] [a] great British toy trade' where 'soldiers and sailors may come [...] and earn a fair wage' to supplement their state pensions.¹³ Tactile interactions with LRMW products and manufacturing equipment also reportedly reconstituted disabled ex-servicemen's physical capacity for work and alleviated the usual material constraints faced by disabled individuals within the workplace. According to the *Graphic*, war-disabled employees 'in the Fulham Road' were able to 'learn a trade' using specially adapted things such as 'special benches with special stools, built for those who have only one arm [...] or for a man without a leg, who cannot stand to his work'.¹⁴

¹² This thesis uses the generally accepted term 'nondisabled' to refer to people who might be variously otherwise labeled 'normal', 'able-bodied', or even, 'normate'. As disability activists and scholars alike have determined, this rhetorical tool attempts to place disabled people at the centre of the discussion, and to further acknowledge that the disabling effect of environments may be rectified by mobility aids and assistive technology that render many disabled people 'able-bodied'. Rosemarie Garland Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Cultural Disability in American Culture and Literature* (Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2017), p. xii; Simi Linton, *Claiming Disability: Knowledge and Identity* (London: New York University Press, 1998), p. 13. Where this thesis uses derogatory language such as 'cripple', 'freak', or 'invalid' to refer to disabled people this is done with the express purpose of clarifying historical attitudes towards these individuals, and operates as a rhetorical tool to distinguish disabled civilians from disabled ex-servicemen, who, this thesis demonstrates, occupied a distinct cultural space within British society during the first quarter of the twentieth century.

¹³ Chute, p. 22.

¹⁴ Chute, p. 22.

Objects then, both physically enabled and materially shaped the social reintegration of disabled soldiers. As Jeffrey Reznick has denoted, '*matériel* played an 'essential role [...] in after-care regimes in the aftermath of the war'.¹⁵ Moreover, LRMW products also represented, and embodied, disabled ex-servicemen's social and physical reconstruction: by depicting the incomplete dolls as soldiers whose limbs lay strewn 'by the thousand' across a 'weird toy battlefield', Chute inextricably entangled these particular things with the war-disabled bodies of LRMW toy makers, all of whom, she revealed, had also 'left a limb on some distant battlefield' during the First World War.¹⁶ This rhetorical connection suggested that disabled ex-servicemen and the dolls they created were interchangeable things, and thus further insinuated that, like dismembered dolls, war-disabled men were re-'assembled' and rendered physically and socially 'complete' through toy-making.

As the *Graphic* report demonstrated, material things were not only crucial to the physical and financial reconstruction of disabled ex-servicemen at the LRMW, but were also fundamental to popular understandings of disability and war-disabled bodies. Chute's article utilised the painted wooden bodies of 'unbreakable dolls' to both explain, and resolve the instance of bodily mutilation amongst young, heroic men, and reassure the public that these individuals could be successfully 're-made' into figuratively whole, 'normal' citizens through charitable action. The description went so far as to imply that, alongside their wooden comrades, disabled ex-servicemen were 'unbreakable', and could simply be put back together 'in sections', and returned to 'normalcy'.¹⁷ Indeed, Chute further noted that, 'the man who has lost a limb may do as good work [...] as his unscathed brother — under the care of the Lord Robert's Memorial Workshops'.¹⁸

¹⁵ Jeffrey S. Reznick, *John Galsworthy and Disabled Soldiers of the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 35.

¹⁶ Chute, p. 22.

¹⁷ Chute, p. 22.

¹⁸ Chute, p. 22.

Although scholars have traced the various ways that state pensions, medical regimes, and charitable organisations variously reconstructed permanently disabled soldiers through financial assistance, employment training, physical activities, and even aesthetic restoration, these studies have not yet fully considered the significant role of ‘everyday’ material objects within these efforts.¹⁹ Historical examinations of disability and conflict have, rather, tended to relegate material culture to the status of supplementary source material, or focused solely on the impact of war-disability upon medical and scientific material innovations, such as artificial limbs.²⁰ Yet, as Chute’s account made clear, seemingly inconsequential ‘mundane’ things such as toys were just as important to post-war understandings of disability as written accounts and medical *matériel*.

This thesis adopts a cross disciplinary approach to the history of disability and conflict to explore the significance of everyday material objects within charitable efforts to assist disabled ex-servicemen from the period 1914-1929, and investigate the impact of ‘charitable stuff’ upon post-war perceptions of disability and war disabled bodies. It draws upon anthropological approaches to objects — or ‘material culture’ — to enrich historical understandings of disability, and in so doing views ‘the material things that people encounter, interact with, and use’, as well as ‘the materials they are made of’ as ‘an integral dimension of culture’²¹ This approach — which has been termed ‘material culture studies’

¹⁹ See especially Helen Bettinson, ‘Lost Souls in the House of Restoration’?: *British Ex-Servicemen and War Disability Pensions, 1914-1930* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 2002); Ana Carden-Coyne, *The Politics of Wounds: Military Patients and Medical Power in the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Ana Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body: Classism, Modernism and the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), and Deborah Cohen, *War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (London: University of California Press, 2001) for discussions of pensions, medical regimes, physical restoration, and charity (respectively).

²⁰ See for example, Mary Guyatt, ‘Better Legs: Artificial Limbs for British Veterans of the First World War’, *Journal of Design History*, 14.4, January 2001, 307-325.

²¹ Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Kücher, Mike Rowlands and Patricia Spyer, ‘Introduction’, In *Handbook of Material Culture* ed. by Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Küchler, Mike Rowlands and Patricia Spyer, (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2006), pp. 1-6 (p. 3); Ian Woodward, ‘The Material as Culture: Definitions, Perspectives, Approaches’ in Ian Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2007), pp. 3-16 (p. 3).

— is primarily concerned with palpable things that have a ‘physical, material existence’ within ‘human cultural practice’.²² It reveals that ‘apparently inanimate objects’ are not ‘inert and passive’, but, rather, ‘act on people, and are acted upon by people, for the purposes of carrying out social functions, regulating social relations and giving symbolic meaning to human activity’.²³

Whilst approaches to material culture are varied, and ‘the very concept of materiality itself is heterogenous and ambiguous’, scholars have most commonly understood objects in three key ways: as ‘social makers’; as ‘markers of identity’, and as ‘sites of cultural and political power’.²⁴ According to anthropological literature, things both constitute the material world, and also convey a variety of symbolic cultural meanings about the societies in which they are created. Objects are ‘socialized things’ that are encoded with messages about the social, cultural, and economic contexts within which they exist and are exchanged, and thus reflect extensively held norms.²⁵ Objects, in this sense, are given meaning through broader social discourses, including prevalent understandings of taste, identity, and value, and thus concurrently ‘establish social meanings [...] on behalf of people’, and simultaneously give these various cultural ideas and values a tangible, material, form.²⁶

The meanings of objects are relatedly (and inextricably), negotiated, and renegotiated, by the individuals who interact with them, and thus also reflect and shape the personal identities of the people who make, own, and consume them, and ‘can [often]

²² Woodward, p. 14.

²³ Woodward, p. 3.

²⁴ Tilley *et al.*, ‘Introduction’, p. 3; Woodward, pp. 3-16.

²⁵ Arjun Appadurai, ‘Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value’, in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 3-64 (p. 6); Woodward, p. 4.

²⁶ Woodward, p. 6.

come to be seen as surrogate selves'.²⁷ According to this understanding of things, objects act as 'markers of aesthetic value and self-identity' that both produce, and are incorporated into, performances of self- and group- presentation.²⁸ For example, objects variously communicate messages about individuals, including cultural affinity, occupations, and participation in a particular activity (such as leisure).²⁹ At the same time, 'objects also carry personal meanings' that are connected to, and create, personal identity: whilst not always publicly displayed, various things are nevertheless essential to an individual's sense of self.³⁰

Further still, inanimate items can (interrelatedly), 'facilitate interpersonal interactions' between individuals and groups.³¹ For example, things both physically construct certain locations, and additionally advise people how to behave in these sites: the very presence of objects unconsciously shapes human behaviour and informs social interactions between people, their environment, and with objects themselves.³² Objects also act as markers of taste, and subsequently communicate personal or group inclusion within a particular class or gender category.³³ Things thus also simultaneously represent, embody, and perpetuate 'specific forms of authority and political power'.³⁴ The arrangements of certain technological objects — in the case of warfare, for example — fundamentally alter the way that power is exercised, as well as 'the experience of citizenship'.³⁵ As markers of identity, things also produce political relationships; by including, or excluding, individuals from particular social groups, material sites, or activities,

²⁷ Hoskins, p. 2, p. 7.

²⁸ Woodward, p. 6.

²⁹ Woodward, p. 4, p. 6.

³⁰ Woodward, p. 10.

³¹ Woodward, p. 4.

³² Miller, *Stuff*, p. 51.

³³ Woodward, p. 6.

³⁴ Langdon Winner, 'Do Artifacts Have Politics?', *Daedalus*, 109.1 (1980), 121-136 (p. 121).

³⁵ Winner, pp. 121-136 (p. 122).

objects both perpetuate and create social inequalities, including those related to class, race, gender, and corporeality.³⁶

As Janet Hoskins has outlined, people are 'defined through [...] [their] relation to the material world, and particularly to certain objects that represent him or her'.³⁷ Non-human things and people are constantly renegotiated in relation to one another, and 'one can [thus] draw an analogy between the way societies construct individuals and the way they construct things'.³⁸ '[A] person's social identities are not only numerous but often conflicting', and 'the biography of things reveals a similar pattern'; 'societies [...] construct objects as they construct people'.³⁹ Within this context, it is clear that, as Christopher Tilley has illustrated, 'there are dimensions of social existence that cannot be fully understood without' studying materiality as 'an integral dimension of culture'.⁴⁰

Analysis of charitable things and their relationships to war-disabled men therefore offers invaluable insight into both the physical constitution of war-disabled bodies, and the ways that disabled ex-servicemen were both symbolically constructed and re-constructed in the aftermath of the war. By tracing what Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff have termed 'the social life of things', this study highlights the multifaceted cultural meanings and social values ascribed to charitable artefacts throughout their production, consumption, and eventual (traceable) use, and assesses the ways that these ever-shifting characteristics reflected and symbolically constructed social understandings of both disability and charity in the aftermath of the world's first mechanised conflict.⁴¹

³⁶ Winner, pp. 121-136 (p. 124)

³⁷ Hoskins, p. 195.

³⁸ Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as process' in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 64-94 (p. 90, p. 18, p. 90). See also Judy Attfield, *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life* (London: Berg, 2000).

³⁹ Kopytoff, p. 90, p. 18, p. 90.

⁴⁰ Tilley *et al.*, 'Introduction', p. 1.

⁴¹ Kopytoff, pp. 67-68.

Further still, approaching charitable material culture in this way draws attention to both the shifting materialities of 'inert' charitable things and war-disabled bodies within the context of charitable action. By focusing upon various stages within the social lives of these objects, this thesis further highlights the ways that charitable activities altered the material characteristics of a number of every-day things for the purposes of assisting disabled ex-servicemen, and additionally traces the diverse tangible encounters between charitable material culture and war-disabled bodies. Most significantly, this allows for examination of the myriad ways that charitable material culture physically directed, and materially altered, the war shattered bodies of British soldiers, and further reconfigured the human remnants of the First World War in the aftermath of the conflict.

The following research demonstrates that charitable 'stuff' played a central role within post-war efforts to physically and socially reconstruct disabled ex-servicemen in the aftermath of the First World War, and ultimately allowed British society to come to terms with the mass human destruction caused by mechanised conflict. Material things both represented, and physically mediated, the social, physical, and financial reintegration of disabled ex-servicemen into British society, and also materially reconstituted disabled ex-servicemen's mutilated bodies. Charitable activities and tangible interactions with charitable stuff variously refashioned war-disabled bodies as strong and physically capable of work; erased or concealed men's corporeal 'abnormalities'; or, somewhat conversely, represented these 'differences' as physical marks of heroism. As a result, charitable material culture ultimately shifted perceptions of corporeal difference and distinguished masculine disabled ex-servicemen from idle, dependent, and isolated disabled civilians. Disabled ex-servicemen's various relationships, and interactions with, charitable objects elevated the status of physically disabled soldiers upon a 'hierarchy of disablement' that reconceptualised certain types of war-disabled bodies as masculine and heroic, and

especially privileged war-maimed bodies over those of 'weak', 'undesirable', and stigmatised invalid civilians.⁴²

Charitable action relatedly, and concurrently, refashioned a number of inert objects as a way to rebuild the lives of heroic war-disabled men. Like the toys produced at the LRMW, various items were incorporated into retraining and employment schemes for disabled ex-servicemen, and were thus reconceptualised as both tangible evidence of men's physical capacity for work, and symbolic representations of their social reintegration. In addition, numerous schemes adopted specific items for fundraising purposes, and successfully exchanged these objects in return for charitable donations to the war-disabled. By connecting various things to heroic disabled ex-servicemen, charitable action elevated the prestige of these items, and rendered them particularly valuable, and *desirable* products. Promotional accounts and public events endowed these items with charitable, patriotic qualities, and simultaneously bestowed these attractive qualities upon the individuals who wore, used, and displayed them. In a number of cases, charitable action also altered the materiality of objects according to the emergent needs of both disabled ex-servicemen, and post-war society.

Finally, this thesis determines that the use of things for charitable purposes more broadly altered the role of charity within British society, and, as well as elevating the social status of disabled ex-servicemen and charitable objects, simultaneously raised the profile of a number of organisations upon a 'hierarchy of charity'. By offering members of the public numerous 'valuable' items in return for their donations, charitable schemes persuaded civilians to contribute money to disabled ex-servicemen over myriad other 'needy' causes. Charitable objects offered benevolent members of the public multiple

⁴² Anderson, *War*, p. 42.

'rewards' in return for their donation: by purchasing charitable things, individuals both contributed to the deserving war-disabled, and thus increased their 'social capital', and simultaneously gained a desirable, prestigious object in return, that could be used, displayed, and kept for future pleasure and enjoyment. Charities for the war-disabled consequently reinforced the ongoing commercialization of charity in this period; offering objects in exchange for donations conceptualised charitable giving as a 'transaction' or commodity exchange that rewarded the nondisabled public for their benevolence, and allowed charities to appeal to the demands of an increasingly consumer driven society.

By utilising anthropological understandings of objects to inform historical understandings of disability, this thesis draws attention to the complex and 'constantly renegotiated relationships between objects and people', and illuminates the significance of 'mundane' objects within British attempts to 'heal' from the material destruction and emotional trauma of the world's first mechanised conflict.⁴³ As Chute's report indicated, charitable activities and the discourse surrounding war-disabled men inextricably connected the overall 're-assembly' of these heroic men to the various charitable objects they encountered. Like the bullets, shells, and barbed wire of the western front that irrevocably altered men's corporeality, charitable objects too, transformed and re-made men's material bodies and social identities, whilst at the same time shifting conceptions of charity, charitable giving, and objects themselves.

Locating Disabled Bodies: Historical Approaches to Disability

This thesis intersects several somewhat disparate fields of enquiry. It is both indebted to, and expands upon, existing scholarship in a number of academic disciplines and areas of

⁴³ Nicholas J. Saunders, 'The Great War, 1914-2003', in Saunders, *Matters*, pp. 5-25 (p.5); Nicholas J. Saunders, *Trench Art: Materialities and Memories of War* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), p. 1.

historical research, including disability history, the history of charity, and material culture studies. The following introduction offers a broad survey of existing scholarship in these areas, and outlines the various ways that this thesis utilises existing methodological approaches and historical accounts to provide a cross-disciplinary analysis of disability, charity, and material culture. This literature review is by no means exhaustive, but highlights some of the most relevant work in these fields as a lens through which to contextualize the importance of material culture within charitable attempts to reconstruct and reintegrate disabled ex-servicemen into society in the aftermath of the First World War. This section begins by charting the emergence of disability history, and locates this thesis within a plethora of existing research that explores disability and conflict.

As David M. Turner has outlined, ‘deformed, disabled, or otherwise anomalous bodies have been subject to a variety of interpretations and responses throughout history’.⁴⁴ Disabled people have been viewed and interpreted as monsters, freaks and pets, as evidence of God’s design, divine wrath, or nature’s abundance, as a source of entertainment and amusement, as tangible moral lessons against idleness and bestiality, and, most recently, as diseased and deformed bodies to be fixed and reconstructed through medical intervention.⁴⁵ Although, as Douglas Baynton has famously noted, ‘disability is [thus] everywhere in history’, until the 1980s, it remained ‘conspicuously absent in the histories we write’.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ David M. Turner, ‘Introduction: Approaching Anomalous Bodies’, in *Social Histories of Disability and Deformity*, ed. by David M. Turner and Kevin Stagg (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 1-16 (p. 1).

⁴⁵ Rosemarie Garland Thomson, ‘Introduction: From Wonder to Error – A Genealogy of Freak Discourse in Modernity’, in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, ed. by Rosemary Garland Thomson (London: New York University Press, 1996), pp. 1-22 (p. 1, p. 2, p. 13).

⁴⁶ Douglas C. Baynton, ‘Disability and the Justification of Inequality in American History’, in *The New Disability History: American Perspectives*, ed. by Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky (London: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 33-57 (p. 52).

Scholarly examinations of disability were, rather, more typically undertaken by ‘scholars in the academic discipline of disability studies’, and were intended to ‘give a voice to the experiences of disabled people, and examine the roots of their disenfranchisement’ as part of a broader focus on disability activism.⁴⁷ During the 1990s, scholars such as Colin Barnes, Paul K. Longmore, Michael Oliver, and Vic Finkelstein began to question the existing ‘medical model’ of disability, which ‘locate[d] the problem of disability in the [individual] bodies of “afflicted” persons’, and defined disability ‘as a pathological medical condition’, that was ‘always in need of cure, correction, or elimination’.⁴⁸ The problem with the ‘medical model’, disability scholars argued, is that it ‘implicitly assumes that the limitation[s]’ faced by disabled people ‘result from medical pathology that resides within individuals’, and thus ‘fails to consider the impact of external, societally created factors in limiting disabled persons’ capacity to perform “expected” social roles’.⁴⁹

These scholars suggested that disability, should, rather, be considered the result of ‘architectural, socioeconomic, and policy environments within which people with disabilities must operate’, and are consequently ‘disabled’ *by*.⁵⁰ According to this approach, disability is not rooted in physical difference, but is an ‘artificially created’ condition that leads to the ‘marginalization and deprivation’ of people who are considered ‘abnormal’ according to temporally, geographically, and culturally distinct understandings of bodies; disability is not a ‘stable’, or ‘static’ category, but rather, ‘expands and contracts’ to

⁴⁷ Turner, ‘Introduction’, pp. 2-3. For an overview of disability rights activism from the 1970s to the 1990s, see Longmore and Umansky (eds.), *The New Disability History*, pp. 9-12

⁴⁸ Paul K. Longmore, *Why I Burned my Book and Other Essays on Disability* (Philadelphia: Temple Press, 2003), p. 20; Michael Rembis, Catherine J. Kudlick, and Kim E. Nielsen, ‘Introduction’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Disability Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 1-20 (p. 4); Linton; Michael Oliver and Colin Barnes, *The New Politics of Disablement* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990); Colin Barnes, *Disabled People in Britain and Discrimination: A Case for Anti-Discrimination Legislation* (London: Hurst & Company, 1991); Vic Finkelstein, “‘We’ Are Not Disabled ‘You’ Are”, in *Constructing Deafness*, ed. by Susan Gregory and Gillian M. Hartley (Milton Keynes: Continuum, 2002), pp. 265-271.

⁴⁹ Longmore, *Why*, pp. 20-21.

⁵⁰ Longmore, *Why*, p. 21.

encompass a variety of different people, and different bodies, depending on their historical context.⁵¹

This 'social model' of disability consequently 'dominated British disability studies', and inspired numerous historical works that aimed to trace the various ways that people with corporeal differences have been 'disabled' within historical societies.⁵² Like Baynton, scholars such as Catherine J. Kudlick, Longmore, Henri-Jaques Sticker, and Lauri Umansky began to question the absence of disabled people within historical accounts, and suggested that disability, like race, gender, and sexuality, was 'a subject worth studying in its own right', that should be placed 'at the center of historical enquiry'.⁵³ Early histories of disability consequently explored historical understandings of 'normal' and 'abnormal' bodies within a variety of temporal and geographical locations, and began to consider the various 'social modes of behaviour' towards those who were considered 'out of the ordinary'.⁵⁴

These accounts identified a variety of factors within historical processes of disablement, including industrial production, social policy, and medical practice. Oliver and Finkelstein, for example, have identified industrialization as a defining factor within the historical marginalisation of people with impairments: according to Finkelstein, the invention of technologies such as the steam engine and large machinery led to broader conceptualisations of an 'average person', or average body that operated these things, and

⁵¹ Longmore, *Why*, p. 21; Finkelstein, pp. 266-267; Scholars have likewise pointed out that nondisabled people can become disabled at any time, and almost all bodies become disabled in old age, thus rendering the category of 'disability' all the more unstable. Lennard J. Davis, *Enforcing Normalcy: Disability, Deafness and the Body* (London: Verso, 1995), p. xv.

⁵² Julie Anderson and Ana Carden-Coyne, 'Enabling the Past: New Perspectives in the History of Disability', *European Review of History*, 14.4 (2007), 447-457 (p. 447).

⁵³ Catherine J. Kudlick, 'Why We Need Another "Other"', *American Historical Review*, 108.3 (2003), 763-793 (p. 765).

⁵⁴ Henri-Jaques Stiker, *A History of Disability*, trans. By William Sayers (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), p. 1, p. 13, p. 19.

thus rendered disabled bodies 'abnormal', economically inefficient, and 'infirm' in the eyes of both employers, and doctors, who subsequently classified people with corporeal differences as 'disabled', according to their inability to work.⁵⁵ Further accounts, including Deborah Stone's *Disability State*, and Anne Borsay's *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, complicated and extended this analysis, and drew attention to the ways that 'social policies have created and sustained the discrimination that continues to make disabled people excluded citizens'.⁵⁶ Borsay, in particular, has illuminated the impact of state implemented activities upon the social and physical segregation of disabled people within British society, and has highlighted how social policy has historically limited disabled people's access to employment and (so-called) 'mainstream' education.⁵⁷

Further still, Rosemarie Garland Thompson, David T. Mitchell, Sharon Snyder, and David Hevey (amongst others,) have drawn attention to 'the impact of representational discourses such as literature, film, television, [...] photography', and art upon social perceptions of disability within historical societies, and in so doing, have highlighted the significant influence of these various interpretations upon shifting historical understandings of 'normal' and 'abnormal' bodies.⁵⁸ Mitchell and Snyder, for example, have investigated the myriad ways that disability is used within art, film, and literature as a mark of otherness or difference, and have considered the effects of these stereotypes and mythologies upon the broader marginalisation of disabled people within historical

⁵⁵ Finkelstein, p. 268. See also Lennard J. Davis, 'Constructing Normalcy: The Bell Curve, the Novel, and the Invention of the Disabled Body in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Disability Studies Reader*, ed. by Lennard J. Davis (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 9-28.

⁵⁶ Anne Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain since 1750: A History of Exclusion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 1.

⁵⁷ Claire H. Liachowitz has similarly traced the 'political sources of social devaluation' amongst disabled people in American history. Claire H. Liachowitz, *Disability as a Social Construct: Legislative Roots* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), p. 8.

⁵⁸ Garland Thomson, *Extraordinary*; David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder, 'Introduction: Disability Studies and the Double Bind of Representation', in *The Body and Physical Difference: Discourses of Disability* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), pp. 1-34 (p. 12); David Hevey, *The Creatures Time Forgot: Photography and Disability* (London: Routledge, 1992).

societies.⁵⁹ Perhaps most notably for the purposes of this thesis, a number of these accounts have considered the role of charity in shaping historical perceptions of disability, and have demonstrated that, ‘changes in perceptions of disability were [...] [and are] heavily influenced by charitable and philanthropic initiative’.⁶⁰ Longmore and Hevey, for example, have examined the representation of disabled people within charitable imagery and discourse, and have highlighted the various ways that charities construct disabled people as a locus of spectacle, pity, or alternatively, a symbol of ‘overcoming’.⁶¹

Whilst historians have traditionally adopted the ‘social model’ of disability, more recent studies have further questioned and complicated the dichotomy between the ‘social’ and ‘medical’ models. Jenny Morris’ *Pride Against Prejudice* and Tom Shakespeare’s, *Disability Rights and Wrongs* challenged ‘the “strong” social model of disability’, and suggested that this understanding erases the ‘impairment-specific’ experiences of people, and therefore ignores the ‘specific issues and problems, both medical and social’, faced by people with different impairments.⁶² Shakespeare and Morris, rather, drew upon emerging feminist approaches to the body by scholars such as Judith Butler and Elizabeth Grosz to re-focus scholarly analysis upon the embodied experiences of disabled people.⁶³ Shakespeare, in particular, put forward a more complex and ‘multi-

⁵⁹ David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder, *Narrative Protheses: Disability and the Dependencies of Discourse* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000). See also Robert Bogdan, *Presenting Human Oddities for Entertainment and Profit* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1988), Leslie Fielder, *Freaks: Myths and Images of the Secret Self* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), and Garland Thomson, *Freakery* for analysis of displays of extraordinary bodies within nineteenth and twentieth century freak shows.

⁶⁰ Turner, ‘Introduction’, p. 7.

⁶¹ Paul K. Longmore, *Telethons: Spectacle, Disability and the Business of Charity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 84-120.

⁶² Tom Shakespeare, *Disability Rights and Wrongs Revisited: Second Edition* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 5-6.

⁶³ Judith Butler and Elizabeth Grosz’s groundbreaking studies sought to place corporeality back at the centre of academic analysis, and consequently drew attention to the ways that social identities are constructed and performed through bodily gestures and movements. Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (London: Routledge, 1993); Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

dimensional' approach to disability that views 'the social and the biological' as inextricably entwined, and acknowledges both the social construction of disability, and, at the same time, retrieves the embodied (and often painful) experiences of disabled people.⁶⁴ More recent histories of disability have thus drawn attention to 'the significance [...] of physiological states that depart from typical human experience' to assess the various ways that particular corporealities 'result in bodily configurations and different modes of functioning', and have consequently illuminated the entangled connections between bodily performance and social interpretations and perceptions of disability and disabled bodies.⁶⁵

This thesis draws upon existing work on visual and rhetorical representations of disability by scholars such as Longmore, and extends these studies to examine the various ways that objects, and physical encounters between objects and war-disabled bodies, contributed to the various 'representational discourses' surrounding disabled ex-servicemen in Britain after the First World War. It considers both the social construction of disabled ex-servicemen, and simultaneously investigates the various ways that men's distinct corporealities, movements, gestures, and physical interactions with objects contributed to broader perceptions of disability in this period. Indeed, As Longmore and Umansky have outlined, considering both the 'embodiedness' and social construction of disability are especially crucial for understanding the ways that people with disabled bodies interact with various objects (such as white canes and wheelchairs,) and material environments, and draws attention to the ways that disabled people have historically

⁶⁴ Jenny Morris, *Pride Against Prejudice: Transforming Attitudes to Disability* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Shakespeare, p. 10.

⁶⁵ Longmore and Umansky, p. 19, p. 20.

negotiated, and renegotiated, material sites, as well as the impact of these embodied encounters upon cultural responses to, and perceptions of, disabled bodies.⁶⁶

These developments in the history of disability were accompanied (and simultaneously influenced) by an increasing interest in the history of the body.⁶⁷ The earliest explorations of the body were completed by Michel Foucault, whose approach moved away from a 'purely biological view' of human bodies as 'flesh and bone', and, rather, viewed the human body as a socially constructed site upon which power and authority have been historically exerted by various institutions.⁶⁸ Significantly, Foucault's work demonstrated that the human body is a site of identity formation that is fashioned through various forces, and most notably, by authoritarian institutions such as the state.⁶⁹ His research has consequently drawn attention to ways that discourses of health have aimed to 'normalise' and 'manage and regulate' human bodies and populations; he has argued, for example, that 'medical management' of the body was 'determined by authorities, supported by an administrative apparatus', and 'framed by strict administrative structures'.⁷⁰

The body has since become a pervasive topic of research amongst scholars from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds, and has become a particular focus within cultural studies and feminist studies.⁷¹ Most significantly for the purposes of this thesis, this increasing focus on the body has drawn particular attention to what has been termed, 'the historicized body'.⁷² Scholars such as Roy Porter, amongst others, have subsequently

⁶⁶ Longmore and Umansky, p. 20.

⁶⁷ Roger Cooter, 'The Turn of the Body: History and the Politics of the Corporeal', *Arbor*, 186.743 (2010), 393-405 (p. 397).

⁶⁸ Cooter, 'The Turn', pp. 393-405 (p. 394).

⁶⁹ Cooter, 'The Turn', pp. 393-405 (p. 395).

⁷⁰ Cooter, 'The Turn', pp. 393-405 (p. 395); Michel Foucault, 'The Politics of Health in the Eighteenth Century', trans. by Richard A. Lynch, *Foucault Studies*, 18 (2014), 113-127 (p. 113).

⁷¹ Cooter, 'The Turn', pp. 393-405 (p. 393, p. 396).

⁷² Cooter, 'The Turn', pp. 393-405 (p. 394).

considered the various and ever-shifting ways that human bodies has been understood, and socially constructed, throughout history.⁷³ As Porter has illustrated, the body (like all material things,) is not independent of culture, but is ‘variously affected by culture and society’; the body has been ‘experienced and expressed’ differently ‘within particular cultural systems, both private and public, which themselves have changed over time’.⁷⁴ The body is thus ‘an entity that itself has a history’, and has been subject to numerous intellectual, artistic, and cultural interpretations throughout time.⁷⁵ This research drew upon Foucault’s framework, and reiterated the importance of understanding the body as a “symbolic construct” that is subjected to prevalent discourses of ‘normalcy’ and ‘abnormality’ by medicine, the state, and education, among a variety of other institutions, who have variously shaped human bodies for the purposes of work and national prowess.⁷⁶

More recently still, scholars have once again re-focused their attention on bodies as material things, to illustrate not only their symbolic and representational meanings, but to uncover the ‘corporeal experience’ of individuals in historical societies.⁷⁷ As this introduction has outlined, feminist scholars such as Butler and Grosz have drawn attention to the performativity inherent in human bodies, and considered the physical movements, gestures, and activities performed by so-called ‘real’ bodies as essential to their social construction – or representation – as normal or abnormal; masculine or feminine, things (amongst a number of other social categories).⁷⁸ Alongside this focus on the interrelated

⁷³ Roy Porter, ‘History of the Body’, in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. by Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), pp. 206-232. See also, Roy Porter, ‘History of the Body Reconsidered’, in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, 2nd edn., ed. by Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity, 2001), pp. 232-260.

⁷⁴ Porter, ‘History’, p. 208.

⁷⁵ Cooter, ‘The Turn’, pp. 393-405 (p. 397); Porter, p. 209. See for example, Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

⁷⁶ Porter, ‘History’ (1991), p. 209, p. 220; Cooter, ‘The Turn’, pp. 393-405 (p. 395).

⁷⁷ Cooter, ‘The Turn’, pp. 393-405 (p. 398); Caroline Bynum, ‘Why All the Fuss about the Body?: A Medievalist’s Perspective’, *Critical Enquiry*, 22.1 (1995), 1-33 (pp. 1-8).

⁷⁸ See especially Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, Grosz, *Volatile Bodies* and Waltraud Ernst, ‘The Normal and Abnormal: Reflections on Norms and Normativity’, in *Histories of the Normal and the Abnormal*, ed. by Waltraud Ernst (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 1-25.

material and metaphorical body, anthropologists such as Patricia Spyer and Thomas J. Csordas have located human bodies within a 'paradigm of embodiment' that additionally emphasises the significance of the human body as essential to people's lived experiences.⁷⁹ As Spyer has outlined, bodies, whilst material, are not objects that are separate from cognitive, lived experiences; human activities are experienced *through* the body, and 'the subject who engages in experience is' therefore, 'always embodied'.⁸⁰

Scholarly examinations of the human body have consequently drawn attention to the ways that 'individuals and social groups have experienced, controlled, and projected their embodied selves'.⁸¹ Anthropologists, in particular, have viewed 'the bodily synthesis of visualization [...], affect [...], and kinesthesia' as essential to 'the concreteness' of embodied experience: scholars such as Constance Classen and David Howes, for example, have highlighted the importance of sensoriality as an embodied experience, and have explored the 'multiple, concomitant ways of sensing, feeling, knowing, experiencing, and performing or the sensuous particularities of corporeal being and acting'.⁸² This approach has attempted to move away from 'visual and verbal biases' within academic writing, to retrieve the significant 'meaning' encompassed by the senses.⁸³ Studies of material sensoriality have encompassed examinations of visual culture, taste, scent, sound,

⁷⁹ Patricia Spyer, 'The Body, Materiality and the Senses', in *The Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. by Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Kücher, Mike Rowlands, and Patricia Spyer (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2006), pp. 125-129 (p. 125); Thomas J. Csordas, 'Embodiment as a Paradigm for Anthropology', *Ethos*, 18.1 (1990), 5-47; See also Butler, *Bodies that Matter*.

⁸⁰ Spyer, 'The Body', p. 48.

⁸¹ Porter, 'History', p. 213.

⁸² Csordas, pp. 5-47 (p. 22); Spyer, 'The Body', p. 125; See for example Constance Classen, David Howes and Anthony Synnott, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 2002); David Howes, *Sensual Relations: Engaging the Senses in Culture and Social Theory* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006); David Howes and Constance Classen, *Ways of Sensing: Understanding the Senses in Society* (London: Routledge, 2014) and Constance Classen, *Worlds of Sense: Exploring the Senses in History and Across Cultures* (London: Routledge, 1993).

⁸³ David Howes, 'Scent, Sound and Synesthesia', in *The Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. by Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Kücher, Mike Rowlands, and Patricia Spyer (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2006), pp. 161-172 (p. 166, p. 167).

movement, and touch, and have begun to ‘unpick’ the ‘particular sensory mix’ embodied by particular objects, or collection of objects, as well as people’s ‘sensuous reaction[s]’ to material things and locations.⁸⁴ According to Howes, sensation (like all forms of materiality), is mediated by culture, and sensation interrelatedly mediates culture’: human and non-human materiality are reciprocally and viscerally connected, and are each constituted in relation to one another.⁸⁵

This thesis draws upon these complex and interrelated notions of the historicised, material, and sensorial body. It adopts a working definition of embodiment as the various processes through which ‘the body is made socially meaningful’. This encompasses the notion that the body is experienced variously through sensations, gestures, and spatial location, and simultaneously considers the body as ‘a vehicle or medium of social agency’.⁸⁶ In so doing, it examines ‘all those actions performed by the body, on the body and through the body which are oriented towards the social’, including those physical actions, material interactions, and bodily gestures, which subsequently contributed to social identity (or identities) — both personal and public — of the war-disabled and nondisabled individuals who undertook (or performed) these various activities in the context of charitable action.⁸⁷ Whilst this thesis implicitly acknowledges the embodied agency of disabled ex-servicemen, it primarily focuses upon the ways that charitable institutions physically and culturally shaped war-disabled bodies within a particular historical moment in time: the years immediately following the First World War.

Furthermore, although this thesis is primarily concerned with the cultural history of the body, and does not, therefore, explicitly examine sensoriality, it implicitly draws upon

⁸⁴ Howes, ‘Scent’, p. 162.

⁸⁵ Howes, ‘Scent’, pp. 161-162; Spyer, ‘The Body’, p. 125.

⁸⁶ Chris Gilleard and Paul Higgs, *Ageing, Corporeality and Embodiment* (London: Anthem Press, 2014), p. ix.

⁸⁷ Gilleard and Higgs, p. ix.

anthropological approaches to the senses as a lens through which to understand the relationships between disabled ex-servicemen, nondisabled members of the public, and various material objects. Most notably, it considers the various ways that touch was involved in innumerable interactions between disabled and non-disabled individuals, as well as the various charitable objects they encountered. In so doing, this thesis draws attention to the ways that haptic interactions between war-disabled bodies and various materialities shaped and reshaped cultural notions of disability. Further still, this thesis considers dominant notions of taste in relation to both food and cigarettes, to investigate how popular enthusiasm for these particular 'flavours' was shaped by according to charitable aims, and, in turn, shaped notions of charity and disabled ex-servicemen.

Locating Disability and Conflict: War-Disabled Bodies

These broader developments within disability history and the history of medicine have been simultaneously accompanied by a plethora of work focused more specifically on disability and conflict. The following section highlights a number of key scholarly examinations of disabled ex-servicemen, and locates this thesis within various debates surrounding human conflict and medical and cultural responses to war-disabled bodies. David Gerber's edited volume, *Disabled Veterans in History*, was the first book solely dedicated to examining the histories of severely disabled ex-servicemen, and ended what he has termed the 'neglect' of disabled veterans 'in war and peace'.⁸⁸ A number of more recent works have extended Gerber's transnational, cross-temporal anthology to focus more specifically upon national responses to disability in the aftermath of the First World War. For example, Heather Perry has examined medical, cultural and military responses to

⁸⁸ David A. Gerber (ed.), *Disabled Veterans in History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), see especially David A. Gerber, 'Introduction: Finding Disabled Veterans in History', pp. 1-54 (p. 1).

'the disabled question' in 1920s Weimar Germany, and Beth Linker has likewise charted governmental and medical attempts to rehabilitate disabled veterans in the United States during this period.⁸⁹

Analysis of British disabled ex-servicemen have been particularly abundant. Much like early histories of disability, a number of initial explorations of disability and the First World War were primarily concerned with examining the impact of mass- disability and wounding upon medical and surgical practices in Britain, and drew particular attention to the effect of locomotor injuries (including amputation) upon orthopaedic surgery.⁹⁰ More recently, scholars such as Jeffrey Reznick and Ana Carden-Coyne have extended this analysis to explore various cultural aspects of medical care, and have assessed wounded and disabled soldiers' experiences of military medical reconstruction during the conflict. Reznick, for example, has explored the experiences of medical care among soldiers from the 'other ranks' during the First World War, and has identified a distinct 'culture of caregiving' within military 'sites of healing', which fostered a sense of camaraderie among wounded soldiers that facilitated emotional and physical healing.⁹¹ Ana Carden Coyne has more recently explored understandings of masculinity within these sites, and has drawn attention to the various ways that civilians, military-medical regimes, and soldiers themselves negotiated and renegotiated military masculinity within hospital settings during the war.⁹²

⁸⁹ Heather R. Perry, *Recycling the Disabled: Army, Medicine, and Modernity in WWI Germany* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), pp. 3-4; Beth Linker, *War's Waste: Rehabilitation in World War One America* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

⁹⁰ Roger Cooter, *Surgery and Society in Peace and War: Orthopaedics and the Organization Modern Medicine, 1880-1948* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1993), pp. 105-136. Mark Harrison, *The Medical War: British Military Medicine in the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Roger Cooter, Mark Harrison and Steve Sturdy (eds.), *Medicine and Modern Warfare* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999).

⁹¹ Jeffrey Reznick, *Healing the Nation: Soldiers and the Culture of Caregiving in Britain During the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 1, pp. 4-6.

⁹² Ana Carden-Coyne, *The Politics of Wounds: Military Patients and Medical Power in the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 6.

Alongside these medically focused examinations of disability and wounding, a variety of scholars have explored British responses to permanent disability during and after the conflict, and have paid particular attention to the various ways that state and charitable schemes attempted to reintegrate disabled soldiers into British society. As Bourke has determined, disabled ex-servicemen were seen as particularly deserving of support: these men were disabled in service to the nation, and were thus considered the responsibility of the state, and the public they had fought *for*.⁹³ A complex network of state and charitable schemes consequently emerged to care for these men: from 1916, the newly established Ministry of Pensions (MoP) provided disabled ex-servicemen with pensions ‘as a contribution to the debt’ owed to these men, and Local War Pensions Committees additionally catered for disabled ex-servicemen’s medical care and employment training.⁹⁴ In 1919, the Ministry of Labour (MoL) took over responsibility for retraining, and set up a number of schemes, including the King’s National Roll Scheme, to incentivize employers to hire war-disabled men.⁹⁵ These government initiatives were accompanied by a variety of charitable schemes, including St Dunstan’s Hostel for Blinded Soldiers and Sailors (1914), the Disabled Society (1916), and the Star and Garter Home (1916) which were funded by philanthropists and public donations, and supplemented state medical care, financial provisions, and retraining, and (in the case of St Dunstan’s and the Star and Garter) also offered accommodation for war-disabled men.⁹⁶

A number of scholars have concerned themselves with assessing the relative successes and failures of both state and charitable initiatives for disabled ex-servicemen, and have overwhelmingly determined that the state failed to adequately provide for the

⁹³ Bourke, *Dismembering*, pp. 41-42.

⁹⁴ Bourke, *Dismembering*, p. 43; Anderson, *War*, pp. 46- 47.

⁹⁵ Anderson, *War*, p. 47.

⁹⁶ Anderson, *War*, pp. 47-53.

nation's war-disabled heroes. Ena Elsey and Helen Bettinson, for example, have traced government pensions and state rehabilitation for disabled ex-servicemen (respectively), and have variously determined that both financial provisions and employment schemes were insufficient to meet the 'complex needs' of disabled ex-servicemen.⁹⁷ Deborah Cohen's comparative analysis of state and charitable provisions for disabled ex-servicemen in Britain and Germany has similarly revealed that, whilst 'both countries agreed it was the responsibility of the state' to care for disabled veterans, provisions for disabled ex-servicemen differed dramatically in both nations, and in Britain, the state largely failed to deliver their promise of a 'land fit for heroes', and the 'reintegration of disabled veterans [thus] proceeded primarily through voluntary and philanthropic efforts'.⁹⁸ Meaghan Kowalsky has more recently challenged these claims, and has suggested that the British government, rather, 'discharged' their responsibilities towards disabled ex-servicemen 'effectively'.⁹⁹ According to Kowalsky, state employment schemes such as the King's National Roll Scheme reduced unemployment for these men, and had 'long lasting ramifications for the disabled population as a whole', that fundamentally 'changed governmental' and public attitudes 'surrounding disability'.¹⁰⁰

Further still, a number of scholars, including Julie Anderson, Carden-Coyne, Wendy Gagen, and Seth Koven, have examined the various types of charitable care provided for disabled ex-servicemen, and have drawn particular attention to the ways that charities

⁹⁷ Ena Elsey, 'The Rehabilitation and Employment of Disabled Ex-Servicemen After the Two World Wars' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Teeside, 1994); Helen Bettinson, *'Lost Souls in the House of Restoration?' British Ex-Servicemen and War Disability Pensions, 1914-1930* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 2002), p. 6.

⁹⁸ By contrast, the Weimar Republic prioritised the care of German veterans, who received 'sophisticated retraining', and 'preferential employment' in the post-war period. Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (London: University of California Press, 2001), p. 4, p. 5, p. 7, p. 10.

⁹⁹ Kowalsky, *Enabling*, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ Meaghan Kowalsky, "'This Honourable Obligation": The King's National Roll Scheme for Disabled Ex-Servicemen 1915-1944', *European Review of History*, 14.4 (2007), 567-584 (p. 577, p. 588).

constructed and *reconstructed* disabled ex-servicemen's bodies and social identities according to contemporary notions of masculinity, physicality, and employment. Bourke and Koven completed the earliest research into the various ways that British society coped, and came to terms with, mass-disability after the First World War, and have each identified the restoration of disabled ex-servicemen's masculinity as key factors within these various types of care.¹⁰¹ According to Koven, disablement enacted a loss of masculinity amongst ex-servicemen that was directly tied to their loss of earning potential, and rehabilitative opportunities provided at sites such as Chailey Hospital were intended to restore men's masculine status as 'heads of households, independent wage earners, and fathers' as a way to more broadly 'erase' the destruction of the war and 'restore men's bodies, gendered relations, the economy, and the nation' in the aftermath of the conflict.¹⁰²

Bourke, too, has identified the war as a 'catastrophic', watershed event that 'provoked' a 'crisis' of masculinity' in Britain, and consequently shifted concepts of masculinity, and masculine bodies.¹⁰³ Whilst, as Bourke has revealed, loss of limb in war conferred a heroic, masculine status upon sacrificial soldiers, disability was, in the long-term, a 'feminizing' condition that was exacerbated by men's inability to find gainful employment and 'bring [...] in an adequate wage packet' to support themselves and their families.¹⁰⁴ State pensions and retraining were consequently intended to compensate men for their loss of earning potential and loss of masculinity (according to their specific disabilities), and to 'prepare them for their return to productive labour'.¹⁰⁵

Anderson, Carden-Coyne and Gagen have extended this analysis to more specifically focus on the various ways that state and charitable rehabilitation and retraining

¹⁰¹ Koven, 'Remembering', pp. 1167-1202 (p. 1193).

¹⁰² Koven, 'Remembering', pp. 1167-1202 (p. 1171, p. 1188).

¹⁰³ Bourke, *Dismembering*, pp. 37-38.

¹⁰⁴ Bourke, *Dismembering*, p. 59, p. 74.

¹⁰⁵ Bourke, *Dismembering*, p. 55, p. 65.

physically and culturally reconstructed disabled ex-servicemen's bodies. These accounts have identified that corporeal difference put ex-servicemen's masculine identities at risk because, (as scholars such as Graham Dawson and R. W. Connell have determined,) masculinity is inextricably tied to corporeality, and disabled bodies — which were often incapable of work, or 'normal' physical functioning — were consequently considered 'less masculine'.¹⁰⁶ Carden-Coyne has demonstrated that cultural and medical practices after the First World War reconstructed disabled ex-servicemen's bodies in line with notions of an idealised, classicist-modernist aesthetic that sought to physically shape, and visually represent war-disabled bodies as 'perfect', beautified, and above all, masculine.¹⁰⁷ Gagen's doctoral thesis likewise explores the relationship between masculinity and the body within the context of disablement and rehabilitation after the First World War in Britain, and further complicates this discussion by drawing attention to the ways that social, cultural, and political attempts to aesthetically and economically rebuild war-disabled bodies contrasted disabled ex-servicemen's personal understandings of their own corporeality.¹⁰⁸

Anderson has further investigated 'the culture of rehabilitation' surrounding disabled ex-servicemen after the First World War, and has similarly highlighted the various ways that charities — including St Dunstan's Hostel for Blinded Soldiers and Sailors and the Star and Garter Home — shaped and reshaped war-disabled bodies through sporting activities, which were intended to maintain bodily fitness, enforce discipline, and maintain

¹⁰⁶ Anderson, *War*, pp. 55-56. Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), p. 1. This risk of demasculinization was rooted in what R. W. Connell has termed 'hegemonic masculinity', (or masculinities,) which ascribes a certain set of hegemonic, generally accepted physical and social qualities as masculine, and consequently marginalizes, and subordinates, individuals whose social performance or corporeality does not meet these standards. R.W. Connell, *Masculinities: Second Edition* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), pp. 77-81. See also Butler, *Bodies*; Grosz, *Volatile*; Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagermann and John Tosh (eds.) (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁷ Ana Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body: Classicism, Modernism and the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 4.

¹⁰⁸ Wendy Jane Gagen, *Disabling Masculinity: Ex-Servicemen, Disability and Gender Identity, 1914-1930* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Essex, 2004), pp. 6-7.

‘normative forms of competitive masculinity’ amongst disabled ex-servicemen, and, significantly, reconstructed men’s bodies in line with prevalent notions of embodied masculinity.¹⁰⁹ Anderson, in particular, has focused upon the ways that charitable schemes culturally constructed a heroic, war-disabled identity through popular imagery, discourse, and various activities that publicly displayed ex-servicemen’s reconstructed masculine bodies as evidence of their successful physical training and social reintegration.¹¹⁰

Most significantly for the purposes of this thesis, these accounts have variously identified the First World War as a ‘catalyst’ that ‘increas[ed] the public’s awareness of disabled people’ in Britain, and elicited a broad cultural reimagining of both disability, and disabled bodies.¹¹¹ Although Koven has identified a number of continuities and ‘convergences’ between charitable training for disabled ex-servicemen and pre-war schemes for crippled children, he has nevertheless pinpointed the war as an experience that ‘dramatically redefined the roles’ of both crippled children and disabled soldiers in British society.¹¹² Bourke has likewise demonstrated that the First World War ‘fundamentally altered the *whole* experience of disability’ in Britain, and led to the construction of a distinct war-disabled identity that distinguished disabled ex-servicemen from ‘morally suspect’, impoverished disabled civilians: unlike crippled children and working-class individuals who were disabled through industrial accidents, war-disabled were ‘drawn from the most dependable section of the citizenry — those who had risked

¹⁰⁹ Anderson, *War*, pp. 55-56.

¹¹⁰ Anderson, *War*, pp. 56-65. See also, Julie Anderson, ‘Stoics: Creating Blind Identities at St Dunstan’s 1914-1920’, in *Men After War*, ed. by Stephen McVeigh and Nicola Cooper (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp.79-91.

¹¹¹ Anderson, *War*, p. 42. This research built upon broader scholarship by Paul Fussell, Samuel Hynes, and Arthur Marwick, who have variously viewed the war as a defining cultural event that caused a distinct rupture in British society, and acted as a catalyst that accelerated the process of modernization in Britain. Samuel Hynes, *A War Unimagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London: The Bodley Head Ltd., 1990); Arthur Marwick, *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1986); Paul Fussell, *The Great War in Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹¹² Koven, ‘Remembering’, pp. 1167-1202 (p. 1171, p. 1182, p. 1185).

their flesh for the nation’— and the absence of men’s bodies parts thus positioned these men as *more* deserving of state and charitable support than their disabled counterparts, who consequently suffered widespread cultural neglect in the post-war period.¹¹³ Anderson, too, has identified a clear distinction between social and charitable responses to disabled ex-servicemen and disabled civilians, and has, most notably, identified a ‘hierarchy of disablement’ that not only ‘shifted emphasis away from disabled civilians onto these “more deserving” war veterans, but additionally elevated, and celebrated certain types of war-disabled body as *more* heroic and sacrificial than others.¹¹⁴

This thesis draws upon, and extends, these numerous accounts of disability and conflict, and further complicates this existing analysis by considering the various and complex ways that charitable objects physically and symbolically reconstructed disabled ex-servicemen in the aftermath of the First World War. Most significantly, it expands Anderson’s research to highlight the multifaceted ways that charitable objects contributed to the construction of numerous distinct war-disabled identities in the aftermath of the conflict, and reveals that disabled ex-servicemen’s various relationships with charitable things elevated these men upon a ‘hierarchy of disablement’ that distinguished them from degraded perceptions of disabled civilians. Objects both enabled, and represented disabled ex-servicemen’s skilled capacity for work, materially reconstructed their bodies as strong, efficient things, and mediated countless tangible and social interactions with the nondisabled public that reinserted these men into ubiquitous social rituals, and ultimately separated disabled soldiers from conceptualisations of enfeebled, isolated, and impoverished civilian cripples and blinded beggars.

¹¹³ Bourke, *Dismembering*, p. 15, p. 31, p. 37, p. 45, p. 58, pp. 74-75.

¹¹⁴ Anderson, *War*, p. 8, p. 42.

Locating Material Culture and Conflict: Stuff in Scholarship

Although various disciplinary fields, such as archaeology and anthropology, have long studied material culture as their 'principle source of evidence about the past', only in recent years have scholars begun to define their work 'in terms of the study of things and their relations to persons'.¹¹⁵ From the 1990s, scholars from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds began to reconsider materiality, and assess 'the ways we think about and view the things we make, and their complex and elusive meanings'.¹¹⁶ As an interdisciplinary approach, the study of material culture does not sit within one academic discipline, but, is rather, employed by 'archaeologists, anthropologists, sociologists, geographers, historians and people working in cultural, design, and technological studies', and is particularly (and consequently) prone to constant changes and developments.¹¹⁷ It is thus particularly difficult to trace the development of (what has been termed) 'material culture studies' as a field of scholarly enquiry: as Christopher Tilley has denoted, '[h]aving arisen out of a wide variety of disciplines and research traditions, material culture studies are inevitably diverse. In addition to this, the very idea of materiality itself is heterogenous and ambiguous'.¹¹⁸

The following section does not, therefore, attempt to provide a comprehensive overview of material culture studies — which are too numerous to collate — but, rather, highlights a number of existing studies of conflict, disability, and materiality. Although this thesis is primarily concerned with the cultural history of disability, it draws upon these various anthropological understandings of, and approaches to, conflict materialities and

¹¹⁵ Tilley *et al.*, 'Introduction', p. 1.

¹¹⁶ Saunders, *Matters*, p. 5.

¹¹⁷ Tilly *et al.*, 'Introduction', p. 1.

¹¹⁸ For a comprehensive overview of developments in material culture studies see for example, Tilley *et al.*, 'Introduction' and Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry, 'Introduction: Material Culture Studies, a Reactionary View', in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, ed. by Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 1-24. The term 'material culture studies' was first coined in 1996 in the first issue of the *Journal of Material Culture*. Editorial, *Journal of Material Culture*, 1.1 (1996), 5-14 (p.1). Quote from Tilley, *et. al.*, 'Introduction', p. 3.

conflict bodies. The following review details a number of anthropological accounts that provide a contextual basis for this thesis, and underscores the various ways that this study utilises this scholarship to enrich historical understandings of disability and conflict after the First World War.

As this introduction as so far outlined, scholars such as Appadurai, Hoskins, Miller, and Peter J. Pels have completed a wealth of work in the field of material culture studies, and have broadly identified the significance of material things within human lives, both past and present.¹¹⁹ In recent years, historians, too, have recognised the importance of material culture, and have consequently begun to break down the ‘artifact-document dichotomy’ to consider objects as a rich source of information about the past.¹²⁰ Most significantly for the purposes of this thesis, a number of scholars have drawn attention to the ‘unique intensity’ and significance of conflict materialities, and have highlighted the importance of ‘conflict archaeology’, in ‘interpreting violent twentieth century conflict’.¹²¹ Since the 1990s, scholars from a wide range of disciplinary backgrounds have consequently begun to focus upon the social and cultural meanings of artefacts within the context of modern conflict, and have investigated numerous ‘war-related materialities’, including medals, battlefield landscapes, and war memorials, that existed (or exist,) in a diverse range of temporal and geographic locations.¹²²

¹¹⁹ See for example Daniel Miller, ‘Why Some Things Matter’, in *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter*, ed. by Daniel Miller (London: University College London Press Ltd., 2001), pp. 3-24; Peter Pels, ‘The Spirit of Matter: On Fetish, Rarity, Fact and Fancy’, in *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects and Unstable Spaces*, ed. by Patricia Spyer (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 91-121 (p. 100).

¹²⁰ Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery, ‘Introduction’, in *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, ed. by Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), pp. viii-xvi (p. ix).

¹²¹ J. Schofield, W. Johnson and C. Beck, ‘Introduction: Matériel Culture in the Modern World’, in *Matériel Culture: The Archaeology of Twentieth-Century Conflict* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 1-8 (p. 8).

¹²² Saunders, *Trench Art*, p. 2. See for example, Jody Joy, ‘Biography of a Medal’, in Schofield, Johnson and Beck, pp. 132-142; Birger Stichelbaut and David Crowley, *Conflict Landscapes and Archaeology from Above* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), and William Kidd, ‘The Lion, the Angel and the War Memorial: Some French Sites Revisited’, in Saunders, *Matters*, pp. 149-165.

Paul Cornish and Nicholas Saunders, for example, have undertaken an explicitly anthropological-archaeological approach to the First World War, and have identified a plethora of distinct, and ever-shifting objects, from trees and trenches, to metal shell casings, that both symbolically encapsulate(d), and tangibly represent(ed), the experiences and memories of the conflict.¹²³ This work has, notably, determined that conflict-related materialities are not geographically and temporally restricted to battlefield landscapes, but have a significant, and meaningful 'afterlife', during which the meanings and materialities of these things are continually renegotiated and reshaped according to their social context, and the various human and non-human objects that encounter and are entangled with this stuff.¹²⁴

A number of these accounts have drawn attention to the shifting materialities and cultural meanings of human bodies, which are, like landscapes, weapons, and war memorials, a unique artefactual remnant of modern conflict. Sussanah Callow, for example, has examined 'the importance of bones and body parts' as artefacts within 'the rich and varied materiality of western conflict', that were 'shattered and re-made by modern industrialised warfare' and has revealed that these objects communicate, and encapsulate, numerous 'complex narratives of human experiences and conflict'.¹²⁵ Saunders and Cornish have, likewise, determined that human bodies are 'a distinct kind of war-related material culture' that are fetishized, torn apart, dehumanized, feminised, and memorialized during and after warfare, and additionally become entangled with myriad

¹²³ See for example Nicholas J. Saunders, 'Bodies of Metal, Shells of Memory: "Trench Art" and the Great War Re-cycled', *Journal of Material Culture*, 5.1 (2000), 43-67 and 'Bodies in Trees: A Matter of Being in Great War Landscapes', in *Bodies in Conflict: Corporeality, Materiality and Transformation*, ed. by Nicholas J. Saunders and Paul Cornish (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), pp. 22-38.

¹²⁴ See especially Saunders, *Trench Art*, pp. 3-4.

¹²⁵ Susannah Callow, 'The Bare Bones: Body Parts, Bones, and Conflict Behaviour', in *Beyond the Dead Horizon: Studies in Modern Conflict Archaeology*, ed. by Nicholas J. Saunders (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2012), pp. 29-42 (p. 29, p. 39).

cultural meanings that symbolically mark these bodies as signs of commemoration, grief, heroism, and nationalism.¹²⁶ This was especially apparent during the First World War, which exposed men's bodies 'to a new and deadly range of weaponry spawned by the second industrial revolution' and thus destroyed, and reconfigured, human bodies more obviously than ever before.¹²⁷ Indeed, as Saunders has outlined, 'the war maimed' were — like bullets, machine-guns, tanks, battlefield landscapes, photographs, films, and war memorials — war-related artefacts that were created through human activity, and, most notably, were destroyed and materially remade during the First World War, and 'survived as expressions of "war beyond conflict"'.¹²⁸

Despite the recent proliferation of both disability history and material culture studies — and numerous scholarly examinations of both disabled and nondisabled conflict-bodies — there have been few historical examinations of the relationship between disabled people and stuff, (in either peace or war). Scholarly accounts of disability have tended to neglect material sources in favour of written accounts, or have relegated material culture to the sidelines, and used object-analysis only sparingly, or have approached material items as a way to reinforce broader points. As Katherine Ott has determined, although 'things' are 'essential to the history of how disability is constituted, analyses of such material factors are often only found in footnotes'.¹²⁹

Assistive technologies (and, more specifically, prosthetics,) are the general exception to this rule, and have received much attention from historians of medicine such

¹²⁶ Nicholas J. Saunders and Paul Cornish, 'Introduction', in Saunders and Cornish, *Bodies*, pp. 35-51 (pp.40-44).

¹²⁷ Saunders and Cornish, 'Introduction', in *Bodies*, p. 41.

¹²⁸ Nicholas J. Saunders, 'Material Culture and Conflict: The Great War, 1914-2003', in Saunders, *Matters*, pp. 5-25 (p. 6).

¹²⁹ Katherine Ott, 'Material Culture, Technology, and the Body in Disability History', in *The Oxford Handbook of Disability Studies*, ed. by Michael Rembis, Catherine J. Kudlick, and Kim Neilsen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 125-135 (p. 125).

as Roger Cooter, Ben Curtis, and Steven Thompson (among others,) who have traced developments in prostheses as one aspect of ‘curative’ medical treatment for children, soldiers, and most recently, miners.¹³⁰ In recent years, a number of scholars including Ott, David Serlin, Stephen Mihm, David M. Turner, and Claire L. Jones have expanded upon this medical analysis, and have offered a more nuanced, interdisciplinary approach to the history of prosthetics and disability that views these things as ‘culturally constructed artefacts’.¹³¹ Ott, in particular, has suggested that ‘artificial [body] parts’ should be viewed ‘as social objects with a complex set of meanings in the daily lives of people’ that make up a significant ‘part of vernacular material life’, within the wider histories of disability, and these scholars have consequently embraced a multi-disciplinary approach that encompasses ‘disability studies, histories of the body, medicine, and rehabilitation, histories of technology and engineering, and material culture studies’ to examine the various uses and meanings of prosthetics throughout modern history.¹³²

Ott, Serlin and Mihm’s edited volume, for example, contains a variety of essays that consider the histories of artificial eyes, hips, feet, and breasts, and has highlighted the various ways that ‘the material culture of prosthetics’ is shaped by specific ‘cultural circumstances’, and shifting understandings of disabled bodies.¹³³ A number of further accounts have similarly considered the meaning of prosthetic things within the context of commercial discourse and practices. Turner and Alun Withey, for example, have assessed eighteenth century advertisements for prosthetic products, and have drawn attention to

¹³⁰ Cooter, *Surgery and Society*; Ben Curtis and Steven Thompson, “‘A Plentiful Crop of Cripples Made by All This Progress’: Artificial Limbs and Working-Class Mutualism in the Coalfield, 1890-1948”, *Social History of Medicine*, 27.4 (2014), 708-727.

¹³¹ Anderson and Pemberton, pp. 459-479 (p. 459).

¹³² Katherine Ott, ‘The Sum of its Parts: An Introduction to Modern histories of Prosthetics’, in *Artificial Parts, Practical Lives: Modern Histories of Prosthetics*, ed. by Katherine Ott, David Serlin and Stephen Mihm (London: New York University Press, 2002), pp. 1-44 (p. 2, p. 7); Claire L. Jones (ed.), *Rethinking Modern Prostheses in Anglo-American Commodity Cultures, 1820-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

¹³³ Ott, ‘Sum’, p. 16.

the various ways that companies targeted disabled people as a distinct group of consumers, and consequently shaped understandings of, and preferences for, these things.¹³⁴ Claire L. Jones' edited volume *Modern Prostheses in Anglo-American Commodity Culture*, has likewise drawn attention to the commodification of prostheses in nineteenth and twentieth century Anglo-American culture, and has highlighted the significance of 'company investment' and intellectual property protection as key factors that shaped and reshaped the materiality of prosthetics during this period.¹³⁵

A number of scholars have further examined the impact of the First World War upon both the materialities, and interrelated social meanings of prosthetic things.¹³⁶ Like broader histories of disability, scholarly accounts of prosthetics have typically viewed the First World War as a catalyst, and have revealed that the conflict — and occurrence of mass-disability — inspired 'rapid improvements in design, materials, and techniques for the' use of prosthetic limbs.¹³⁷ Heather R. Perry and Elseph Brown, for example, have examined the impact of the First World War upon limb making and design in First World War Germany and America (respectively), and have each determined that the conflict

¹³⁴ David M. Turner and Alun Whitley, 'Technologies of the Body: Polite Consumption and the Correction of Deformity in Eighteenth-Century England', *History*, 99.338 (2014), 775-796.

¹³⁵ Claire L. Jones, 'Introduction: Modern Prostheses in Anglo-American Commodity Cultures', in Jones, *Rethinking*, pp. 1-24 (pp. 2-3).

¹³⁶ Various scholars have discussed prosthetic limbs as one aspect of broader state and charitable care for disabled ex-servicemen, but have not framed these discussions within a material culture approach. These accounts have typically suggested that the provision of industrially capable, and aesthetically pleasing prosthetic limbs were considered key to returning disabled ex-servicemen's bodily 'normality' in accordance with gendered expectations of masculinity. See for example Bourke, *Dismembering*, p. 43-56. Wendy Gagen, in particular, has assessed disabled ex-servicemen's personal experiences of prosthetic limbs, and examined the various ways that prosthetic technologies altered men's experiences of corporeal difference, and allowed them to reconstitute both their private and public masculinities through the mastery of prostheses, as well as the refusal to use these technologies. Wendy Jane 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), 525-541 (pp. 533-535). See also Julie Anderson 'Separating the Surgical and Commercial: Space, Prosthetics and the First World War', in Jones, *Rethinking*, pp. 158-178.

¹³⁷ Koven, 'Remembering' pp. 1167-1202 (pp. 1193-1196). The impact of conflict upon prostheses is not limited to the First World War: Lisa Herschbach, for example, has similarly demonstrated that the American Civil War, and subsequent disablement of thousands of young, heroic, men, had a significant impact upon the design, and meanings of artificial limbs in the United States. Lisa Herschbach, 'Prosthetic Reconstructions: Making the Industry, Re-Making the Body, Modelling the Nation', *History Workshop Journal*, 44 (1997), 22-57.

dramatically shifted both the tangible forms and cultural understandings of artificial limbs in relation to popular and state conceptions of heroic war-disabled bodies.¹³⁸ Mary Guyatt has similarly traced the development of artificial limb design in Britain during this period, and has revealed that prosthetic technologies were specifically shaped to cater to the needs of heroic disabled ex-servicemen, and subsequently became ‘icons of modernity’, and ‘objects of desire’ that reflected technologically minded social values in this period.¹³⁹ Reznick has offered the most explicitly object-centred approach to the history of artificial limbs in Britain during this period: his analysis of the May 1918 ‘Inter-Allied Exhibition on the After-Care of Disabled Men’ at Westminster Central Hall in London examines the material qualities — or ‘materiality’ — of prostheses, as well as their social and cultural meanings, and particularly highlights the physical interactions between prosthetic limbs and war-disabled bodies.¹⁴⁰ Reznick’s essay concludes that the British display of prostheses at the exhibition conceptualized artificial limbs as ‘the very *matériel* of wartime rehabilitation’ that symbolically and physically ‘mask[ed] the horrors of war’, reconstructed soldiers’ bodies for work, and, furthermore, embodied a nationalistic message of British efficiency and technological power.¹⁴¹

Prosthetics remain among the only objects that have been discussed within historical accounts of disability. Analysis of disability and material culture has consequently concentrated upon embodied ‘medical’ technology or objects that were (and are,)

¹³⁸ Heather R. Perry, ‘Re-Arming the Disabled Veteran: Artificially Rebuilding State and Society in World War One Germany’ in Ott, Serlin and Mihm, pp. 75-101; Elspeth Brown, ‘The Prosthetics of Management: Motion Study, Photography, and the Industrialized Body in World War I America’, same volume, pp. 249-281. For a comparative study of prosthetic limb developments in Britain and Germany after the First World War see Julie Anderson and Heather R. Perry, ‘Rehabilitation and Restoration: Orthopaedics and Disabled Soldiers in Germany and Britain in the First World War’, *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*, 30.4 (2014), 227-251, (p. 240, p. 244).

¹³⁹ Guyatt, pp. 307-325.

¹⁴⁰ Jeffrey S. Reznick, ‘Prostheses and Propaganda: Materiality and the Human Body in the Great War’, in *Matters of Conflict: Material Culture, Memory and the First World War*, ed. by Nicholas J. Saunders (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), pp. 51-61 (pp. 54-59).

¹⁴¹ Reznick, ‘Prostheses’, p. 51.

specifically designed for use by disabled people, and has thus neglected to examine the complex relationships between disabled bodies (in both war and peace), and seemingly mundane, every-day things. Reznick has, to date, completed the only analysis of ‘every-day’ material culture and disabled ex-servicemen after the First World War: his analysis of the philanthropic work undertaken by John Galsworthy during the post-war period adopts an interdisciplinary approach to the history of disability and conflict that uses material culture to unearth the ways that tangible objects, including charity gift books, items produced by soldiers within the context of retraining, and hospital blues, reinforced ‘heroic stereotypes’, and promoted work therapy regimes.¹⁴² Reznick’s work draws particular attention to the things created by disabled ex-servicemen at the LRMW, and demonstrates that popular discourse (and Galsworthy’s writings in particular,) emphasised the ‘restorative power of [these] objects’, and consequently entangled disabled ex-servicemen’s identities as independent, economic breadwinners, with the very objects they created.¹⁴³

Reznick has extended this focus upon ‘mundane’ items within a further essay on the Inter-Allied exhibition, and demonstrates that, alongside prosthetic limbs, the exhibition included a variety of seemingly ordinary items that were created by disabled ex-servicemen in the process of state and charitable retraining, and thus ‘point[ed] to the essential role of *matériel* in the “after-care” of the war-disabled, and, furthermore, positioned various objects as the public personas of the shattered soldiers who created them.¹⁴⁴ Most notably, his essay demonstrates that, in the context of the exhibition, charities such as St Dunstan’s objectified war-disabled ex-servicemen as a display of

¹⁴² Reznick, *Galsworthy*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁴³ Reznick, *Galsworthy*, pp. 34-36.

¹⁴⁴ Jeffrey S. Reznick, ‘Material Culture and the “After-Care” of Disabled Soldiers in Britain During the Great War’, in *Bodies in Conflict: Corporeality, Materiality and Transformation*, ed. by Paul Cornish and Nicholas J. Saunders (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), pp. 219-242 (pp. 220-221).

soldier-patient labour, and also encouraged nondisabled members of the public to purchase numerous items created by these men, and thus play their 'own role in supporting disabled soldiers'.¹⁴⁵

This thesis expands upon these accounts of disability and material culture, and most notably, extends Reznick's research to offer, what is, to date, the only full-length analysis of charity, material culture, and disabled ex-servicemen during the period 1914-1929. Whilst this thesis is primarily historical in nature, it utilises anthropological understandings of objects and materiality as a lens through which to more deeply interrogate disabled ex-servicemen's place within British society. Historical approaches to material culture have been extremely varied, and have ranged from symbolic interpretations of objects as signs, to more literal examination of the physical characteristics and technological workings of historical things, and have variously illuminated both the social functions and uses of innumerable objects and landscapes, as well the numerous and shifting meanings ascribed to these items by the individuals who owned, used, and encountered them.¹⁴⁶ This thesis places objects at the centre of historical analysis to assess how various things 'mediated past ideas and experiences' surrounding disability and charity.¹⁴⁷ Most notably, it draws upon Kopytoff's 'social life of things' to examine the 'social history of objects', and consider how various things — including war-disabled bodies — were both metaphorically and materially shaped by dominant cultural considerations surrounding disabled ex-servicemen and post-war reconstruction.¹⁴⁸ In so doing, it views objects 'as providing

¹⁴⁵ Reznick, 'Material Culture', pp. 225-226.

¹⁴⁶ Lubar and Kingery, p. v, p. xii, p. xiii. See also Karen Harvey, *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), and Richard Grassby, 'Material Culture and Cultural History', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 35.4 (2005), 591-603.

¹⁴⁷ Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 1.

¹⁴⁸ Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 64-94.

historical testimony of diverse kinds', and offers what Ludmilla Jordanova has called 'an integrative' approach to cultural history that brings both written and material evidence together 'meaningfully' to explore both written and 'extralingual' responses to, and understandings of, disability after the First World War.¹⁴⁹ This approach does not prioritise either written or material sources, but, rather, views artefacts as sensual and representational forms of communication that were (and are) both a 'product of history' and 'active agents in history'.¹⁵⁰

By adopting an anthropologically inspired, object-centred approach to cultural history, this thesis poses a variety of questions. Firstly, it interrogates the various meanings and materialities of charitable objects surrounding disabled ex-servicemen in the aftermath of the war. By investigating both popular and charitable discourse, it investigates how and why various things were adopted for charitable purposes, and examines the myriad ways that charitable rhetoric produced the various cultural and political meanings surrounding these objects. More specifically, it draws upon Kopytoff's research to question the ways that charitable objects moved in and out of commodity states, and explore how and why these objects became commodities at different points in their social lives.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, it examines the broader 'social history' of these objects, to interrogate both the dominant cultural meanings and materialities of various things prior to the First World War, and question how these objects were metaphorically and physically shaped (and re-

¹⁴⁹ Jordanova, p. 2. Leora Auslander, 'Beyond Words', *American Historical Review*, 110.4 (2005), 1015-1045 (p. 1017).

¹⁵⁰ Auslander, pp. 1015-1045 (p. 1017).

¹⁵¹ Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 3-64 (pp. 12-17). See also Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', same volume, pp. 64-94.

shaped) by conflict, charitable action, and, most specifically, their various symbolic and physical interactions with disabled ex-servicemen.¹⁵²

Secondly, this thesis poses a number of questions surrounding dominant social and cultural understandings of disability and war-disabled bodies in relation to these objects and the charities that used them. Most broadly, it examines the various ways that the charitable adoption of things, in turn, affected popular understandings of disability and war-disabled bodies according to scholarly notions of embodiment and the historicised body.¹⁵³ Specifically, it investigates the ways that inanimate objects physically interacted with both war-disabled bodies and nondisabled members of the public, and were consequently engaged in public, embodied performances. Further still, this thesis interrogates how charitable objects facilitated physical and cultural relationships between disabled ex-servicemen and nondisabled people, as well as how charitable objects acted as social markers of inclusion within broader British social and cultural life. Most notably, this thesis builds upon Anderson's analysis to investigate how these interactions, activities, and relationships contributed to the 'hierarchy of disablement' between disabled ex-servicemen and disabled civilians in the aftermath of the First World War.¹⁵⁴

Finally, this thesis examines the impact of these relationships upon notions of charity, charitable practices, and social reconstruction. By investigating the ways that charitable objects moved in and out of commodity states, it examines the motivations behind charitable giving to disabled ex-servicemen. Furthermore, by questioning these motivations, it interrogates the impact of charitable objects upon particular charities, and

¹⁵² Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things', pp. 64-94.

¹⁵³ Whilst historical-anthropological accounts of material culture often examine the personal, emotional meanings of objects and their effect upon the identities of their owners, in the case of disabled ex-servicemen, these are particularly difficult to trace. This thesis therefore concentrates upon public understandings of charitable objects – including war-disabled bodies.

¹⁵⁴ Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain: 'Soul of a Nation'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 42.

considers the effect of these object interactions upon a 'hierarchy of charity' that positioned various organisations as more deserving and more socially desirable than others.

In so doing, this thesis reveals that, much like prosthetic limbs, physical and symbolic relationships between charitable items and war-disabled men altered the various meanings and tangible characteristics of numerous 'inert' things, which were renegotiated according to popular conceptualisations of disability and war-disabled bodies. At the same time, these objects both socially and materially reshaped disabled ex-servicemen, and, as Reznick has suggested, acted as 'public personas' of disabled soldiers that evidenced their financial independence, physical capacity for work, and above all, their social reintegration into British society.

Approaching Charitable Things: Fun, Fags, Flowers and Fowl

Like all individuals, disabled ex-servicemen interacted with a wide variety of material things, from orthopaedic instruments and prosthetic limbs, to a diverse array of seemingly mundane items including blue pyjamas, hand-knitted socks, tooth-brushes, and teapots, that both implicitly and explicitly shaped their experiences, and contributed to popular perceptions of disability and war-disabled bodies.¹⁵⁵ Military medical care, for example, adorned and physically intertwined war-disabled bodies with countless objects, including bandages, splints, artificial limbs, and even painted masks that (further) altered disabled ex-servicemen's corporeal forms.

¹⁵⁵ For an outline of 'hospital blues' as material culture see Reznick, *Healing*, pp. 99-115. For an outline of knitted socks, see Marwick, p. 38; Adair Wounded Fund [hereafter AWF], *Programme of Two Hundred and Thirtieth Sunday Entertainment*, Wigmore Hall, London, 15 December 1929, Wigmore Hall Archives, London, UK [hereafter WHA]; AWF, *Programme of Two Hundred and Twenty-Fourth Sunday Entertainment*, Wigmore Hall, London, 20 October 1929, WHA; AWF, *Programme of Two Hundred and Twenty-Sixth Sunday Entertainment*, Wigmore Hall, London, 10 November 1929, WHA; AWF, *Programme of Two Hundred & Seventeenth Sunday Entertainment*, Wigmore Hall, London, 7 April 1929, WHA.

Charitable action, too, brought disabled ex-servicemen into contact with innumerable things. Non-combatant civilians regularly gifted articles to disabled soldiers as a source of comfort and appreciation for their war-services, including money, eggs, flowers, chocolate, gramophones, books, cigarettes, car-rides, boat-trips, and even country gardens. As Chute's account revealed, war-disabled men also interacted with, and created, a variety of objects within the context of charitable employment: men at the LRMW, for example, manufactured a multiplicity of items using specialist, adapted equipment, including dolls, furniture, wooden animals, mosaic puzzles, tumbling toys, and boxes.¹⁵⁶ Material culture also featured prominently, and visibly, within charitable exchanges and fundraising campaigns for the benefit of war-disabled men. Almost every charity set up to care for disabled ex-servicemen sold numerous items, such as flags, lapel pins, flowers, charity gift books, periodicals, and disabled-made products, as a form of fundraising that enabled, and facilitated, retraining, medical care, and 'treats' for the war-disabled. Like 'unbreakable dolls', all of these things had implicit and explicit effects upon disabled ex-servicemen's private and public identities, and were, themselves, materially and symbolically shaped, and reshaped, by their relationships with both charitable organisations, and the war-disabled.

This thesis analyses four things — or collections of things — that were specifically connected to disabled ex-servicemen within the context of charitable action in 1920s Britain. These items are broadly representative of the various object-interactions that disabled ex-servicemen participated in within the context of charitable activities, and vary in both materiality and usage. These are 'leisured' objects, cigarettes, artificial flowers, and eggs. This stuff was particularly pervasive within charitable schemes for war-disabled men,

¹⁵⁶ Chute, p. 22.

and received a wealth of attention within charitable accounts and public discourse. ‘Fun’, ‘fags’, flowers, and fowl, then, left significant traces within the historical record, which makes in depth analysis of their material and symbolic qualities both possible, and all the more pressing.

It is clear that, during the early twentieth century, these particular things were especially embedded within British social and culture life.¹⁵⁷ Nondisabled men, women, and children interacted with many of these ‘ordinary’ items on a day-to-day basis, and were thus implicitly aware of their related cultural meanings, and were therefore arguably all the more sensitive to the shifting materialities and understandings of these things in the context of charitable efforts. Analysis of these objects, notably, sheds light on ‘the commonplace of the past’, and provides insight into the various ways that ‘ordinary people’ ‘behave[d]’, experienced, and understood British society in the aftermath of the war.¹⁵⁸ If anything, these objects were far from ‘ordinary’; as Miller has suggested, it is the very familiarity, and humility of ‘stuff’ that makes it so significant.¹⁵⁹ Things ‘work by being familiar and taken for granted’.¹⁶⁰

As such, these objects were the most common material intersections between disabled ex-servicemen and the non-disabled, non-combatant British public. Leisured things, cigarettes, artificial flowers and eggs facilitated innumerable physical and symbolic interactions between disabled soldiers and nondisabled civilians, and were a familiar point of encounter between these individuals. This occurred both literally — through the physical exchange of objects and (fleeting) material contact between war-disabled and nondisabled

¹⁵⁷ For a discussion of the social and cultural significance of ‘ordinary’ things within everyday domestic life, and the importance of addressing these within scholarship, see for example, Annemarie Money, ‘Material Culture and the Living Room’, *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 7.3 (2007), 355-377.

¹⁵⁸ T. J. Schlereth, ‘Material Culture Studies and Social History Research’, *Journal of Social History*, 16.4 (1983), 111-143 (p. 130).

¹⁵⁹ Miller, *Stuff*, p. 10.

¹⁶⁰ Miller, *Stuff*, p. 10.

bodies — and rhetorically: popular discourse actively depicted these various objects and thus mediated further (indirect,) encounters between disabled ex-servicemen, nondisabled civilians, and charitable items. As this thesis demonstrates, these objects were united by their relationship to disabled ex-servicemen: whilst materially diverse, leisured objects, cigarettes, artificial flowers, and eggs each acted as enabling objects that not only negotiated interactions between these groups, but also embodied charitable values, and materialised the relationships between disabled ex-servicemen and the non-disabled public in tangible form. These seemingly separate objects, then, both reconstructed, reaffirmed disabled ex-servicemen's place within British society in the aftermath of the first world war, and acted together in subtle yet significant ways to forge a distinct war-disabled identity that distinguished the nation's heroic ex-servicemen from degraded disabled civilians.

Indeed, alongside inert things, this thesis relatedly considers war-disabled bodies as a form of material culture, which (like non-human things,) both shaped, and were shaped *by* culture, object-encounters, and human action. As Michael Brian Schiffer has outlined, human bodies, too, are a form of material culture that are both symbolically and materially altered by people and other objects, and thus constitute artefacts in much the same way as manufactured wooden toys.¹⁶¹ For example, human bodies are adorned in clothing, marked with decoration, altered by medical procedures and surgeries, and augmented by prosthetic technology.¹⁶² More subtly, they are 'affected by processes of ageing or development', 'shaped by external factors such as sunlight', and are also physically altered by activities such as rehabilitation and sport.¹⁶³ These features, alongside

¹⁶¹ Michael Brian Schiffer, *The Material Life of Human Beings: Artefacts, Behaviour and Communication* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 24.

¹⁶² Schiffer, p. 24.

¹⁶³ Schiffer, p. 43.

the kinetic movements of human bodies — ‘from facial features to gait’ — ‘affect appearance and thus contribute to the information obtained by observers’, which in turn, conveys information about individuals and shapes their public identities.¹⁶⁴ Like non-human objects, bodies are thus encoded with cultural signifiers of identity such as age, class, and gender that shift in relation to their various social, cultural, and economic contexts, which both physically and socially shift over time.

This is particularly significant with regards to war-disabled bodies, which were, themselves, material artefacts of human conflict. As Saunders has determined, during the First World War the ‘difference between war *matériel* and human beings was elided for the first time in history’; mechanised warfare fragmented human bodies — and was, indeed, *intended* to fragment human bodies — and remade these things in new corporeal forms.¹⁶⁵ Disabled ex-servicemen themselves were, according to Saunders, ‘the most ambiguous and tragic of post-war objects’ and were ‘the ultimate materiality made by war, and one that associated living people with more traditional notions of what constitutes material culture’.¹⁶⁶ As Bourke has determined, the very absence of body parts, too, was a kind of conflict-related materiality that conferred a heroic, masculine status upon these men, and marked their bodies as tangible, patriotic symbols of sacrifice and war-service.¹⁶⁷

It is clear that this understanding of war-disabled bodies was not lost on the nondisabled public: Chute, for example, explicitly conceptualised war-disabled toy-makers themselves as material remnants of the war that embodied and memorialised the destruction of the conflict, and specifically emphasised the physical and emblematic composition of war-maimed bodies as ‘conflict bodies’ that had seen, felt, and been

¹⁶⁴ Schiffer, p. 43.

¹⁶⁵ Saunders, ‘Material Culture’ in Saunders, *Matters*, p. 9, p. 18.

¹⁶⁶ Saunders, ‘Material Culture’, pp. 17-18.

¹⁶⁷ Bourke, *Dismembering*, p. 56.

physically shaped by war. Her account highlighted ‘where they [toy-makers] had been [and] what they have seen before they reached this war-time workshop’ and additionally pointed out that the children’s toys were ‘built and painted by hands that handled guns or tore their way through barbed wire into Hun trenches’, and thus recalled toy-makers’ bodily encounters with the landscapes, and technologies of war.¹⁶⁸ This thesis therefore examines both the cultural meanings, and materialities of certain war-disabled bodies, and, most notably, draws attention to tactile, kinetic movements, gestures, and physical encounters facilitated, and enacted by (and upon,) inert charitable objects, to determine the various ways that these embodied activities both physically shaped war-disabled bodies, and concurrently represented these shattered remnants of the war.

As such, this thesis adopts the term ‘objectification’ to refer to the processes by which objects materially embodied (and communicated) dominant social relations, ideas, values, and identities.¹⁶⁹ As Christopher Tilley has outlined, ‘the concept of objectification may be held to be [...] at the heart of all material culture’; ‘[o]bjectification is the concrete embodiment of an idea’: ‘the idea comes first and becomes realized in the form of a material thing’.¹⁷⁰ Objectification then, offers a framework through which to understand ‘the relationship between objects and subjects’, and, furthermore, goes some way to break down the barriers between these things.¹⁷¹ By considering things as ideas, values, and relations materialised — or, indeed, objectified — this thesis acknowledges that people, too, are ‘socially created’ materialities that are variously experienced through the artefacts (and *qualities* of artefacts) that represent them.¹⁷² In so doing, the notion of

¹⁶⁸ Chute, p. 22.

¹⁶⁹ Christopher Tilley, ‘Objectification’, in *The Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. by Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Kücher, Mike Rowlands, and Patricia Spyer (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2006), pp. 60-73 (p.61).

¹⁷⁰ Tilley, ‘Objectification’, p. 60.

¹⁷¹ Tilley, ‘Objectification’, p. 61.

¹⁷² Tilley, ‘Objectification’, pp. 62-63.

'objectification' goes some way to 'overcome' the traditional 'dualism' 'through which objects and subjects are regarded as utterly different and opposed entities, respectively human and non-human, living and inert, active and passive, and so on', and, rather, [r]eflects an understanding of 'object and subject [as] [...] indelibly conjoined in a dialectical relationship'.¹⁷³ Indeed, as Chapter One of this thesis demonstrates, '[p]eople, too, are objectified through exchanges'; for example, during ceremonies, such as marriage, a person may be objectified during the process of a monetary transaction.¹⁷⁴

To some extent, this thesis considers charitable organisations, too, as conflict-related materialities that were shaped, and reshaped by technological warfare. As Saunders has outlined, 'specialist associations' — such as charities — are also artefactual remnants of war, that 'create and perpetuate different engagements with conflict in its aftermath'.¹⁷⁵ Peter Grants has accordingly revealed that the First World War dramatically amplified voluntary action in Britain, and created approximately 18,000 new charities that both supported the war effort, and attempted to deal with the material (and human) destruction caused by the conflict.¹⁷⁶ A significant number of these charities were especially established to assist the war-disabled: St Dunstan's and the Star and Garter Home, for example, were each founded during the war years with the explicit purpose of providing accommodation, medical care, and employment training for blinded and physically disabled soldiers (respectively).¹⁷⁷ This thesis focuses upon a number of these

¹⁷³ Tilley, 'Objectification', p. 61.

¹⁷⁴ Tilley, 'Objectification', p. 63.

¹⁷⁵ Saunders, 'Introduction', in Saunders, *Matters*, p. 6.

¹⁷⁶ This was, significantly, a 50 per cent increase on the number of charities in existence in the pre-war period. Peter Grant, *Philanthropy and Voluntary Action in the First World War* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p. 3.

¹⁷⁷ As Anderson has outlined, St Dunstan's was established by the National Institute for the Blind, the British Red Cross, and the Order of St John Jerusalem, and was funded by a private donation from a generous (anonymous,) philanthropist in the United States. The Star and Garter was purchased by the Auctioneers' and Estate Agent's Institute in 1916, and was gifted to Queen Mary for the explicit purpose of rehousing disabled ex-servicemen. Anderson, *War*, pp. 49-50, pp. 53-54.

organisations — which were variously established as a direct result of the conflict — and draws attention to the ways that these institutions contributed to a broader reconceptualisation of both disability and charity in this period.

Significantly, many of the objects discussed throughout this thesis were especially ephemeral things. The fleeting interactions between war-disabled bodies and leisured items, for example, were particularly transient, whereas both cigarettes and eggs were intended to be consumed, and ultimately destroyed by human activities. Artificial flowers, too, were generally made from insubstantial materials such as paper or silk, and were thus also temporary things, albeit to a lesser degree. Whilst these objects have not, therefore, endured to the present day, it is nevertheless possible to physically and sensorially engage with ‘charitable objects’ by tracing their ‘social life’ within popular discourse, photographs, and film footage, which expose the materiality, material interactions, and cultural meanings attached to charitable stuff. Newsreel footage and photographs, in particular, captured a variety of transient embodied interactions between disabled ex-servicemen and inert charitable objects, and thus more readily reveal both the ‘thingness’ of charitable objects and war-disabled bodies, and also shed light on the various tangible, embodied, interactions between these groups of things.

This thesis therefore additionally traces the ‘social life’ of charitable objects through written accounts, including press reports, charitable appeals, and institutional journals, all of which were, ‘another, albeit distinctive, form of charitable material culture’ in themselves.¹⁷⁸ (This is especially true of charity gift books and institutional journals, such as the *British Legion Journal*, the *Star and Garter Magazine*, and *St Dunstan’s Review* which were each sold to keep the nondisabled public and disabled ex-servicemen up to date with

¹⁷⁸ Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry, ‘Introduction: The Place of Historical Archaeology’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.1-12 (p. 2).

these various charities, and simultaneously acted as fundraising objects which garnered both monetary funds, and exposure for these various institutions). Alongside analysis of the material qualities of, and interactions between, charitable things, written sources, too, offer valuable information about both the meanings of objects, and the societies within which they existed.¹⁷⁹ As Ludmilla Jordanova and Judith Butler have determined, ‘language is [...] the very condition under which materiality may be said to appear’, and ‘language and materiality are not [therefore] opposed, for language both is and refers to that which is material, and what is material never fully escapes from the process by which it is signified’.¹⁸⁰ Indeed, according to Karen Harvey, analysis of the written accounts surrounding things is ‘one of the most valuable assets that historians can contribute to material culture studies’.¹⁸¹

Whilst the myriad relationships between charity, material culture, and disabled ex-servicemen did not end in the 1930s, the thesis primarily concentrates upon the period from the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, to 1929. As Bourke has outlined, by the 1930s, ‘limblessness had become normalised’, and interest in disabled ex-servicemen slowly waned as members of the public became accustomed to the presence of shattered, war-torn men.¹⁸² Charitable action, (and charitable material culture,) in this period, thus became less voracious, and far less public. Although charities such as St Dunstan’s, the Star and Garter, and the British Legion continued (and continue) to operate for the benefit of these men, these institutions were less widely discussed within popular reports, and are thus both more difficult to trace, and were, arguably, of less interest to the nondisabled

¹⁷⁹ Henry Glassie, *Material Culture* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1999), p. 47.

¹⁸⁰ Butler, p. 31.

¹⁸¹ Karen Harvey, ‘Introduction: Practical Matters’, in Harvey, *History and Material Culture*, pp. 1-23 (p. 11).

¹⁸² Bourke, *Dismembering*, p. 79.

public, who were less receptive to charitable representations of (by-now) familiar war-disabled men.

Furthermore, although disablement in the First World War took on numerous shocking, and horrific forms, this thesis focuses primarily on physical disability, and most notably concentrates upon amputees and blinded soldiers. As Anderson has determined, charitable and state responses to war-disability were not homogenous: charitable methods of assistance differed according to popular understandings of specific impairments, and it is not, therefore, possible to examine these men as a uniform group.¹⁸³ Limblessness and blindness were considered the most severe injuries sustained by soldiers during the First World War, and received the most attention within charitable journals and the popular press, and are thus more accessible within historical records. Further still (like the other, non-human, charitable objects discussed throughout this thesis), physically disabled soldiers were the most visible 'group' of disabled ex-servicemen, within both public sites and popular discourse, and these individuals thus had the most widespread impact upon popular perceptions of disability and war-disabled bodies in the aftermath of the war. Both the charities created to support ex-servicemen with these disabilities, and physically disabled men themselves, were among the most publicly visible remnants of the war: charities such as St Dunstan's and the Star and Garter were especially well funded, and were also supported by prominent members of the Royal family, and were thus particularly well-known by members of the public in this period. The visibly shattered bodies of physically disabled ex-servicemen, too, were among the most shocking, and obvious, material remnants of war in Britain, and thus held particular significance for the

¹⁸³ Anderson, *War*, p. 26.

nondisabled public, who arguably viewed these man as particularly representative of both the destruction, and *reconstruction*, created by both war and charitable action.¹⁸⁴

Consuming and Producing Charitable Objects

Whilst numerous scholars, including David Owen, Jane Lewis, Geoffrey Findlayson, and Matthew Hilton have examined the histories of charitable action and philanthropy in Britain, these accounts have tended to focus upon the administrative and financial organisation of charitable action in relation to emerging state welfare, and have typically considered the early twentieth century as a period of relative charitable decline in comparison to the ‘golden age’ of Victorian philanthropy.¹⁸⁵ This thesis does not grapple with these issues — which have already been explored in detail — but is more concerned with the cultural meanings of charity, and the various ways that charitable discourse and charitable objects represented and materially shaped particular things during the period 1914-1929. It thus primarily draws upon the work of a handful of scholars such as Peter Gurney, Frank Prochaska, Sarah Roddy, Julia Marie Strange, and Bertrand Taithe, who have explored the various motivations behind charitable giving, as well as the numerous fundraising and marketing techniques employed by charitable organisations, and who

¹⁸⁴ Notably, amputation was also the most common injury sustained by soldiers during the First World War. Bourke, *Dismembering*, p. 33.

¹⁸⁵ Matthew Hilton and James McKay (eds.), *The Ages of Voluntarism: How we Got to the Big Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); David Owen, *English Philanthropy, 1660-1990* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); Peter Grant has outlined this general historiographical tendency to view charitable action as entering a period of decline during the twentieth century, and the First World War, and has refuted these claims by illustrating both the proliferation, and importance of charitable organisations during the conflict. Peter Grant, *Philanthropy and Voluntary Action in the First World War: Mobilizing Charity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), pp. 2-3. Jane Lewis, *The Voluntary Sector, the State and Social Work in Britain: The Charity Organisation Society/Family Welfare Association since 1869* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1995); Geoffrey Findlayson, *Citizen, State and Welfare in Britain, 1830-1990* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

have, significantly, highlighted the various uses and meanings of charitable material culture in the late nineteenth century.¹⁸⁶

This thesis is loosely divided into two halves: ‘consuming’ and ‘producing’ charitable material culture. By drawing attention to different objects, or collections of objects, at these varying points in their social lives, this structure highlights varying interactions between disabled ex-servicemen, charities, nondisabled members of the public, and material culture in a variety of contexts. This approach is by no means exhaustive — indeed, the social lives of these objects inevitably extended beyond these two ‘stages’ — this thesis pays particular attention to objects within the ‘stage’ of their ‘social lives’ within which they were *most* visible within popular discourse and public rituals, and thus reflects the ways that members of the able-bodied public were primarily exposed to various charitable things, including war-disabled bodies.

The first half of the thesis — consuming charity — focuses upon the various interactions between disabled ex-servicemen, charitable material culture, and members of the nondisabled public within the context of charitable fundraising and particularly draws upon Roddy, Strange, Taithe and Prochaska’s research to highlight the numerous motivations behind popular benevolence towards the war-disabled to demonstrate that, in the post-war period, the relationships between disabled ex-servicemen, charity, and material culture increased and accelerated the ongoing commercialisation of charity.

As Alan J. Kidd has demonstrated, charitable action is, and has always been, driven by ‘the hope of a return’; ‘[f]undraising has always involved the selling of a product, literally

¹⁸⁶ Peter J. Gurney, ‘“The Sublime of the Bazaar”: A Moment in the Making of Consumer Culture in Mid-Nineteenth Century England’, *Journal of Social History* 40.2 (2006), 385-405; Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London: Faber & Faber, 1988), pp. 69-85; Sarah Roddy, Julie-Marie Strange and Bertrand Taithe, *The Charity Market and Humanitarianism in Britain, 1870-1912* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), pp. 35-58.

and metaphorically'.¹⁸⁷ Throughout history, charitable individuals and philanthropists have been (variously) driven by the desire to improve their religious and moral standing, increase their social status, gain a sense of emotional wellbeing, and partake in various forms of charitably facilitated sociability. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, these 'rewards' were increasingly given and received in tangible forms. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, charitable organisations invented increasingly innovative ways to extract financial donations from the British public.¹⁸⁸ This was, in large part, driven by competition from the sheer number of charitable enterprises vying for money during this period.¹⁸⁹ Fundraising innovations comprised of countless persuasive techniques, including, for example, door to door collections and street fundraising, and additionally included innumerable objects — from subscription forms, to collection boxes and donation plates — that increasingly pervaded public sites and became physical and visual prompts to hand over money.¹⁹⁰

Exchanging charitable material culture was a key aspect of these broader developments in charitable marketing and fundraising. From the 1820s onwards, charitable organisations began to sell an assortment of objects at charitable bazaars — which were variously described as 'fetes' or 'fancy fairs' depending on their specific size and context — and dedicated proceeds from these sales to a multiplicity of charitable causes.¹⁹¹ These occasions were motivated by the success of equivalent commercial developments such as market-places, and grew in popularity throughout the century so that by 1900, 'countless

¹⁸⁷ Alan J. Kidd, 'Philanthropy and the "Social History Paradigm"', *Social History*, 21.2, 1996, 180-192 (185); Margaret Tennant, 'Fun and Fundraising: the selling of charity in New Zealand's past', *Social History*, 38.1, 2013, 46-65 (65).

¹⁸⁸ Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), p. 59.

¹⁸⁹ Prochaska, *Voluntary*, p. 59.

¹⁹⁰ Prochaska, *Voluntary*, pp. 59-68

¹⁹¹ F. K. Prochaska, 'Charity Bazaars in Nineteenth Century England', *Journal of British Studies* 16.2 (1977), 62-84 (p. 62).

stalls in innumerable bazaars [...] [had] raised tens of millions of pounds [...] for causes of every conceivable description'.¹⁹² In the final decades of the nineteenth century, charities further expanded these 'sales' to incorporate a variety of tangible objects, including lapel pins, artificial flowers, and flags, into 'purchase-triggered donations' that reshaped charitable giving into a form of 'ethical consumption', and further enticed members of the public to donate by offering them a tangible objects, which could be displayed, worn, and used, in return for their donations.¹⁹³ Further still, tangible charitable exchanges shifted the meanings and practices involved in charitable action, and increasingly commercialized charity to appeal the desires, and needs, of an increasingly consumer driven society. As Gurney has determined, the bazaar (for example,) 'simultaneously celebrated and mobilized [...] changing consumption practices' and sold the 'latest consumer goods as a way to entice the public to donate.'¹⁹⁴

Material exchanges remained a common method of fundraising throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and raised money for innumerable 'needy' causes, including hospitals, medical charities, schools, missionary societies, church building funds, soldiers' homes, and, notably, crippled and blinded civilians.¹⁹⁵ Charitable sales likewise continued throughout the war, and countless flag days, flower days, and other charitable sales were initiated to raise money for innumerable causes: as Grant has revealed, by 1915, flag days in Leicester alone had raised over £50,000 for various war-related causes.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² Prochaska, pp. 62-84 (p. 62).

¹⁹³ Roddy, Strange and Taithe, *The Charity Market and Humanitarianism in Britain, 1870-1912* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), pp. 42-43.

¹⁹⁴ Gurney, "'The Sublime of the Bazaar'", pp. 385-405 (p. 385, p. 388).

¹⁹⁵ Prochaska, 'Charity Bazaars', pp.62-84 (p. 66); Advertisement, *Tower Hamlets Independent and East End Local*, 30 October 1886, p. 4.

¹⁹⁶ Grant, p. 139.

The first half of this thesis traces the continuation of these charitable 'sales' in the aftermath of the First World War, and examines the ways that charities adopted and adapted this concept — and various every-day items — to garner funds for the deserving war-disabled. Chapters One and Two of this thesis demonstrate that charitable schemes reshaped the various meanings of both commercial entertainment and cigarettes, and positioned these things as charitable products that were sold to the benevolent nondisabled public in exchange for predetermined monetary donations to the war-disabled. Chapter One of this thesis demonstrates that the Adair Wounded Fund (AWF), the Not Forgotten Association (NFA), and the Lest We Forget Association (LWF), each positioned charitable entertainment events as desirable, and fashionable charitable commodities available for purchase, and consequently reshaped leisure and amusement as charitable activities. Chapter Two likewise determines that both wartime charities, and St Dunstan's, reshaped the various meanings of cigarettes, and positioned cigarette consumption, and smoking itself as charitable activities that assisted the deserving war-blind.

Charitable products, such as concerts, theatrical entertainments, and sports days, and charitable cigarettes enticed the nondisabled public to donate in numerous ways: by purchasing tickets to various occasions, or buying charitably branded cigarettes, nondisabled civilians re-paid their 'debt' to disabled ex-servicemen, gained a sense of emotional or physiological pleasure through participating in leisurely activities, and, furthermore, received tangible ephemeral items that could be used and displayed as a symbols of charitable benevolence. Purchasing, smoking, and sharing, charitable cigarettes acted visible, tangible, evidence of smokers' generosity; charitable cigarette packets featured prominent, and familiar St Dunstan's icons, and images of war-blind soldiers, and

thus conspicuously displayed the object(s) of smokers' charity within public smoking rituals, and conferred a benevolent social status upon smokers.

Charitable entertainment events, too, offered nondisabled members of the public access an 'ephemeral', material reward: by purchasing tickets to charitable events, benevolent individuals purchased temporary access to the war-torn bodies of heroic disabled ex-servicemen, who attended innumerable charitable occasions alongside donors, and regularly performed in theatrical fundraising entertainments. For members of the public, escorting and socializing with disabled ex-servicemen acted as a conspicuous display of benevolence. Soldiers' fractured bodies immediately signalled the charitable impetus behind these activities, and, furthermore, offered donors temporary access to material remnants of the war, and thus provided the opportunity for these individuals to stare at, touch, understand, and come to terms with the material destruction of the conflict in the name of charitable action. These various forms of fundraising ultimately rendered both cigarettes, and entertainment events increasingly desirable, and valuable things, and enticed the public to donate to these charities — St Dunstan's, the AWF, NFA, and LWF — above numerous other charitable schemes, and thus socially elevated both these organisations, and the objects they sold.

At the same time, these schemes also reshaped disabled ex-servicemen themselves as charitable consumers. The AWF, NFA, and LWF all variously provided entertainment events for disabled ex-servicemen as a reward for their war service and subsequent corporeal sacrifices, and consequently incorporated these men into a charitable gift exchange with the benevolent public. Members of the public also regularly gifted cigarettes to disabled ex-servicemen at charitable events and institutions, and likewise sought to repay these men for their physical losses with charitable 'smokes'. Most significantly, these activities distinguished disabled ex-servicemen from disabled civilians, who were

considered, lonely, isolated, and miserable, and rather, facilitated a countless physical and symbolic interactions between heroic war-disabled men and nondisabled individuals, who shared fun, entertainment, and cigarettes, and simultaneously incorporate disabled ex-servicemen into 'ubiquitous' social rituals that reinserted these men into wider British social and culture life.

The second half of this thesis focuses upon the production of charitable objects during the context of charitable training and employment for disabled ex-servicemen. Chapter Three traces the various object interactions between war-disabled bodies and artificial flowers at the Poppy Factories in Richmond and Edinburgh, and Chapter Four investigates a variety of interactions between disabled ex-servicemen, charitable eggs, and chickens within the context of both wartime egg collections and post-war poultry training schemes at St Dunstan's and the Star and Garter Home. Whilst these chapters identify a number of continuities between late nineteenth and early twentieth century training schemes for disabled civilians and those undertaken by disabled ex-servicemen in the aftermath of the war, they demonstrate that the Poppy Factories, the National Egg Collection for the Wounded, St Dunstan's, and the Star and Garter Home each variously reshaped the meanings of artificial flowers and eggs to suit the needs of the deserving and heroic war-disabled, and consequently renegotiated concepts of charitable employment altogether and distinguished war-disabled men from pitiful, enfeebled civilian cripples.

Although the Poppy Factories were inspired by similar flower making schemes for crippled children, charitable discourse and practices nevertheless socially and materially reconfigured artificial flowers as complex, materially durable products of modern, industrial Taylorist production, and consequently entangled disabled ex-servicemen's bodies with notions of efficient, masculine production. Poultry training schemes, too, positioned egg production as a technical, modern form of agricultural training, and

simultaneously shaped eggs themselves as important, nutritious foodstuffs that contributed to the British food supply. Like Poppy Factory accounts, popular discourse surrounding these schemes consequently positioned war-disabled poultry farmers as regimented business-men, and strong, rugged agricultural farmers, and, most significantly, suggested that, by producing large numbers of eggs, these men were contributing to the well-being of the nation as a whole.

Disabled ex-servicemen's relationships with artificial flowers and eggs thus further distinguished the war-disabled from conceptions of disabled civilians, who were considered weak, enfeebled, and incapable of skilled work, and simultaneously reconstructed disabled workers as independent breadwinners who were not reliant upon charitable donations. Like entertainment and cigarette donations, these conceptualisations of charitable flowers and charitably produced eggs also reshaped charitable action itself, and positioned the Poppy Factories, St Dunstan's and the Star and Garter (among other poultry charities) as the most worthy charities in this period. By incorporating limbless ex-servicemen into modern, Taylorist-Fordist methods of production, Poppy Factory discourse suggested that these techniques were a successful way to render all disabled bodies useful and efficient for the sake of national production, and consequently positioned the schemes at the forefront of British industry and British charitable action. Egg production, too, conceptualised both disabled ex-servicemen and charitable retraining as broader mechanisms for ensuring national food production, and consequently elevated the social status these charities, disabled ex-servicemen, and poultry farming itself, and revealed that these schemes were more broadly contributing to national reconstruction.

This thesis ultimately reveals that, whilst the shells, bullets, and battlefield landscapes that comprised the First World War tore apart, and remade, soldiers' corporealities in shocking and unprecedented ways, this material transformation

continued in the post-war period, and was facilitated, and enacted, by a plethora of charitable objects that further reshaped war-disabled bodies and rendered them increasingly acceptable, heroic, and above all, 'normal' within the eyes of the nondisabled public.

Part I: Consuming Charitable Material Culture

Chapter 1

'Not Quite Forgotten': 'Fun and Fundraising' for the War-Disabled

Introduction: Leisure, Material Culture, and 'Leisurely Material Culture'

In 1924, the *Hospital and Health Review* reported that, 'on the afternoon of Sunday, March 30th', 'six hundred wounded, blinded, and shell-shocked soldiers, with nine stretcher-cases' crammed into 'the stalls and boxes of the Palladium' theatre in London, and 'rolled out the rousing choruses of the songs of 1914-1918, sung to them once again by seven charming ladies'.¹ According to the report, the event was the 'eighty-fourth of these Sunday entertainments' organised by the Adair Wounded Fund (AWF), which, in the three years since its conception, had hosted 'more than 46,000 men' at similar events around London.² The Fund was established by prestidigitator and businessman, Basil F. Leakey, (better known by his stage name Alan Adair,) 'to provide a few hours distraction and amusement for the men in the London area who were broken by the war' in the form of theatre trips, concert parties, and dances.³ These entertainments were intended to 'brighten' maimed soldiers' apparently 'grey monotonous lives', and remind them that, despite their disabilities, they were 'not quite forgotten' by the nondisabled public.⁴

This sentiment was shared by a variety of charitable organisations in the aftermath of the First World War. During the 1920s, numerous institutions, grassroots efforts, and specialist charities offered leisure and entertainment to disabled ex-servicemen as a way to both improve their supposedly 'miserable' lives, and 'remember' their corporeal

¹ Theodore Reute, 'Sunday Afternoon with the Wounded: Work of the Adair Wounded Fund', *The Hospital and Health Review*, 3.32, May 1924, 135-135 (p. 135).

² Reute, p. 135.

³ Michael Barry, 'The History of the Adair Wounded Fund', *Adair Monthly* [hereafter *AM*], February 1929, p. 9; Reute, p. 135.

⁴ Reute, p. 135.

sacrifices. Alongside the AWF, the 'Not Forgotten' Association (NFA) was established by American-born soprano soloist Marta Cunningham in 1920 to provide 'comfort, good cheer, and entertainment' to hundreds of 'forgotten' disabled ex-servicemen in the London area.⁵ The Lest We Forget Association (LWF) was similarly founded by Ernest W. Whitehead at a public meeting in November the next year, and likewise vowed to 'help the helpless' and 'carry on the spirit of bright sympathy' to disabled soldiers 'who the torrents of war have swept into life's backwaters'.⁶ By 1929, the LWF consisted of five branches in southeast England, including the Kingston and Surbiton (Founder) Branch and, alongside the AWF and NFA, became a regular feature of many disabled ex-servicemen's lives.

Leisurely activities were one of the most pervasive ways through which the nondisabled public encountered, and came to terms with, the influx of disabled ex-servicemen into Britain in the aftermath of the war. Press accounts, newsreel reports, institutional journals, and charitable appeals regularly detailed the various charitable entertainments provided for disabled ex-servicemen, and innumerable events also took place within public locations alongside nondisabled civilians. The March 1924 AWF 'Palladium Concert', for example, was situated in the busy London location of Argyll Street, where passers-by no doubt observed maimed soldiers entering the building, and a further audience of up to 4,400 nondisabled attendees at the 'sold out' 5,000 capacity venue (which was 'packed from floor to ceiling',) participated in the occasion together with war-disabled men.⁷

⁵ Not Forgotten Association, 'Our History and Founder' <<https://www.nfassociation.org/our-history-founder>> [accessed May 2018].

⁶ "'Lest We Forget' Association and its founder', *Folkstone, Hythe, Sandgate & Cheriton Herald*, 19 January 1924, p. 5; First Annual Report of the Lest We Forget Association, 1923, Lest We Forget Association Kingston and Surbiton (Founder) Branch minute books, Kingston Museum and Heritage Service, UK [hereafter KMHS], KX100.

⁷ The capacity of the Palladium at this time was 5,000 people. *Sphere*, 24 December 1910, 4.

Public, and publicised charitable entertainments had a significant effect upon popular understandings of disabled ex-servicemen and war-disabled bodies. As scholars such as Peter Bailey, Peter Borsay, and Mike J. Huggins have demonstrated, during this period, 'leisure was a [particularly] contested cultural space' that exposed and reinforced cultural 'ideas about class, gender, and ethnicity', among other social categories.⁸ Participation in, and consumption of, particular leisure activities was an implicit expression of public and personal selfhood that communicated an array of information about individuals; '[e]ntertainments, whatever their nature, are, [and were] not mere diversions, but [were rather] markers or signifiers of social identity'.⁹ Leisure participation was not merely symbolic, but was also an embodied practice that physically engaged bodies in multiple diverse activities and material encounters. As Rudy Koshar, Michael Haldrup and Jonas Larson have determined, 'leisure culture is constituted [...] by the positioning and manipulation of "things"; 'stuff' shapes locations and situations as 'leisured', and simultaneously informs people's behaviour within these contexts.¹⁰ Leisure itself was (and is,) constituted through physical interactions between bodies (both human and non-human,) geographical locations, and objects.

Charitable leisure thus endowed a variety of meanings onto its war-disabled participants, and simultaneously depended upon physical and symbolic interactions

⁸ Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978); Peter Borsay, *A History of Leisure: The British Experience since 1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp.107-144; Quote from Mike J. Huggins, 'More Sinful Pleasures?: Leisure, Respectability and the Male Middle Classes in Victorian England', *Journal of Social History* 33.3, Spring 2000, 585-600 (p. 585).

⁹ Roger Spalding, 'Introduction: Entertaining Identities?' in *Entertainment, Leisure and Identities*, ed. by Roger Spalding and Alyson Brown (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), pp. 1-8 (p. 1); For example, Brad Beaven has demonstrated that working-class leisure practices during the period 1850-1945 were often specific to age, material wealth, gender, and region. Brad Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working Class Men in Britain, 1850-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

¹⁰ Rudy Koshar, 'Seeing, Traveling, and Consuming: An Introduction', in *Histories of Leisure: Leisure Consumption and Cultures*, ed. by Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg, 2002), pp. 1-26 (p. 19); Michael Haldrup and Jonas Larson, 'Material Cultures of Tourism', *Leisure Studies*, 25.3 (2006), 275-289; See also, Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), pp. 50-51.

between war-disabled bodies and material things that made leisure both ‘happenable’ and ‘performable’.¹¹ Charitable entertainment for disabled ex-servicemen was created by innumerable objects — from automobiles, boats, charabancs, rivers, and country landscapes, to cups of tea, cigarettes, costumes, musical instruments, and even codfish — that shaped the public identities, and materially directed the bodies of the individuals who consumed, and interacted with them (Figure 1.1).¹²



Figure 1.1: Adair Wounded Fund (1928), George Graves Initiating Betty Balfour into the Noble Order of the Codfish

Crucially, war-disabled bodies themselves were essential to the production of charitable recreation: encounters with leisured objects and locations necessitated physical

¹¹ Haldrup and Larson, pp. 275-289 (p. 276).

¹² Koshar, ‘Seeing’, p. 6; See also Janet Hoskins, *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People’s Lives* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 2. Various celebrity performers, including screen actress Betty Balfour were initiated into ‘the order of the Codfish’ by disabled ex-servicemen at AWF events. ‘Bygone Days’, *AM*, August 1929, p. 1. For examples of how leisured objects have historically shaped the gender and class identities of consumers see especially Penny Tinkler, ‘Rebellion, Modernity and Romance: Smoking as a Gendered Practice in Popular Young Women’s Magazines, Britain 1918-1939’, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 24.1, (2001), 111-122; Matthew Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture, 1800-2000: Popular Pleasures* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), and Sean O’Connell, *The Car in British Society: Class, Gender and Motoring*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 37-8.

contact, gestures, and movements, and disabled ex-servicemen consequently enacted and performed myriad 'leisure activities' that intertwined their bodies with a plethora of human and non-human things, including leasured sites, leasured objects, and other human participants. This mutually dependent relationship between leisure and bodies makes charitable recreation a particularly pertinent site through which to examine the materiality of war-disabled bodies, and consider cultural understandings of these things in the aftermath of the First World War.

Despite the social and cultural importance of leisure activities and their related materialities, historical accounts have not yet fully explored the impact of recreation upon popular perceptions of disability and war-disabled bodies. Whilst a number of scholars, including Ana Carden-Coyne and Jeffrey Reznick, have explored leisurely activities for wounded soldiers during the First World War, these accounts have typically viewed recreation as an aspect of physical rehabilitation and bodily recovery within the context of medical care for disabled ex-servicemen.¹³ Both Carden-Coyne and Reznick, for example, have explored social and theatrical entertainments in British 'sites of healing' during the war, and have variously conceptualised these activities as one aspect of military medical regimes that boosted morale and assisted bodily recuperation.¹⁴ Julie Anderson has extended this analysis to highlight the importance of charitable recreation for disabled soldiers, and has similarly drawn attention to the various ways that sporting activities reconceptualised bodily fitness among the war-disabled.¹⁵ Whilst Anderson's account takes

¹³ Mary Ann Devine and Ken Mobily, 'Who Should Inhabit Leisure?: Disability Embodiment, and Access to Leisure', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Leisure Theory*, ed. by Karl Spracken, Brett Lashua, Erin Sharpe and Spencer Swain (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 743-764 (p. 747). Ana Carden-Coyne, *The Politics of Wounds: Military Patients and Medical Power in the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 192; Jeffrey Reznick, *Healing the Nation: Soldiers and the Culture of Caregiving in Britain during the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 65-98.

¹⁴ Carden-Coyne, *Politics*, p. 192; Reznick, *Healing*, pp. 65-98.

¹⁵ Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain: 'Soul of a Nation'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 29-33, p. 29, pp. 55-65.

this investigation one step further, and also examines the various ways that these activities socially reintegrated heroic war-disabled men with the nondisabled public, her analysis has solely focused upon sporting activities and has not fully explored the range of leisurely opportunities provided for disabled ex-servicemen in the aftermath of the war.¹⁶ Further still, although Katy Hamilton has examined AWF events at Wigmore Hall in the period 1921-1938, her analysis concentrates upon the novel theatrical elements of these occasions from a musicological perspective, and does not, therefore, explore the impact of these charitable activities upon popular perceptions of disability and war-disabled bodies.¹⁷

This chapter extends this research to more closely investigate the impact of charitable entertainment upon popular perceptions of disability in the aftermath of the war. It considers leisure as an interchangeably symbolic and material thing: that is to say, it examines entertainment as both a material commodity (or collection of specific interconnected commodities,) that was available for purchase and exchange; a cultural symbol of personal and public identity; and an embodied activity. This approach draws particular attention to the various social values of charitable leisure, and additionally highlights the 'often ambiguous relationships' between war-disabled bodies, objects and social environments within the context of these occasions.¹⁸ Whilst, like the myriad other things discussed throughout this thesis, the ephemeral material objects and war-disabled bodies involved in charitable entertainment no longer exist, this chapter assesses popular discourse and charitable appeals, which offer insight into the cultural meanings and motivations behind this form of charitable action, and additionally incorporates anthropological approaches to material culture by scrutinising film footage and

¹⁶ Anderson, *War*, pp. 29-33, p. 29, pp. 55-65.

¹⁷ Katy Hamilton, "'A Man of Many Hobbies': Alan Adair and the Concerts of the Adair Wounded Fund", *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 63.1 (2016), 33-44.

¹⁸ Peter Freund, 'Bodies, Disability and Spaces: The Social Model and Disabling Spatial Organisations', *Disability and Society*, 16.5 (2001), 689-706 (p. 689).

photographs depicting these activities, which captured a plethora of fleeting tactile interactions between war disabled bodies and other leisured objects in the contest of charitable entertainment.

Although scholars have traditionally viewed leisure as the time free from work, education, religion, and civil life, Peter Borsay has more recently suggested that the boundaries between these cultural categories are often blurred, and it is therefore 'not always possible to distinguish between work and leisure'.¹⁹ For disabled people in particular, defining 'leisure' as the 'time free from work' is especially unhelpful, as these individuals are often excluded from 'normal' employment patterns as a result of their physical differences, and thus personally define, and create leisure in 'different' ways.²⁰ Nor can 'civil life' — in the form of charitable action — be separated from recreational pursuits, as charity itself often acted a form of entertainment, amusement and pleasure for members of the nondisabled public, who regularly used their leisure time in the pursuit of charitable action.²¹

The following analysis does not, therefore, attempt to define or categorise 'charitable leisure', but, rather, adopts a flexible approach to this subject matter that more broadly considers recreation in terms of social interactions and amusement, and, most significantly, analyses the various activities, occasions, and events that were conceived as 'entertainment' by charitable associations explicitly established for this purpose, including the AWF, NFA, and LWF.²² Indeed, 'leisure itself is a highly ambiguous word': as Hugh

¹⁹ P. Borsay, pp. 1-3, p. 2. For an example of this 'traditional' interpretation of leisure see Bailey, p. 6.

²⁰ Cara Aitchison, 'Exclusive Discourses: Leisure Studies and Disability', *Leisure Studies*, 28.4 (2009), 375-386, and 'Young Disabled People, Leisure and Everyday Life: Reviewing Conventional Definitions of Leisure Studies', *Annals of Leisure Research*, 3 (2000), 1-20.

²¹ P. Borsay, pp. 1-3, p. 2.

²² Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c. 1780-1880* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1980), p. 13. As Anne Mary Devine and Ken Mobily have determined, what constitutes leisure for disabled people is a particularly contentious subject, and largely depends on the distinct experiences of the individuals who undertake these various activities. Devine and Mobily, pp. 273-764.

Cunningham has determined, although historical commentators and scholars alike have conventionally differentiated between the terms 'leisure', 'recreation', 'entertainment' and 'amusements', it is unlikely that members of the public generally distinguished activities in this way.²³ This chapter therefore uses these terms interchangeably to acknowledge the ever-fluctuating and non-definable conceptions of 'leisurely' activities.

In so doing, this chapter determines that, in the aftermath of the war, charities conceptualised recreational activities as both a material reward that compensated disabled ex-servicemen for their corporeal sacrifices, and a form of social reintegration that incorporated these deserving men into a key aspect of British social and cultural life and alleviated the supposed misery and isolation inherent in corporeal difference. Leisurely activities mediated a variety of physical and social interactions between disabled ex-servicemen and the nondisabled public, and thus implicitly incorporated disabled ex-servicemen into conceptions of a normal leisured lifestyle, and simultaneously rendered war-disabled bodies visible within popular discourse and public locations. These activities distinguished disabled ex-servicemen from conceptualisations of pitiful, isolated, socially stigmatised disabled civilians, and consequently reinforced heroic notions of these men that further elevated them upon a 'hierarchy of disablement'.

At the same time, entertainment charities conceptualised recreational activities as a commercial product that rewarded members of the public for their benevolent contributions towards these men. The AWF, LWF, and NFA regularly exchanged monetary donations for tickets to extravagant and socially prestigious entertainment events, at which these individuals were both able to conspicuously display their charitable status, and simultaneously enjoy a plethora of leisure activities. This form of fundraising increasingly

²³ Cunningham, p. 13.

incorporated charitable giving into a commercial exchange — or ‘charitable transaction’ — that was not based solely on altruism, but, rather, enticed nondisabled individuals to contribute on the basis that they received a series of tangible and intangible material rewards in exchange for their money. Further still, by exchanging financial donations for access to leisured events such as the AWF Palladium Concert, at which members of the public encountered, and interacted with, disabled ex-servicemen, entertainment charities commodified and objectified war-disabled bodies as charitable objects that could be consumed, enjoyed, and displayed by benevolent nondisabled individuals.

Locating Charitable Recreation and Disability: ‘A Kind of Oyster Existence’

As Hugh Cunningham has suggested, ‘for a historian [...] [leisure] cannot be pinned down to a neat one-sentence definition, for it is precisely the change in its use that is significant’.²⁴ This chapter therefore begins by contextualising the various interrelated understandings of disability, disabled bodies, and leisure prior to the First World War, to more broadly assess the ‘significant’ ‘change[s]’ in the ‘use’ of charitable leisure in this period. Although Bailey and Cunningham, amongst others, have paid particular attention to philanthropic and voluntary interventions in the leisure activities of the urban poor during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, these accounts have not explored specific recreational provisions for ‘needy’ disabled people.²⁵ This section therefore extends this analysis to investigate disabled civilians’ participation — and non-participation — in leisure and social activities during this period. It draws particular attention to popular discourse and charitable appeals surrounding leisure provisions for these individuals, to assess pre-war understandings of disability, and provides a contextual basis through which to assess

²⁴ Cunningham, p. 12.

²⁵ See Bailey and Cunningham.

the motivations behind charitable leisure provisions for disabled ex-servicemen in the aftermath of the First World War.

In so doing, this section demonstrates that, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, disabled people were largely excluded from the 'universal' pursuit of mass-commercial leisure: corporeal difference acted as a social, financial, and physical barrier to full participation in British social and cultural life for many disabled civilians, who did not have the material wealth, nor physical capacity, to access leisured activities and sites there were primarily designed for the nondisabled population. This further reinforced the existing stigma surrounding corporeal difference, and symbolically and materially separated disabled people from the wider nondisabled population as a socially isolated, and supposedly 'pitiful' group. Whilst a variety of charities sought to rectify this sense of isolation through leisure activities, these schemes ultimately reinforced this social segregation: charitable activities located crippled and blind civilians, in particular, among their similarly disabled peers and thus continued to separate these individuals from the wider population, and appeals for financial donations simultaneously described disabled people as pitiful, lonely, and isolated, and thus strengthened prevalent conceptualisations of disability.

As scholars such as James Walvin and Helen Meller have demonstrated, the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a period of significant change in British leisure practices and culture.²⁶ During this period, the 'joint forces of industrialisation and urbanisation' fundamentally altered the 'temporal and spatial patterns' of social and economic life, and gave rise to countless new leisure activities, and leisured 'things'.²⁷ As

²⁶ Cunningham, p. 14, p. 140; H. E. Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), pp. 19-39.

²⁷ Bailey, p. 4; For a comprehensive account of the development of 'leisure culture' in Victorian and Edwardian England see especially James Walvin, *Leisure and Society, 1830-1950* (London: Longman, 1978).

more and more people were incorporated into the industrial, metropolitan workforce, activities usually undertaken within rural locations became increasingly inaccessible to a large portion of the population.²⁸ Furthermore, mechanised production progressively dictated how the labouring classes spent their time, and constrained leisure pursuits to specified intervals from work.²⁹

This new way of life materially altered the ways that people spent their 'leisure time', and necessitated a variety of new leisurely pursuits, locations, and things to cater to the social needs of the British population. The final years of the nineteenth century consequently witnessed 'the establishment of many major forms of mass organised leisure which were to last well into the twentieth century', including outings to parks, zoos, and seaside resorts.³⁰ This shift in material leisure practices was accompanied by a rise in consumerism that increasingly positioned leisure and leisured objects as commercial products to be purchased. During this period, a general rise in real wages, and material wealth, as well as an increasing amount of holiday time, created increased consumer demand for a superior 'range and variety' of leisure pursuits and amplified the market for recreational activities, especially among the working classes.³¹ This led to the rapid enlargement of leisure facilities 'as financiers and entrepreneurs [...] stumbled over each other to give the public what they wanted'.³² This demand was simultaneously accompanied by a proliferation of advertisements for leisure activities that 'disseminated the belief that [leisure] goods and services were indispensable to a better life', and further increased popular desire for these products.³³

²⁸ Meller, pp. 19-39.

²⁹ Bailey, p. 4.

³⁰ Walvin, p. 67.

³¹ Walvin, pp. 64-65.

³² Walvin, p. 62.

³³ Walvin, p. 62.

As Walvin has determined, by the turn of the twentieth century, '[l]eisure as a natural aspiration of life [thus] became a major feature of British society'.³⁴ Theatre and opera tickets, newspapers, magazines, and access to pleasure gardens, fairs, the seaside, and spectator sports such as football were increasingly accessible and desirable to many members of the public, who were now able to pay for entertainment.³⁵ Participation in leisure, and consumption of leisured objects became an implicit symbol of inclusion within a society that increasingly valued and prioritised recreation and leisure time as an essential aspect of British social and cultural life; 'even the poor came to assume that they had a right to leisure and to enjoy the varied delights of the new leisure industries'.³⁶

Despite this conviction, it is clear that recreational participation was not ubiquitous across British society. Various groups were socially and materially excluded from the pursuit of mass commercial leisure on the basis of wealth, social status, age, gender, ethnicity, and corporeal form. Leisure consumption remained largely divided according to material wealth and social status: music halls, association football, and the occasional seaside holiday constituted the major recreational pursuits of the labouring classes, whereas for the well-to-do, the expansion of horse-racing and horse-ownership, hunting, river outings, and international holidays were increasingly accessible and desirable sources of fun.³⁷ For the urban poor, commercial leisure remained largely unreachable. Material constraints ensured that for many impoverished and labouring men, leisure was 'either non-existent or restricted to the local pub', whilst poor women and children primarily relied upon self-created street entertainments.³⁸

³⁴ Walvin, p. 63.

³⁵ Judith Flanders, *Consuming Passions: Leisure and Pleasure in Victorian Britain* (London: Harper Perennial, 2007), p. xvii.

³⁶ Walvin, pp. 62-63.

³⁷ Bailey, p. 2; Walvin, pp. 24-25, pp. 29-30.

³⁸ Walvin, p.31; 'Gendered' bodies, too, were limited to certain leisurely encounters. See for example Rosemary Elliot, *Women and Smoking since 1800* (London: Routledge, 2008).

Disabled people were among those individuals who were largely excluded from consuming popular leisure. As numerous scholars including Anderson, Anne Borsay, and John Welshman have demonstrated, during the Victorian and Edwardian periods, many disabled civilians were among the poorest members of society.³⁹ The reasons for this are extremely complex, however, it is clear that disabled people were ‘at increased risk of poverty’: disabled civilians were more likely to become poor as a result of their corporeal differences, and, furthermore, the existing urban poor were more likely to become disabled as a result of destitution.⁴⁰ Disabling accidents, for example, were most common among industrial workers, who were primarily made up of the labouring-classes, and poor children were also at increased risk of life-changing diseases that caused permanent disability and illness — such as rickets, tuberculosis, and cerebro-spinal meningitis — as a result of poor nutrition and unhealthy living conditions.⁴¹ This was compounded by widespread conceptualisations of disabled people as ‘defective’ and ‘unemployable’ that barred many invalid and crippled individuals from employment, and limited countless disabled civilians to reliance upon begging or poor relief for a meagre subsistence income.⁴² Like the nondisabled poor population, the majority of disabled people were thus financially excluded from ‘the consumer goods and services purchasable by a majority of citizens’, including access to commercial leisure products.⁴³

Moreover, many disabled people were also physically and socially barred from public social activities as a result of their corporeality. For disabled people who were able

³⁹ Anderson, *War*, p. 17, pp. 23-24; A. Borsay, pp. 120-121; John Welshman, *Underclass: A History of the Excluded, 1880-2000* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), p. 24. For discussions of poverty and economic exclusion among disabled people see especially Deborah Stone, *The Disabled State* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985) and Michael Oliver, *The Politics of Disablement* (London: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 78-94.

⁴⁰ A. Borsay, p. 123; Anderson, *War*, p. 17.

⁴¹ Anderson, *War*, p. 23, pp. 17-18.

⁴² Welshman, p. 24; A. Borsay, pp. 24-25.

⁴³ A. Borsay, p. 123.

to afford commercial leisure activities, disabling locations often prevented participation in many 'mainstream' pursuits. As scholars of contemporary disability such as Cara Aitchison and Peter Freund have determined, recreational pursuits are [and were] overwhelmingly set up to cater to nondisabled bodies, and thus disregard[ed] the physical requirements of individuals with corporeal differences', and rendered participation nearly.⁴⁴ Numerous nineteenth and early twentieth century press reports confirmed this, and suggested that disabled people were physically incapable of participation in leisure activities. Disabled children, for example, were reportedly unable to participate in trips to the seaside and country, as they were confronted with numerous difficulties in 'ordinary lodgings'.⁴⁵

Further still, many poor disabled people during this period were often physically restricted from public life within segregated institutions. As Anne Borsay has demonstrated, social policy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century enacted the widespread 'economic and political, social and cultural exclusion' of disabled people from British society.⁴⁶ The Poor Laws, for example, physically confined 'needy' disabled people in workhouses, where 'defective' civilians – including the 'aged', 'infirm', or disabled – were typically separated from nondisabled inmates using 'a system of gates and barriers' to distinguish these two groups.⁴⁷ Educational initiatives likewise segregated crippled, deaf, and blind children within specialist schools and institutions away from their nondisabled peers.⁴⁸ Whilst these policies were intended to assist disabled people, they nevertheless further isolated these individuals from the nondisabled public behind both metaphorical and physical walls, and prevented full participation in many aspects of British social life, including the pursuit of mass commercial leisure activities.

⁴⁴ Aitchison, pp. 1-20; Freund, pp. 689-706.

⁴⁵ 'Daily Guardian Summer Cripple Fund', *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 22 August 1896, p. 5.

⁴⁶ A. Borsay, p. 1.

⁴⁷ A. Borsay, p. 25.

⁴⁸ A. Borsay, p. 25, pp. 94-115.

This physical separation both reflected and reinforced broader social stigmas surrounding disability. As Rosemarie Garland Thomson has revealed, disabled bodies were [and are] marked as ‘othered’, and have historically been ‘stigmatised’ and segregated from public life.⁴⁹ Alongside the material constraints faced by many disabled people, cultural interpretations of disability further contributed to the social isolation of individuals with corporeal differences; many crippled or otherwise abnormal people were separated from leisure pursuits as a result of this social marginalization. In the years preceding the First World War, corporeal difference and deformity were considered ‘ugly’ and unsightly conditions, and individuals with disabilities often hid — or were hidden — from public view, sometimes through choice, but often due to familial shame.⁵⁰ Middle-class children with disabilities, for example, were generally restricted from social activities by their parents, who ‘protected’ them from the public eye, and limited them to the home or garden.⁵¹ Indeed, although many disabled people — and disabled children in particular — did attempt to join in with forms of public amusement and social activities, they were often refused access to games and gatherings by their peers as a result of their physical appearance.⁵²

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the disparity in leisure participation fostered widespread concerns surrounding the recreational pursuits of the urban poor and laboring classes, and led to the emergence of a plethora of charitable schemes that were

⁴⁹ Rosemarie Garland Thomson, ‘Disability, Identity, and Representation: An Introduction’, in *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Disability in American Culture and Literature*, ed. by Rosemarie Garland Thomson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 5-18.

⁵⁰ Gretchen E. Henderson, *Ugliness: A Cultural History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015), p. 14; Steve Humphries and Pamela Gordon, *Out of Sight: The Experience of Disability, 1900-1950* (Plymouth: Northcote House, 1992), p. 42; Rosemarie Garland Thomson, *Staring: How We Look* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 72. For an American perspective on entangled notions of deformity and ‘ugliness’ see also Susan M. Schweik, *The Ugly Laws: Disability in Public* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

⁵¹ Humphries and Gordon, p. 39.

⁵² Humphries and Gordon, p. 40, p. 38.

designed to cater to the leisure requirements of the needy and incorporate them this ubiquitous aspect of British social life. Innumerable schools, voluntary associations, religious societies, local authorities, Sunday schools, and philanthropic donors 'provided amusements and distractions that were in short supply elsewhere, including tea and treats, summer outings [...], football and cricket matches, lantern lectures, musical events [...], Christmas festivities', and 'public parades on festival days'.⁵³

Whilst charitable leisure provisions for crippled and blinded civilians were not nearly as plentiful, nor wide-ranging, as those offered to nondisabled individuals (and children in particular), a number of institutions and organisations also emerged to cater to the leisure needs of disabled civilians in this period. In 1896, for example, the *Nottinghamshire Guardian* established the 'Daily Guardian Summer Cripple Fund' to 'send [...] cripples either to the seaside or into the country for a fortnight during the summer', and in the following year, the *London Evening Standard* also appealed to readers to donate to the 'Little Cripples' Christmas Fund' to provide a day of entertainments and recreation to impoverished crippled children in London.⁵⁴ In July 1906, the 'Leicester Cripples Guild' organised a 'motor picnic' for 'seventy cripples' who were conveyed to Ratcliffe Hall by Leicester Automobile Club, where they were entertained with 'various games' including a coconut shy, and after tea were taken on a 'surprise trip up the river'.⁵⁵

Entertainment for disabled people was not limited to outings, but also included a number of social clubs and opportunities for companionship. For example, the Indigent Blind Visiting Society was established in 1834 (and remained active until the First World War), with the intention of 'visiting the poor blind [to] read them scriptures' and offer them

⁵³ Frank Prochaska, *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 38.

⁵⁴ 'Daily Guardian Summer Cripple Fund', p. 5; 'Crippled Children's Christmas', *London Evening Standard*, 19 November 1897, p. 2.

⁵⁵ 'Leicester Cripples Motor Picnic', *Leicester Daily Post*, 16 July 1906, p. 5.

'pecuniary aid', but also included myriad opportunities for recreation, friendship, and sociability, such as Christmas dinners for 1,000 blind people and their families.⁵⁶ During the early twentieth century, the 'Reading and Recreation Club for the Blind' also offered a variety of activities to sightless individuals in Dundee, including lectures on various subjects such as 'views and impressions of America'.⁵⁷ '[I]n different parts of London "Cripples Parlours"' were likewise established to bring together physically disabled individuals from the metropolitan area; these clubs held weekly meetings 'where all kinds of past-times were introduced', including the formation of some apparently 'quite well-known' choirs.⁵⁸

It is clear that, to a certain extent, charitable leisure provisions in this period were motivated by a belief in recreation as a source of social improvement. As scholars such as Bailey, Cunningham and Walvin have determined, philanthropists and social reformers in this period feared that the 'misuse' of leisure time for mere 'pleasure' and 'amusement' encouraged drunkenness and bawdy behavior, whereas certain (typically middle class,) recreational pursuits had the capacity to improve the lives of the poorest members of society, and transform them into 'useful', moral citizens.⁵⁹ Much like recreational provisions for the nondisabled population, charitable efforts for disabled civilians were, in part, intended to 'rescue' disabled people from supposed degraded and immoral lives. The Blind Visiting Society, for example, used leisure as a vehicle through which to promote religious and moral teaching and education.⁶⁰

However, charitable entertainment and social activities for disabled people additionally reflected, and were inspired by, widespread conceptualisations of disability as

⁵⁶ 'Special Appeal', *Globe*, 27 March 1869, p. 1; 'Christmas Dinners for the Blind Poor', *Globe*, 19 December 1887, p. 8; 'An Appeal', *Globe*, 26 April 1913, p. 4.

⁵⁷ 'Dundee Councillor Lectures on America', *Dundee Courier*, 14 December 1911, p. 4.

⁵⁸ A. F. Ashton and E. F. Young, *British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 205.

⁵⁹ Bailey; Cunningham, pp. 110-139; Walvin, p. 51.

⁶⁰ 'Special Appeal', p. 1.

a socially marginalized and physically isolated condition. Fundraising appeals and charitable accounts emphasised this point, and particularly entangled abnormal, physically incapacitated bodies with notions of both emotional isolation, and material segregation. One 1897 fundraising appeal to raise money for a 'Crippled Children's Christmas' event featured in the *London Evening Standard*, for example, noted, '[t]here are over five thousand little crippled children passing a monotonous existence [...]. Many of them are stretched out on beds of suffering, and are prisoners from year's end to year's end'.⁶¹ In 1907, a request for funds for a similar 'Crippled Children's Christmas' event in Manchester likewise connected disabled children's apparent sense of sadness and suffering to both their physical incapacity, and consequent segregation: according to the *Manchester Courier*, 'being confined to their own homes, these little prisoners of disease [were] unable to share in the school treats provided for other children', and were thus, 'peculiarly cheerless and alone'.⁶²

These reports both reflected and further reinforced widespread conceptualisations of disability as a physical and sensorial barrier to social activity, and suggested that crippled children's corporeal differences physically prevented them from leaving the confines of their homes, and thus rendered them particularly friendless and 'alone'. As Martha Stoddard Holmes has determined, this was a common rhetorical trope surrounding physically disabled individuals in this period, which typically presented people with corporeal differences as inhabiting a state of permanent enforced idleness and confinement, and concurrently ascribed a state of permanent emotional suffering and isolation to these individuals.⁶³ These accounts consequently positioned 'infirm' or

⁶¹ 'Crippled Children's Christmas', *London Evening Standard*, p. 2.

⁶² 'Crippled Children's Christmas', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General*, 2 December 1907, p. 10.

⁶³ Martha Stoddard Holmes, 'Working (with) the Rhetoric of Affliction', in *Embodied Rhetorics: Disability in Language and Culture*, ed. by James C. Wilson and Cynthia Lewiecki (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2001), pp. 27-44 (p. 29).

‘otherwise defective’ bodies as the ‘putative cause of such “affliction”’.⁶⁴ This rhetoric was not limited to crippled individuals, but was also extended to include blind civilians, who were likewise considered especially secluded as a result of their sightlessness. One 1881 report detailing the work of the Indigent Blind Visiting Society suggested that ‘persons afflicted [...] with blindness often passed a listless life through inability to read’, and a similar account published three years later further revealed that many blind people were unable to leave their homes due to lack of assistance and financial means, and thus ‘hid away in cellars and garrets [...], without occupation for mind and body’.⁶⁵ Indeed, during this period, congenitally blind people were thought to live in a permanent state of darkness that predisposed them to loneliness, and rendered these individuals ‘solitary’ and ‘dependent’.⁶⁶

Although these various charitable accounts and fundraising appeals were undoubtedly intended to elicit a sense of sympathy for disabled people, and thus encourage financial donations to various leisurely schemes, they nevertheless reflected existing notions of disability as a socially and physically isolating ‘condition’. Moreover, by rhetorically shaping these individuals as ‘afflicted’, ‘pitiful’, and ‘deprived’, charitable accounts reinforced these particular understandings of disability, and further suggested that disability was inimical to both social leisure activities, and the pleasure and happiness elicited through these pursuits. Indeed, in 1881, the Secretary of the Indigent Blind Visiting Society, named only as Mr Day, revealed that, ‘disadvantage and disability [...] generally

⁶⁴ Stoddard Holmes, p. 29.

⁶⁵ ‘Blind Visiting Society’, *Worcester Journal*, 21 May 1881, p. 3; ‘The Indigent Blind Visiting Society’, *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 13 October 1884, p. 4.

⁶⁶ Julie Anderson, ‘Stoics: Creating Identities at St Dunstan’s 1914-1920’, in *Men After War*, ed. by Stephen McVeigh and Nicola Cooper (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 79-91 (p. 81); William Lawrence, *A Treatise on Diseases of the Eye* (London: John Churchill, 1841), p. 1.

had the effect of promoting a kind of oyster existence', and rendered disabled individuals 'less likely [...] to be an active member of society'.⁶⁷

This isolation was not limited to rhetorical accounts: many of the activities provided for disabled people within the context of charitable action in the early twentieth century also reinforced the wider seclusion of the disabled population. Whilst various clubs, institutions, and charitable events mediated interactions between crippled and blinded individuals that were intended to alleviate their 'monotonous' lives, it is clear that these activities nevertheless continued to hide and restrict disabled people, and disabled *bodies*, from public life. Cripple's Clubs, for example, 'were only for cripples', and thus specifically facilitated social encounters between individuals on the basis of their corporeal differences, and limited physically disabled people to interactions amongst others within similar 'incapacities'.⁶⁸ The Indigent Blind Visiting Society, too, primarily arranged connections between blind people: according to reports, the Society primarily enlisted other non-sighted individuals to read to the blind on the basis that these visitors, 'having passed [...] through the trial of learning to read Braille', were better suited to the task, and would inspire their listeners by bringing them 'hope such as they could not hope to receive from their sighted friends'.⁶⁹

Whilst these various leisurely provisions mediated interactions between disabled people, they nevertheless continued to segregate needy crippled and blinded individuals within isolated spaces, away from the nondisabled public, and even separated charitable recipients into various categories of disability. To some extent, this contributed to the wider social marginalization of the disabled population, and delimited these individuals

⁶⁷ 'Blind Visiting Society', p. 3.

⁶⁸ Humphries and Gordon, p. 44.

⁶⁹ 'Blind Visiting Society', p. 3.

from interactions with the nondisabled public. Indeed, in some cases, the formation of these clubs even rendered these distinct groups of disabled people 'objects of derision amongst the able-bodied' who, Pamela Steve Humphries and Pamela Gordon have determined, targeted Cripple Clubs with 'abuse'.⁷⁰

The activities provided within the context of charitable action were also fairly limited in scope, and did not incorporate disabled people into emerging forms of modern, commercial leisure. The range of activities offered at Cripple Parlours, for example, were 'very narrow', and were often limited to sedentary, indoor pursuits such as playing cards or dominoes, and chatting.⁷¹ Blind clubs, too, generally restricted attendees to inactive, educational activities such as learning to read Braille and Moon.⁷² The range of books offered to blind individuals was similarly limited, and it was apparently 'regretted by some that so large a proportion of [these] were purely religious' and that there were 'so few of general information and amusement'.⁷³ As Humphries and Gordon have further determined, this led some disabled individuals to feel that these secluded sites and unvaried activities were the 'only place' they were 'fit for', and that they 'couldn't have fun anywhere else'.⁷⁴

It is clear that, prior to the First World War, disabled people and disabled bodies were rendered largely absent from the public sites, and were consequently secluded from both the nondisabled public, and restricted from access to leisurely, social activities. This is not to say that disabled people did not partake in social engagement: despite social and financial restrictions, many disabled civilians did participate in self-created forms of leisure and social activity. For example, poor disabled children in the 1900s often made their own

⁷⁰ Humphries and Gordon, p. 44.

⁷¹ Humphries and Gordon, p. 44.

⁷² Young and Ashton, p. 189.

⁷³ Young and Ashton, p. 189.

⁷⁴ Humphries and Gordon, p. 44.

specially adapted toys from found objects to cater to their individual corporeality, including mobility carts, which neighbourhood children pushed them around in.⁷⁵ Children in institutions for the blind and crippled likewise found ways to subvert rules segregating them from one another, and formed social networks, friendships, and even romantic relationships through the use of sign language, letters, and tactile communication.⁷⁶ 'Indigent' crippled and blind street-sellers likewise constructed networks of disabled people in metropolitan areas as a source of sociability and community, and some impoverished disabled adults also enjoyed alcohol consumption as a source of cheap enjoyment.⁷⁷

Charitable action and popular reports nevertheless reinforced widespread understandings of disability as a secluded, and miserable condition, and discursively entangled disabled bodies with derided and negative conceptions of suffering, 'affliction' and above, all loneliness.⁷⁸ Countless popular reports shaped disabled bodies as a barrier to social activity, leisure pursuits, and wider participation in society, and consequently conceptualised disabled bodies as (what Garland Thompson has termed) 'a mark' of exclusion and 'otherness', that reinforced a binary between 'normal' bodies, (which were able to perform leisurely pursuits,) and 'abnormal' bodies, (which were not).⁷⁹ Many of the leisure pursuits provided for disabled civilians further strengthened these associations, and tangibly 'endorsed' the social segregation of disabled people and concealed disabled

⁷⁵ Humphries and Gordon, p. 40, p. 41, p. 38.

⁷⁶ Humphries and Gordon, p. x

⁷⁷ Stoddard Holmes, p. 39. Impoverished crippled individuals reportedly enjoyed alcohol consumption as a source of cheap enjoyment. A number of late nineteenth century newspaper reports recounted 'sad' stories of 'cripples' drinking on the streets – or, in one case, being wrongly mistaken for drunk due to an altered gait that resulted from physical incapacity. 'A Drunken Cripple and His Earnings', *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 2 March 1886, p. 3; 'Drunkenness or a Cripple', *Bedfordshire Times and Independent*, 19 March 1887, p. 7.

⁷⁸ Stoddard Holmes has termed this 'the rhetoric of affliction'. Stoddard Holmes, pp. 27-44.

⁷⁹ Garland Thomson, *Extraordinary*, p. 9, p. 11; Devine and Mobily, p. 751.

bodies from public view.⁸⁰ For many nondisabled individuals, encounters with disabled people were thus primarily facilitated through sparse newspaper reports, or interactions with blinded and crippled beggars on the streets in metropolitan areas.⁸¹

Entertaining the War-Disabled: 'Back into a Condition of Normality'

Leisure provision remained a key concern among charitable associations and philanthropists throughout the First World War.⁸² As scholars such as Peter Grant, Adrian Gregory, and Reznick have revealed, from 1914 onwards, a benevolent patriotic public mobilised to support soldiers in innumerable ways, including the provision of entertainment for soldiers on both the home fighting fronts.⁸³ A number of existing organisations redirected their services towards providing 'comforts' for soldiers: for example, 'the Church Army established more than 800 canteens and recreation rooms on the western front and Italy'; the YMCA had ten such 'huts' 'on the Ypres Salient alone', and voluntary organisations set up hundreds of recreational centres in Britain to provide leisure to soldiers on leave, including canteens that offered free refreshments at train stations.⁸⁴ Leisurely activities also constituted a key feature of many wounded soldiers' lives in British 'sites of caring': as Reznick has revealed, 'recreation in the form of musical activities formed the cornerstone of the standard wartime convalescent regime', and entertainments became a standard feature of life in military hospitals throughout the country.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Devine and Mobily, p. 751.

⁸¹ Garland Thomson, *Extraordinary*, pp. 31-32.

⁸² Adrian Gregory and Arthur Marwick have revealed that philanthropic concerns surrounding the 'correct' use of leisure time persisted, and even grew, during the First World War, especially in relation to alcohol consumption. Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 96-98; Arthur Marwick, *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1986), pp. 62-68.

⁸³ Gregory, *Last*, p. 98; Peter Grant, *Philanthropy and Voluntary Action in the First World War: Mobilising Charity* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 36-37; Reznick, *Healing*, pp. 82-83.

⁸⁴ Grant, p. 87, p.37.

⁸⁵ Reznick, *Healing*, pp. 82-83.

As the introduction to this chapter has outlined, charitable recreation for disabled ex-servicemen also proliferated both during, and after, the conflict. From as early as 1915, institutions such as St Dunstan's Hostel and the Star and Garter Home provided a wealth of leisurely activities to war-disabled men. These ranged from informative lectures to river trips, dances, concerts, and sports days, and also included a plethora of 'indoor' games such as cards and dominos.⁸⁶ Institutional journals were also a prolific source of entertainment for disabled ex-servicemen: the cover of each issue of the *St Dunstan's Review (SDR)*, for example, explicitly noted that the magazine was intended 'for the amusement and interest of men blinded in the war'.⁸⁷

This section explores the various forms of leisure provided for disabled ex-servicemen after the First World War, to investigate both the motivations behind the provision of charitable entertainment and assess the impact of these schemes upon popular perceptions of disability and war-disabled bodies. It pays particular attention to press reports, charitable appeals, institutional journals, and theatrical programmes, and additionally scrutinises photographs and film footage as a lens through which to investigate the (often transient,) interactions between war-disabled bodies and leisured things. Although innumerable grassroots efforts and organised charities were established to provide amusement for disabled soldiers in this period, this section primarily concentrates upon the AWF, NFA, and LWF, which were the most well-publicised, and, therefore, most familiar, 'entertainment charities' for disabled ex-servicemen, and were among the most common ways that nondisabled members of the public encountered war-disabled men.

In so doing, this section demonstrates that, in the immediate post-war period, the AWF, NFA, and LWF were primarily motivated by an enduring connection between

⁸⁶ V. M Duche, *The Spirit of St. Dunstan's* (London: John Murray, 1938), p. 74.

⁸⁷ See for example, *SDR*, 6.75, July 1921, front cover.

corporeal difference and social seclusion, and consequently aimed to alleviate the supposed misery and loneliness faced by war-disabled men. These charities viewed entertainment as both as deserved material reward for heroic and sacrificial disabled ex-servicemen, and additionally shaped leisurely activities as a crucial form of social reintegration that reinserted disabled ex-servicemen into a ubiquitous, 'normal' British social pursuit. Unlike pre-war charitable schemes for pitiful disabled civilians, AWF, NFA and LWF events located heroic war-disabled bodies in public sites alongside nondisabled members of the public, and consequently demarcated these men from needy crippled and blinded civilians, and ultimately, rendered disabled bodies more publicly visible than ever before.

Although there were a number of similarities between recreational provisions for the war-wounded and war-disabled, it is clear that the motivations behind these schemes differed in nature. Whilst (as Reznick and Carden-Coyne have determined,) theatrical entertainments in hospital sites acted as an aid to emotional and physical recuperation, recreational provisions for permanently disabled men were primarily driven by an enduring connection between disability, material segregation, and social isolation.⁸⁸ Unlike the war-wounded, who had the potential to recover from their injuries and return to normal civilian life, disabled ex-servicemen's bodies were irrevocably altered during the conflict, and these heroic individuals were thus considered at risk of physical and social exclusion from British social and cultural life. This was particularly apparent within wartime popular discourse, which regularly warned the public that these men were in danger of being 'forgotten' once the war was over. In his 1918 introduction to *Reveille* — 'a journal devoted to the care, re-education, and return to civil life of disabled soldiers' — author and social reformer John

⁸⁸ Carden-Coyne, *Politics*, p. 162; Reznick, *Healing*, pp. 65-98.

Galsworthy, for example, voiced alarm that, whilst ‘Local Committees and [...] people generally’ were ‘interested now in this great problem’ of disability, this ‘interest’ would ‘rapidly evaporate when the war is over and we are no longer in danger’.⁸⁹ According to Galsworthy, ‘human memory is very short, and gratitude not too long’, and war-disabled men were likely to become ‘lost souls’, left to ‘drift’, ‘hopeless and embittered’.⁹⁰

It is clear that the AWF, NFA, and LWF were primarily motivated by this enduring connection between disability and social isolation. Numerous charitable reports and appeals surrounding the schemes suggested that disabled soldiers, like crippled and blinded civilians, were at risk of being ‘forgotten’ by the nondisabled public. In the preface to the NFA’s charity gift book, *Rosemary* — which was published in 1924 to raise funds for the association — journalist Sidney Low echoed Galsworthy’s sentiments when he noted that, ‘the wise economy of the nature of forgetfulness’ led members of the public to ‘forget’ the war disabled, who were left, ‘in their thousands’ to ‘suffer’ and ‘were a good deal forgotten in the first restless years of peace’.⁹¹ In 1928, the ‘Official Organ of the Adair Wounded Fund’, the *Adair Monthly (AM)*, similarly recounted that

[s]oon after the war finished [...] a reaction set in. Everybody had been surfeited with war and sought relief from the tension in forgetfulness [...] the sight of the wounded became rarer and rarer, and in the absence of the blue coated symbol on our streets came the danger of forgetfulness, even of the wounded themselves.⁹²

⁸⁹ John Galsworthy, ‘The Gist of the Matter’, *Reveille*, 1 (1918), 3-15 (p. 11).

⁹⁰ Galsworthy, pp. 3-15 (p. 11).

⁹¹ ‘Author’s Symposium for the Disabled’, *Aberdeen Journal*, 14 August 1924, p. 2; Sidney Low, ‘Preface’, in *Rosemary*, ed. by F. de Burgh and Walter Stoneman (London: Sampson Low, Martson & Co. Ltd., 1924), pp. vii-xiii (p. vii, p. ix).

⁹² ‘The History of the Adair Wounded Fund’, *AM*, February 1929, p. 9. Seth Koven has identified this desire to ‘forget’ the war, and its related human destruction, as part of a national healing process that involved memorializing soldiers’ corporeal sacrifices, whilst simultaneously ‘forgetting the wounds of the war so that these could begin to close’. Seth Koven, ‘Remembering and Dismemberment: Crippled Children, Wounded Soldiers and the Great War in Britain’, *American Historical Review*, 99.4 (1994), 1167-1202 (p. 1169).

Much like pre-war accounts of lonely and isolated cripples, charitable reports suggested that this (alleged) public propensity for forgetfulness was, in part, driven by the physical segregation of disabled ex-servicemen, which led to an 'absence' of disabled ex-servicemen 'on the streets', and consequently allowed the nondisabled public to 'forget' their existence. According to reports, disabled ex-servicemen, like the civilian disabled, were restricted from leaving the confines of their beds as a result of their disabilities. Low, for example, further explained that many men lay 'paralysed and helpless [...] unable to move hand or foot [...] if they have hands or feet', and were thus limited to 'depressing' hospital wards.⁹³ Press accounts likewise suggested that many ex-servicemen were so severely disabled that they would 'never leave hospital again', and the *AM*, too, revealed that countless war-disabled men 'could not leave their beds'.⁹⁴ Indeed, a number of reports more explicitly evoked a sense of material separation from the rest of society, and even described the very walls that supposedly confined disabled ex-servicemen, and hid them from the wider British population: in 1927, Cunningham wrote an article for the *Monsoon* that depicted disabled soldiers as 'shattered youths', who had nothing but 'the four walls of their houses of pain to greet them', and thus suffer[ed] in silence and loneliness'.⁹⁵

This material seclusion not only restricted men to their beds, but also reportedly separated disabled ex-servicemen from the nondisabled public and reduced them to a permanent state of misery and loneliness. According to Low, disabled ex-servicemen, like crippled and blinded individuals, were 'left', to face 'the march of the slow, long days', ever 'yearning for a new face' or 'a voice from that busy, cheerful world of action for which these

⁹³ Low, p. vii, p. x.

⁹⁴ 'Not Forgotten Association', *Western Daily News*, 18 October 1923, p. 7; 'History of the Adair Wounded Fund', p. 9.

⁹⁵ Marta Cunningham, *Monsoon*, 1927, as in B. D. Bird, *Anyone for Tea?: The History of the Not Forgotten Association, 1921-2001* (London: Not Forgotten Association, 2001), p. 8.

maimed recluses are always hungry'.⁹⁶ These men were unable to even 'stump [...] about with one aluminium leg, or get through life with a steel hook instead of a hand', and could not, therefore, 'stand erect' and 'mingle with their unmaimed fellows'.⁹⁷ LWF publicity, too, revealed that disabled ex-servicemen were 'cut off from the land of the living', and thus even implied that the isolation and suffering caused by disability were akin to death.⁹⁸ In February 1930, a similar LWF appeal likewise suggested that disabled ex-servicemen were 'living lives worse than death, dragging out a painful and weary existence in hospital'.⁹⁹

Whilst AWF, NFA, and LWF discourse was intended to elicit popular sympathy for the war-disabled and encourage public donations, these reports nevertheless reinforced long-held conceptualisations of disability, and represented corporeal difference as a lonely, isolated, and physically secluded condition that tangibly separated disabled ex-servicemen from the outside world, and left them 'dragging out their lives in weary desolation'.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, disabled ex-servicemen's sense of anguish was reportedly even more acute than that of crippled and blinded civilians: charitable appeals suggested that these men were not only forced to endure the physical pain of disablement and emotional suffering elicited by loneliness, but were simultaneously haunted by their traumatic experiences in conflict. The *AM* explicitly positioned disabled ex-servicemen as 'broken' and 'suffering' material remnants of the war, and described these 'poor darlings' as 'ghost pictures of the battlefields, that haunt each bed'.¹⁰¹ By positioning their experiences as an emotional barrier, these descriptions exacerbated popular anxieties surrounding the physical and

⁹⁶ Low, pp. x-xi.

⁹⁷ Low, pp. vii-ix.

⁹⁸ Felix, "'Lest We Forget" Association and its Founder', *Folkestone, Hythe, Sandgate & Cheriton Herald*, 19 January 1924, p. 7.

⁹⁹ 'Adair Monthly', *AM*, September 1928, p. 4; 'Lest We Forget', *Western Morning News*, 15 February 1930, p. 4; Unnamed article, *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 18 February 1930, p. 7.

¹⁰⁰ 'Adair Monthly', p. 4.

¹⁰¹ 'Another Advocate for Peace', *AM*, October 1928, p. 4.

social isolation of war-disabled men, and further separated them from nondisabled civilians, who had not experienced (and could not understand,) the battlefields of war, and whose bodies were (therefore,) physically 'normal'.¹⁰²

For these men, this segregated, miserable lifestyle was unacceptable. As the introduction to this thesis has outlined, disabled ex-servicemen were considered especially deserving of popular support: corporeal loss in battle conferred a particularly heroic status upon these soldiers, and physically marked these individuals as sacrificial, patriotic citizens who were entitled to both state and popular assistance.¹⁰³ The AWF, NFA, and LWF thus conceptualised leisurely activities as both a way to 're-pay' disabled ex-servicemen for their war service — and resultant corporeal losses — and simultaneously remember these heroes, and reintegrate them into 'normal' civilian lives among the nondisabled public. Perhaps most obviously, the nomenclature of both the NFA and LWF explicitly outlined the purposes of these organisations: to ensure that the public did not forget the secluded war-disabled, nor their bodily sacrifices. As the *Pall Mall Gazette* explicitly revealed, entertainment provisions (which were, in this case, arranged by the NFA,) 'give practical proof to the men who are incapacitated permanently that the country has not forgotten the debt still unpaid'.¹⁰⁴

Countless fundraising appeals for the AWF, NFA, and LWF likewise drew attention to men's corporeal losses, and suggested that the public *owed* these men donations of time, money, and leisured items. According to the *AM*, 'the job [of entertaining the war-

¹⁰² As various scholars, including Eric J. Leed and Janet K. Watson have determined, this was a common notion amongst members of the public during the post-war period, and this rhetoric thus arguably exacerbated popular concerns surrounding the marginalization of heroic disabled ex-servicemen. Eric J. Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat & Identity in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 193-214; Janet K. Watson, *Fighting Different Wars: Experience, Memory and the First World War in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 297-311.

¹⁰³ Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), pp. 39-43.

¹⁰⁴ 'The "Not Forgotten" Association', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 14 April 1921, p. 3.

disabled] belonged to each one of us' and 'the care of those broken in battle was the nation's charge'.¹⁰⁵ Low, too, reminded nondisabled donors that 'thousands of brave men [were] broken and suffering to-day because they went out to fight for England in the hour of her need', and consequently urged readers to 'induce their friends' to buy copies of the NFA's charity gift book, and 'to send a subscription or donation to the NFA treasury', as a way to contribute towards recreational events, and thus reward these deserving men for their service.¹⁰⁶

These reports played upon what Eric J. Leed has termed an 'economy of social guilt' that employed a 'language of sacrifice' to pressurise the nondisabled public to contribute to disabled ex-servicemen's social needs on the basis that these men had sacrificed their bodily integrity for the nation.¹⁰⁷ This was particularly obvious in one October 1928 *AM* appeal, which induced the public to subscribe to the journal by reminding them that war-disabled men 'have fought through battles that [they] seldom speak of; they have given their health — and their limbs', and subsequently asked readers, '[w]ill you answer their call as readily as they answered yours?'¹⁰⁸ This article, in particular, evoked a sense of popular responsibility for men's injuries, and suggested that the nondisabled public were in debt to these men. Indeed, the account implicitly positioned monetary subscriptions as direct compensation for soldiers' loss of 'health and limbs', and thus shaped entertainment provision as an exchange that remunerated disabled ex-servicemen for their corporeal sacrifices.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ 'History of the Adair Wounded Fund', p. 9.

¹⁰⁶ Low, p. xii.

¹⁰⁷ Leed, p. 205. Adrian Gregory has demonstrated that this 'economy of sacrifice' similarly encouraged members of the public to assist the war-disabled men through charitable action. Adrian Gregory, *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day 1914-1946* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), p. 109.

¹⁰⁸ 'Make the Fund Known', *AM*, 1.2, October 1928, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ This operated as part as what Marcel Mauss has termed a 'gift exchange' within which 'gifts' are always offered through a sense of obligation that has to be 're-paid' to uphold 'social order'. Marcel Mauss, *The Gift:*

Entertainment not only acted as a form of compensation, but was also intended to alleviate social and physical isolation among disabled ex-servicemen, and reintegrate these individuals into a 'normal' aspect of British cultural life. As this chapter has outlined, by the twentieth century, leisurely activities were considered a ubiquitous aspect of social life that were essential for all members of the public.¹¹⁰ In the post war period, this notion of recreation flourished even further: as a number of scholars, including Stephen G. Jones and Peter Borsay, have demonstrated, '[d]uring the 1920s and 30s there were [further] significant developments in the area of leisure; the post-war period 'witnessed the growth of local cinema and dance halls, and a proliferation of organisations' that 'catered for outdoor recreation'.¹¹¹ Although money wages fell 'in the period after 1920'; 'prices fell at a faster rate', and the majority of the British public thus experienced increased purchasing power, and ultimately, had more money to spend on leisure pursuits.¹¹² At the same time, 'the ending of hostilities in 1918 [...] marked a period in the extension of holidays with pay', and contributed to the demand for activities to fill leisure time.¹¹³

Recreational pursuits were thus considered all the more essential for disabled ex-servicemen, who not only required compensation, but were also considered especially at risk of social marginalisation as a result of their corporeal differences. Publicity material surrounding the AWF, NFA, and LWF explicitly positioned leisurely provisions as a way to successfully reintegrate disabled ex-servicemen into wider British social and cultural life, and simultaneously alleviate the supposed isolation and misery elicited through disability.

Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies, trans. by Ian Cunnison (London: Cohen & West Ltd., 1970), p. 1.

¹¹⁰ Walvin, pp. 62-63.

¹¹¹ Stephen G. Jones, *Workers at Play: A Social and Economic History of Leisure 1918-1939* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), pp. 5-6. See also, Martin Pugh, *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain since 1870* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), pp.225-227.

¹¹² Jones, pp. 12-13.

¹¹³ Jones, pp. 17-18.

Charitable reports reminded nondisabled readers that leisure was a normal aspect of British life that all citizens were entitled to: the LWF, for example, suggested that leisurely outings and entertainments for disabled ex-servicemen 'ensure[d] that [disabled ex-servicemen] were not denied those little treats which most people enjoyed'.¹¹⁴ The *AM*, too, explicitly connected leisurely activities to notions of a normal lifestyle: in 1927, the journal confirmed that the purpose of the AWF (and the journal itself,) was to 'create a large number of opportunities for change of environment, complete distraction and rest for many fellows who require mind and body being brought back to a state of normality'.¹¹⁵

The AWF, NFA, and LWF consequently organised a plethora of leisure activities that were intended to cater for disabled ex-servicemen's need for sociability and amusement and return them to a normal leisured life. These included a variety of outings, theatre trips, river trips, picnics, and hospital entertainments. The NFA, for example, was especially known for regular garden parties, which were held in the grounds of Buckingham Palace, where disabled ex-servicemen were entertained by members of the royal family, including the 'King, Queen, and Princess', as well as voluntary helpers.¹¹⁶ The occasions included games on the lawn, and 'tea in the Royal Riding School' as well as 'musical entertainment[s]' and 'tour[s] of the Royal Mews'.¹¹⁷ According to one newspaper report, the NFA's September 1928 garden party was the '38th' of these events, and by September 1929, the Association had reportedly organised 51 palace parties, each of which catered to approximately 400 men.¹¹⁸ The NFA also arranged regular river trips for disabled ex-servicemen, which were attended by over 500 men per year.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ 'Lest We Forget Association', *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 26 February 1929, p. 5.

¹¹⁵ 'Off We Go', *AM*, 1.1, September 1928, p. 12.

¹¹⁶ "'Not Forgotten" Association', *Gloucester Journal*, 11 September 1926, p. 19.

¹¹⁷ "'Not Forgotten" Association', *Gloucester Journal*, p. 19.

¹¹⁸ "'Not Forgotten" Association', *Gloucester Journal*, p. 19; 'Palace Garden Party', *Northern Whig*, 30 August 1929, p. 6.

¹¹⁹ "'Not Forgotten" Association', *Gloucester Journal*, p. 19.

The LWF, too, were especially known for their various river trips and outings, and held a regular summer excursion to Worthing for disabled ex-servicemen from various hospitals and convalescent homes throughout the southeast of England.¹²⁰ According to reports, the LWF provided various leisurely activities for an 'average' of 'four separate parties of disabled ex-servicemen every four weeks', that gave 'enjoyment [...] to approximately 1,000 men per month'.¹²¹ Alongside jaunts to the seaside, these included various parties for 'disabled ex-soldiers' in local halls and hotels, such as one 'party at the Thames Hotel, East Molesey', arranged by the 'Hampton Court Branch' of the LWF for men from various hospitals.¹²² The AWF offered perhaps the most unique form of amusement for disabled ex-servicemen in the London area. From 1921 onwards, the Fund organised a regular weekly 'entertainment' for disabled ex-servicemen, which took place every Sunday at Wigmore Hall in central London, and featured a plethora of performances, 'from comedians and banjo players to magicians and ventriloquists'.¹²³ Alongside these 'Sunday Socials', the AWF also arranged numerous concerts and performances at prestigious theatres in central London, including the Palladium, the New Scala Theatre, and Clapham Palais de Danse.¹²⁴

These various entertainments and outings differed dramatically from the limited, segregated, recreational provisions offered to disabled civilians prior to the war. Unlike pre-war activities for disabled civilians, the AWF, NFA, and LWF provided regular, systematic entertainment for disabled ex-servicemen, that frequently removed them from the alleged confines of hospitals and convalescent homes and brought them into contact with both public leisure sites and members of the nondisabled population. Significantly, charitable

¹²⁰ "'Lest We Forget" Association', *West Sussex County Times*, 3 August 1929, p. 2

¹²¹ 'Not Forgotten!', *Worthing Gazette*, 18 August 1926, p. 9.

¹²² 'East & West Molesey', *Surrey Advertiser*, 16 March 1929, p. 10.

¹²³ Hamilton, pp. 33-44 (p. 33).

¹²⁴ 'Concert Socials', *AM*, 1.1, September 1928, p. 4.

entertainment catered to the various practical and logistical needs of disabled ex-servicemen in the context of leisurely events, and ensured that men's corporeal differences did not prevent them from partaking in this supposedly 'normal' aspect of British social and cultural life, nor leave them isolated in the 'four walls' of 'depressing' hospitals.

Entertainment charities organised cars, charabancs, and countless volunteers to convey these heroic, shattered individuals to leisured sites throughout the country. The NFA, for example, organised charabancs to transport severely disabled men to various events, including garden parties at Buckingham Palace.¹²⁵ The AWF and LWF similarly hired a number of drivers to transport disabled ex-servicemen to outings, and also appealed to the nondisabled public to loan their cars (and time) to the Fund for this purpose.¹²⁶ In August 1929, for example, the LWF arranged for 'over 50 private cars' for one seaside trip to Worthing, where men enjoyed 'the pier, pavilion, the bandstand, and the picture houses', which were 'free to them during their stay'.¹²⁷ AWF events too, involved numerous volunteer drivers and various benevolent business owners throughout London, who lent their services (and their vehicles) to the Fund, including, 'Messrs Harrods Ltd.'; 'the Vacuum Oil Company Ltd.'; 'Barclay, Perkins and Co. Ltd.'; and 'Oxford University Press'.¹²⁸

These organisations also provided a plethora of leisurely items and activities for disabled ex-servicemen who were unable to attend due to the severity of their injuries. The NFA, for example, organised countless theatrical and musical occasions that took place within hospital sites, such as one August 1928 'Concert at Aberdeen City Hospital', which was 'packed with patients' who 'enjoyed [...] [an] excellent concert' performed by an unnamed band, and were gifted a range of items from 'hampers of fruit' and chocolate, to

¹²⁵ 'Ex-Service Visitors to Buckingham Palace', *Western Morning News*, 2 September 1927, p. 5

¹²⁶ 'Not Forgotten!', *Worthing Gazette*, p. 9.

¹²⁷ 'Our Social Round', *AM*, 1.12, August 1929, p. 12.

¹²⁸ 'Owners of Transport Co-Operating with the Fund', *AM*, 1.4, December 1928, p. 16.

'generous supplies of cigarettes' that allowed them to enjoy further leisurely activities once the concert had ended.¹²⁹ The *AM* likewise published regular appeals for 'books, magazines, gramophone records, wireless sets etc. for men in hospital', and thus ensured that even those ex-servicemen who were unable to attend public outings received various things to cater to their leisurely needs.¹³⁰

These activities ensured that disabled ex-servicemen were exposed to a variety of leisurely pursuits, and were not limited to repetitive social interactions and outdated, uninteresting diversions merely intended to pass the time. In contrast to the often monotonous, sedentary, and isolated activities undertaken by blind and crippled civilians at blind clubs and cripple parlours, charitable organisations offered disabled ex-servicemen a variety of socially desirable, commercial 'divertissements' that were commonly undertaken by nondisabled individuals, and, significantly, were most typically practiced by middle- and upper- class members of the public. Many of the outings and theatrical entertainments provided for disabled ex-servicemen were among the most fashionable leisurely products in this period; men were offered access to prestigious central London sites such as Covent Garden Theatre, the New Scala Theatre, and the Hammersmith Palais de Danse, which was 'the first and most famous' of the '*palais de danses*' in Britain, and was built especially to satiate the popular appetite for dancing in this period.¹³¹

Wigmore Hall, too, played host to a plethora of 'high-ranking' and fashionable artists, and was particularly known for its exclusive and elite clientele of middle- and upper-class theatre goers.¹³² Whilst AWF Sunday Socials were somewhat unusual, and often 'outlandish' in scope, they nevertheless included popular up-and-coming performers, such

¹²⁹ "'Not Forgotten' Association', *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 3 August 1928, p. 3.

¹³⁰ 'S. O. S.', *AM*, 1.4, December 1928, p. 9.

¹³¹ Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England 1918-1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 393.

¹³² Hamilton, pp. 33-44 (p. 38, p. 43).

as 'distinguished operatic soprano' Carey Tubb, 'famous' phonofiddle player Fred Wilson, and comedian George Robey, the latter of whom was one of the most popular, and sought-after, entertainers in this period.¹³³ In March 1923, Robey was even initiated into the prestigious 'Noble Order of the Codfish' by disabled ex-servicemen at Wigmore Hall, where he was carried at shoulder height through crowds of war-disabled attendees preceded by a man 'carrying a large codfish'.¹³⁴ The AWF was also the first 'entertainment charity' to set up cinema visits for disabled ex-servicemen, and thus included the war-disabled in what was 'the most important medium of popular culture in this period', amongst approximately 18 million other British attendees.¹³⁵

This array of popular and fashionable entertainments both offered a series of tangible and intangible rewards to deserving war-disabled men (in the form of tickets, cars, gramophones, amusement, and sociability), and most significantly, immersed disabled ex-servicemen into a 'normal' aspect of British social and culture life: the consumption of mass-commercial entertainment. Indeed, many of these activities, including car trips and cars themselves, were only accessible to middle- and upper- class consumers, and thus not only offered disabled ex-servicemen particularly desirable leisurely things, but also acted as exceptional rewards for these largely working-class men, who would not have otherwise

¹³³ Ross McKibbin has revealed that George Robey was a 'sensation' in the post-war period, and regularly sold out long stints at venues such as the London Hippodrome and Hammersmith Palais de Danse. McKibbin, p. 392.

¹³⁴ 'Concert and Entertainment Notes', *Stage*, 8 March 1923, p. 8. Notably, both the AWF and NFA were established by prestigious entertainers: both Adair and Cunningham were fashionable performers in their own right, and thus had access to entertainment circles, and were able to arrange to most up-to-date performances for disabled ex-servicemen. Adair was a member of the 'Inner Magic Circle' of magicians, and was therefore 'perfectly placed to both organise and find artists'; Cunningham, too, was a renowned soprano who regularly performed at Claridge's and other such prestigious locations before the war, and consequently had a network of performers to call upon when arranging NFA concerts. As Hamilton has determined, it is likely that it was Adair's contacts that allowed him to host 'Sunday Socials' at Wigmore Hall free of charge. Hamilton, pp. 33-44 (p. 35). 'Miss Marta Cunningham', *Globe*, 13 March 1914, p. 12.

¹³⁵ Hamilton, pp. 33-44 (p. 38, p. 43). McKibbin, p. 419. See also A. J. P. Taylor, *English History, 1914-19145* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1965), p. 313.

had access to these things.¹³⁶ Car trips, for example, were an especially valued form of leisure in this period; whilst cars were commonly used for every-day transport during the 1920s, they nevertheless remained ‘prestige symbols’, and thus not only made entertainment materially possible for disabled ex-servicemen, but also immersed them in a particularly desirable and growing form of commercial leisure.¹³⁷

Notably, this range of events also countered popular assumptions surrounding disabled bodies, and revealed that disabled ex-servicemen were physically capable of participating in, and enjoying, a variety of leisurely pursuits. In March 1929 the *AM* revealed that, whilst ‘many people [...] think that dancing was the last thing disabled men would be able to do [...] any questioning doubter [can] see for himself’ that charitable dances are a ‘more than justified [...] innovation’.¹³⁸ A similar St Dunstan’s report recalled that judges at a ‘St Dunstan’s Dance Competition’— during which war-blind men demonstrated their ability to perform ‘the Waltz, the Foxtrot, Saunter, and One-step’ — found it difficult ‘to remember the disability of the competitors, so high was the standard reached in their dancing’.¹³⁹ Although, in some instances, newspaper reports did reveal that the most severely disabled men ‘had to be content with watching’ festivities from ‘garden seats or invalid chairs’, these reports nevertheless separated disabled ex-servicemen from popular notions of corporeal difference as a physical barrier to leisure, and suggested that they were physically capable of enjoying the same pursuits as the wider population.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Charabancs were the possible exception to this rule. As Michael John Law has pointed out, charabancs occupied a particularly complicated social space in this period; whilst they were typically associated with working class recreation, Law has determined that these vehicles gradually became ‘middle-class’ things throughout the 1920s, and by the 1930s, more commonly converged the social classes. Michael John Law, ‘Charabancs and Social Class in 1930s Britain’, *Journal of Transport History*, 36.1 (2015), 41-57.

¹³⁷ Taylor, pp. 302-303; Sean O’Connell, *The Car in British Society: Class, Gender and Motoring, 1896-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 11-42.

¹³⁸ ‘At Cricklewood’, *AM*, 1.12, August 1929, p. 10.

¹³⁹ ‘St Dunstan’s Dance Competition’, *SDR*, 6.64, April 1922, p. 22.

¹⁴⁰ “‘Not Forgotten’ Association, *Gloucester Journal*, p. 19.

Most significantly for the purposes of this chapter, these occasions also physically located war-disabled men within busy public locations, and facilitated countless social and tactile interactions between disabled ex-servicemen, nondisabled members of the public, and countless other things that both symbolically and tangibly delimited heroic war-disabled soldiers from notions of seclusion and misery. Unlike blind clubs and ‘cripple parlours’, post-war leisurely provisions did not separate war-disabled men according to their distinct corporealities, but, rather, provided large scale entertainments for war-disabled men with a variety of permanent injuries. The AWF, and NFA, in particular, facilitated large gatherings between disabled ex-servicemen from a variety of institutions throughout southeast England. The AWF catered to war-disabled men from the Star and Garter Home, St Dunstan’s, the British Legion Poppy Factory in Richmond, Queen Mary’s Hospital, Sidcup (a specialist institution for men with facial injuries), Queen Mary’s Hospital, Roehampton (a specialist orthopaedic unit for amputees,) and a variety of other institutions.¹⁴¹ NFA garden parties, too, brought together disabled ex-servicemen from numerous hospitals and charitable institutions, including St Dunstan’s, Sidcup, and Roehampton, among a variety of other sites.¹⁴² These events included even the most ‘horribly’ disabled men, including inmates from Sidcup, who typically remained ‘in hiding’ as a result of their shocking facial injuries, and thus ensured that even ex-servicemen who were usually ‘shunned by their fellow man’ were incorporated into leisurely interactions amongst their disabled comrades.¹⁴³

Further still, AWF, LWF, and NFA events regularly took place alongside members of the nondisabled public, and thus mediated a variety of sociable and tangible encounters

¹⁴¹ ‘Chart Showing the Principle Hospitals and Institutions from which Patients attend the Fund Weekly Sunday Socials and Other Outings’, *AM*, 1.1, September 1928, p. 5.

¹⁴² “‘Not Forgotten’ Association”, *Gloucester Journal*, p. 19.

¹⁴³ ‘The Queen’s Hospital Sidcup’, *AM*, 2.4, December 1929, p. 5.

between war-disabled men and nondisabled attendees. As the introduction to this chapter has outlined, countless charitable events in this period were open to the public, who attended *en masse* to socialise with these deserving heroes. Sunday Socials at Wigmore Hall, for example, typically included numerous nondisabled guests, volunteers, and ticket-holders: photographs printed in the *AM* attested to the large public attendance at these events, which often included a sea of women in hats sitting amongst war-disabled attendees.¹⁴⁴ NFA and LWF events, too, regularly mediated social interactions between disabled ex-servicemen and members of the nondisabled public. A plethora of generous men and women organised river trips down the Thames and outings to the countryside (among a variety of other leisurely activities) under the auspices of these associations, during which they accompanied disabled ex-servicemen in cars and boats, and countless ladies acted as ‘hostesses’.¹⁴⁵ Charitable encounters between disabled ex-servicemen and nondisabled attendees also notably included countless interactions with members of the royal family, celebrity entertainers, and upper class individuals, including, for example, Betty Balfour, George Robey, the King and Queen, and Princess Mary (who was a patron of the NFA).

According to press reports and charitable discourse, these events mediated meaningful friendships between war-disabled men, nondisabled hostesses, civilian guests, and even members of the royal family. Countless descriptions of charitable occasions suggested that even social activities amongst the most elite members of society were ‘distinguished by the absence of any vestige of formality’, and a plethora of articles described jovial interactions, and even friendships, between the war-disabled and

¹⁴⁴ ‘Our Social Round’, *AM*, 1.4, December 1928, pp. 10-11; ‘Convent Garden Dances’, same issue, p. 14; ‘Correspondence’, *AM*, 1.2, October 1928, p. 18.

¹⁴⁵ See for example, ‘London Letter: Not Forgotten’, *Belfast Newsletter*, 27 July 1929, p. 6.

influential members of British society.¹⁴⁶ At a Christmas party arranged by the NFA, for example, Princess Mary (who was the an official patron of the organisation,) was said to have ‘insisted on pulling crackers with the men, and herself distributing the presents from the tree’.¹⁴⁷ The Princess was then reportedly ‘entwined’ with a plethora of ‘coloured paper streamers’ by the disabled ex-servicemen at the event, who threw the ‘paper “bombs”’ over her ‘head and shoulders’ in a symbol of social intimacy and companionship.¹⁴⁸ At another NFA garden party in the ‘Royal Riding School at Buckingham Palace’, the Duke and Duchess of York were ““snowballed” with cotton wool balls by war-disabled men, and although ‘one shot went close to the Princess’ face [...], she was [nevertheless] amused at the incident’.¹⁴⁹ These accounts implicitly recalled a sense of companionable intimacy between disabled ex-servicemen and nondisabled participants. Snowball fights, cracker-pulling, dancing, sharing cups of tea, and distributing cigarettes all involved myriad gestures and movements that brought disabled and nondisabled bodies into direct connection in the context of leisurely events, and offered supposedly secluded disabled ex-servicemen a sense of ‘tactile gratification’ and physical gesture of friendship and closeness with nondisabled companions.¹⁵⁰

Alongside these rhetorical entanglements, photographs of various entertainment events likewise show the physical proximity between war-blind bodies and nondisabled women during charitable activities.¹⁵¹ Images of St Dunstan’s dances, for example, captured myriad tactile interactions between war-disabled bodies and nondisabled

¹⁴⁶ ‘In a King’s Garden’, *Church Times*, 5 October 1923, p. 375.

¹⁴⁷ ‘Princess Mary and the “Not Forgotten” Association’, *Scotsman*, 22 April 1921, p. 4; ‘Princess Mary in Paper Chains’, *Daily Mirror*, 21 December 1921, p. 2.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Princess Mary in Paper Chains’, p. 2.

¹⁴⁹ ‘The Duchess “Snowballed”’, *Daily Mirror*, 21 December 1927, p. 2.

¹⁵⁰ Constance Classen, ‘Contact’, in *The Book of Touch*, ed. by Constance Classen (Oxford: Berg, 2005), pp. 13-17 (p. 13).

¹⁵¹ St Dunstan’s, photograph of blind ex-servicemen dancing with nondisabled women, Blind Veterans UK Archive, London [hereafter BVUK], loose photos.

women. One such photograph depicts St Dunstaners dancing with nondisabled women in the grounds of the Regent's Park site: whilst many of these women were nurses, who presumably came into contact with disabled ex-servicemen on a daily basis, a further number were, significantly, women visitors, who clutched men's hands and shoulders, and moved in unison with these blinded individuals (Figure 1.2). For blind soldiers, in particular, these gestures were all the more significant, and conveyed a message of friendship. As numerous scholars, such as Ruth Finnegan, have outlined, 'touch is a powerful vehicle in the interactions between human beings', that 'confirms', 'develops', and 'ratifies' human relationships.¹⁵²



Figure 1.2: St Dunstan's (c. 1920s), Blind Ex-servicemen Dancing with Nondisabled Women

These myriad interactions with both benevolent members of the public and elite individuals implicitly separated disabled ex-servicemen from notions of lonely, isolated, disabled civilians, and reinserted them into normal leisurely activities alongside

¹⁵² Ruth Finnegan, 'Tactile Communication', in *The Book of Touch*, pp. 18-26 (p. 18, p. 20, p. 21).

nondisabled members of the public. Unlike cripples clubs, blind visiting societies, and the numerous other segregated recreations offered to disabled civilians, the AWF, NFA, and LWF did not physically separate heroic war-disabled men from the nondisabled public but, rather, mediated and encouraged encounters with nondisabled bodies. Far from the materially isolated, socially derided bodies of disabled civilians, charitable entertainment broke down both the symbolic, and material 'separateness' between war-disabled and nondisabled bodies and acted as a potent symbol of comradeship between these two groups.¹⁵³

To some extent, these familiar interactions and social activities went some way to erase the charitable connections that facilitated these relationships altogether, and, rather, positioned disabled ex-servicemen as honourable guests and friends of nondisabled hostesses and charitable participants. One August 1926 press report, for example, confirmed that 'the "Lest We Forget" Association did not regard its work as one of charity', and one host — the Mayor of Worthing — accordingly 'looked upon' disabled ex-servicemen 'as his guests', and thus separated disabled ex-servicemen from notions of pity, seclusion, and charity altogether.¹⁵⁴

Further still, leisurely activities amongst nondisabled civilians rendered disabled ex-servicemen and war-disabled bodies particularly visible within social, leisured sites. Charitable entertainment events not only provided commercial activities for disabled ex-servicemen, but consequently located these individuals in numerous public locations. As the introduction to this chapter has outlined, AWF events regularly took place on busy London streets, where passers-by witnessed these war-disabled men entering prestigious theatrical sites, such as the London Palladium. British Pathé newsreel footage, for example,

¹⁵³ Finnegan, p. 18

¹⁵⁴ 'Not Forgotten!', *Worthing Gazette*, p. 9.

depicts severely disabled soldiers disembarking from charabancs and cars to attend various London events.



Figure 1.3: British Pathé (c.1914-1918), Wounded Soldiers Visit Hackney

One such film shows a war-disabled man in a wheeled chair being physically lifted from a car by volunteers and placed down on the street so that he may wheel himself into a cinema showing in Hackney, London, as nondisabled passers-by file past the busy scene, and even stand to watch similarly disabled men alight from vehicles (Figure 1.3).¹⁵⁵

Another, similar clip shows disabled ex-servicemen alighting from charabancs on Regent's Street to attend a theatrical entertainment; a number of these men can be seen carrying their more severely disabled comrades from the vehicles and across the street into the theatre, as large numbers of nondisabled individuals file past the vehicle and witness the scene (Figure 1.4).¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ British Pathé, 'Wounded Soldiers Visit Cinema', c.1914-1918, British Pathé Archive [hereafter BPA], Old Negatives, 1809.57

<<https://www.britishpathe.com/video/wounded-soldiers-visit-cinema/query/entertainment+wounded>> [accessed November 2018];

¹⁵⁶ Ministry of Information, 'Matinee at West End Theatre', c.1918, Imperial War Museum [hereafter IWM], Film Collection, 348 <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/1060022826>> [accessed October 2018].



Figure 1.4: Ministry of Information (c.1918), Matinee at a West End Theatre

Unlike entertainment for blinded and crippled civilians, it is thus evident that the leisurely activities rendered disabled ex-servicemen's shattered bodies present, and *see-able* within popular sites. Like broader charitable discourse in the popular press and charitable journals, the presence of these men on the streets in metropolitan areas undoubtedly further reminded the public of the debt that was owed to these men, and, moreover, made disabled bodies more visible, and public than ever before. Indeed, disabled ex-servicemen's 'presence' in the public eye was not limited to physical encounters; publicity material(s), too, rendered disabled ex-servicemen particularly visible in the context of charitable entertainment, and further ensured that the nondisabled public could not 'forget' these men. Newsreel footage of disabled ex-servicemen attending events on Regent's Street and in Hackney (for example,) was seen by a plethora of cinema-goers in this period, and the presence of prestigious members of the royal family at these occasions ensured that war-disabled men were regularly featured in the society pages of

national newspapers, or described among an increasing number of popular 'human interest stories'.¹⁵⁷

These various activities incorporated disabled ex-servicemen into the ever-shifting materiality of public, leisured landscapes, and shaped leisured sites and war-disabled ex-servicemen in relation to one another.¹⁵⁸ According to anthropological readings of landscapes, people are 'made by time and place, just as [people] make them'.¹⁵⁹ As Barbara Bender has illustrated, landscapes are 'never inert', but are essential material sites that are both engaged in, and create, human ritual, 'and are therefore part of the way in which people create and maintain status and identity'.¹⁶⁰ Charitable entertainment rendered this interrelationship particularly clear: by situating disabled ex-servicemen in public sites, charitable action incorporated war-disabled bodies into the leisured landscapes, and consequently 'legitimised' disabled ex-servicemen's 'place' within post-war British society.¹⁶¹ As landscapes that were 'culturally defined' as 'leisured', these sites consequently transferred dominant social values surrounding leisure and sociability onto war-disabled bodies, and thus, in turn, reinserted disabled ex-servicemen into dominant notions of leisured activity and culturally normal social life, and objectified war-disabled bodies themselves as 'leisured' objects.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷ As Adrian Bingham has determined, human interest stories 'dominated' daily newspapers in this period, and thus rendered disabled ex-servicemen all the more publicly 'visible'. Adrian Bingham, *Gender, Modernity and the Popular Press in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), pp. 22-46. See British Pathé, 'Wounded Soldiers Visit Cinema'. As Luke McKernan has outlined, newsreels in this period was 'an institution', and were not only an essential part of cinema-going, but were also shown as part of music hall and variety shows. Luke McKernan, *Topical Budget: The Great British News Film* (London: BFI Publishing, 1922), p. 6.

¹⁵⁸ Barbara Bender 'Introduction', in *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, ed. by Barbara Bender and Margot Winer (Oxford: Berg, 2001), pp. 1-20 (pp. 3-4).

¹⁵⁹ Bender, 'Introduction', p. 4.

¹⁶⁰ Bender, 'Landscape – Meaning and Action', p. 3.

¹⁶¹ Barbara Bender, 'Introduction: Landscape – Meaning and Action', in *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, ed. by Barbara Bender (Oxford: Berg, 1993), pp. 1-18 (p. 2).

¹⁶² Bender, 'Landscape – Meaning and Action', p. 13.

At the same time, charitable activities reshaped the materiality of leisured sites to include disabled bodies. Whilst disabled civilians remained largely absent from these locations, the war-disabled became a visible, tangible aspect of leisurely locations that consequently re-directed public behaviour in these sites. As Miller has outlined, material culture unconsciously shapes human behaviour and advises people how to behave within particular environments.¹⁶³ The presence of disabled ex-servicemen within leisured landscapes accordingly mediated a variety of tactile and visual social interactions with the nondisabled public, who were implicitly 'advised' to interact with the leisurely, war-disabled things in these locations. This is particularly evident at prestigious leisurely sites: for example, at one 'unusual' matinee performance, of 'singing, dancing and reciting' organised by the NFA in 1921, an 'enormous crowd' reportedly 'assembled' the arrival of Princess Mary, a 'guard of honour of invalid soldiers in hospital blue', and a further cohort of 'limbless and otherwise badly maimed men' who were 'carried' into the theatre by 'comrades not so desperately wounded'.¹⁶⁴

Whilst it is clear that popular conceptions of disability as a socially isolated, and materially secluded condition prevailed in the aftermath of the war, 'entertainment charities' such as the AWF, NFA, and LWF nevertheless distinguished heroic war-disabled ex-servicemen from the pitiful civilian disabled, and positioned them as public leisure consumers. By providing a range of fashionable events for these men, charities both reinserted them into popular conceptions of normalcy and sociability that were implicitly tied to leisurely participation, and also conceptualised these often spectacular, and prestigious entertainments as a commercial reward for disabled ex-servicemen's corporeal

¹⁶³ Miller, *Stuff*, p. 78, p. 51.

¹⁶⁴ This encounter was also, notable, mediated by the presence of Princess Mary, who contributed to popular interest in the event, and thus further mediated this particular interaction between an 'enormous crowd' of onlookers and war-disabled guests. 'Princess Mary', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 30 November 1921, p. 4.

sacrifices. Most significantly, AWF, NFA, and LWF events physically removed disabled ex-servicemen from the supposedly 'depressing' confines of hospitals and convalescent homes, and mediated interactions between disabled ex-servicemen and the nondisabled public, and thus further reduced the alleged isolation, and marginalisation, faced by these severely disabled men. Unlike stigmatised and unsightly cripples, who remained hidden away from the nondisabled public within a variety of self-contained social clubs and segregated institutions, charitable action rendered heroic war-disabled men and war-disabled bodies especially visible to members of the nondisabled public. Indeed, as the next section of this chapter demonstrates, concerned members of the public were particularly eager to witness these events, and the disabled ex-servicemen who attended them.

Commodifying War-Disabled Bodies: Objects of Charity

Disabled ex-servicemen were by no means the only individuals who received charitable 'compensation' in this period. Charitable occasions also offered nondisabled attendees a series of tangible and intangible rewards, including social prestige, a sense of well-being, and, most significantly, amusement. This section assesses charitable discourse, newspaper accounts and theatrical programmes to investigate the various motivations behind charitable giving for the war-disabled within the context of charitable entertainment, and draws particular attention to the numerous fundraising events organised by the AWF, NFA, and LWF.

In so doing, this section illustrates the impact of 'fun and fundraising' upon public understandings of disability, war-disabled bodies, and charitable action, and demonstrates that charitable fundraising events contributed to the increasing commercialisation of charitable action during this period. By offering various forms of fashionable entertainment in exchange for donations, charities and institutions for the war-disabled incorporated

charitable giving into a 'commercial transaction' during which donors received a desirable product as remuneration for their financial contributions to the war-disabled. This method of fundraising acted as powerful inducement to donate, and transformed participation in certain types of leisure into a charitable act. Further still, by charging benevolent individuals a predetermined amount to attend various events at which they encountered, accompanied, and even stared at, disabled ex-servicemen, charities also commodified war-disabled bodies as physical remnants of the war to be consumed and enjoyed in the name of charitable action.

As Frank Prochaska has outlined, 'leisure' and 'amusement' have always been an important aspect of charitable action for volunteers and philanthropists alike.¹⁶⁵ For Victorian and Edwardian women, for example, charitable work offered a valuable source of community and sociability, and many women used their leisure time to participate in charitable activities: attending charitable events such as bazaars provided an opportunity for socialisation, gossip, and amusement, and 'broke the monotony of domestic life'.¹⁶⁶ For many benevolent volunteers — such as those engaged in work for the Indigent Blind Visiting Society — 'the weekly round among the poor' was also 'an immense source of pleasure' which gave volunteers a sense of being 'needed' and 'counted upon'.¹⁶⁷ Well-to-do members of the public, too, regularly visited poor neighbourhoods as a source of amusement throughout the second half of the nineteenth century: 'slumming', as this phenomenon was known, appealed to individuals' curiosity and fascination with the urban poor — and, on occasion, offered erotic gratification in the form of voyeurism.¹⁶⁸ As Prochaska has summarised, '[r]espectable entertainments were an integral part of the life

¹⁶⁵ Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse* (London: Faber & Faber, 1988), p. 30, p. 47.

¹⁶⁶ Frank Prochaska, *Voluntary*, p. 30, p. 47.

¹⁶⁷ Prochaska, *Voluntary*, p. 47.

¹⁶⁸ Prochaska, *Christianity*, p. 72; For an in-depth analysis of 'Slumming' see Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004).

of [...] charitable associations', 'diversions' such as bazaars and charitable visiting 'combined duty and recreation in a manner suited to the moral sensibilities of the day'.¹⁶⁹ According to Prochaska, 'this compelling mix of benevolence and entertainment is so deeply rooted in British community life that it largely goes unnoticed, and is often taken for granted even by those charities which are its beneficiaries'.¹⁷⁰

Whilst much of the enjoyment derived from charity was casual and 'unofficial', during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, charitable organisations increasingly formalised the sense of amusement elicited through donations and voluntary action. Countless charities adopted leisurely fundraising techniques to meet the growing demand for organised entertainment in this period, and thus ensure that charitable action remained relevant and appealing to members of the public.¹⁷¹ During the final decades of the nineteenth century, 'fancy fairs', bazaars, and 'ladies sales', combined leisurely shopping with theatrical performances and displays, so that many such events 'resembled a carnival more than a marketplace'.¹⁷² Whilst making their purchases, charitable shoppers could also witness 'palmists and character readers, wild animals, poets, authors, actors [...], magicians, [and] children in fancy dress'.¹⁷³ Charities for disabled civilians also notably incorporated 'fun' into fundraising efforts. For example, at one bazaar dedicated to 'provid[ing] funds to give a tea and entertainment to little crippled children', shoppers enjoyed a 'shooting gallery', a 'fortune teller', 'pianoforte solos' and a display of "'wonderful winking, blinking, midgets'", alongside displays of flags, bunting, 'and a large

¹⁶⁹ Prochaska, *Voluntary*, p. 63.

¹⁷⁰ Prochaska, *Voluntary*, p. 63.

¹⁷¹ Prochaska, *Voluntary*, p. 63.

¹⁷² Frank Prochaska, 'Charity Bazaars in Nineteenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies*, 16.2 (1977), 66-84 (p. 73, p. 74).

¹⁷³ Prochaska, 'Charity Bazaars', pp. 66-84 (p. 74).

number of Japanese and Chinese lanterns' that added bonus amusements to their browsing experience.¹⁷⁴

Fetes and bazaars were not the only charitable entertainment that proliferated throughout this period. These occasions were accompanied by the growth of charity balls, concerts, and cruises, which likewise offered organised entertainment as a key aspect of charitable giving for well-off benefactors.¹⁷⁵ Private theatricals for the benefit of charitable institutions flourished in Britain during the 1890s, including various occasions in aid of disabled civilians and invalid soldiers.¹⁷⁶ In 1913, for example, the Northampton Crippled Children's Fund combined charity with commercial leisure, when it held a sale to raise money for the benefit of a seaside colony for the care of cripples.¹⁷⁷ Alongside a variety of stalls selling cakes, sweets, baskets, china, postcards and toys, the Fund offered entertainments at a small cost, including a 'fish pond' and a 'Houp-La', and a string band.¹⁷⁸

This form of fundraising heightened the appeal of charitable action: novel and spectacular displays located at prestigious sites such as the Crystal Palace rendered charity a desirable, and fashionable form of leisure, that offered well-to-do attendees both pleasure and amusement, and the opportunity to complete a 'moral' action. Charitable events thus allowed organisations to compete within the growing leisure market and increased their donor base by using desirous entertainment as a source of publicity.¹⁷⁹ To some extent, these events prioritised 'fun' over charitable giving. As Margaret Tennant has

¹⁷⁴ 'Bazaar in Aid of Crippled Children of Northampton', *Northampton Mercury*, 22 December 1893, p. 8.

¹⁷⁵ Prochaska, *Voluntary*, p. 60. As Erika Rappaport has outlined, shopping itself was a significant and growing source of amusement for many women in this period, and also included various forms of 'female spectatorship' that developed an 'alliance between the theat[re] and commercial culture' in the years preceding the First World War. Erika Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 14.

¹⁷⁶ Eileen Curley, 'Tainted Money?: Nineteenth-Century Charity Theatricals', *Theatre Symposium* 15 (2007), 52-73 (p. 53).

¹⁷⁷ 'A Great Work: Crippled Children's Fund Bazaar', *Northampton Mercury*, 17 October 1913, p. 6.

¹⁷⁸ 'A Great Work: Crippled Children's Fund Bazaar', p. 6.

¹⁷⁹ Daniel Webber, 'Understanding Charity Fundraising Events', *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 9.2 (2004), 122-134 (p. 123).

observed, 'fun and fundraising' often made 'the cause subservient to the occasion'; members of the public attended with the primary goal of hearing a string band, or hooking a fish from a pond, rather than donating to charity itself.¹⁸⁰

Most significantly, this method of fundraising further contributed to the commercialisation of charitable action. Countless charitable entertainment events charged attendees an entrance fee to gaze at performers and exhibits and dedicated ticket proceeds to charitable causes, and thus incorporated both tickets — in the form of literal paper stubs or intangible permission to enter — and commercial leisure, into the multitude of items that members of the public could increasingly 'purchase' in the name of charity during this period.¹⁸¹ Whilst enjoyment had long represented a key motivation behind benevolence, ticket sales formalised the pleasure elicited through charitable work: selling tickets for an allotted price positioned these donations as a commercial exchange within which benevolent attendees received fashionable fun for a predetermined amount of money.¹⁸² At the same time, this form of fundraising reshaped participation in certain types of leisure as a charitable act, and positioned many every-day leisurely activities, such as shopping or listening to music, as benevolent, moral contributions towards the needy.¹⁸³

Charitable entertainment continued to proliferate during the First World War. A plethora of existing charities and new wartime schemes adopted and adapted charitable events to meet the emergent needs of a society in conflict, and musical and theatrical entertainments remained a particularly popular way to motivate members of the public to

¹⁸⁰ 'A Great Work', p. 6; 'Service Charities Concert', p. 7.

¹⁸¹ Peter J. Gurney, "'The Sublime of the Bazaar': A Moment in the Making of a Consumer Culture in Mid-Nineteenth Century England", *Journal of Social History*, 40.2 (2006), 385-405; Prochaska, 'Charity Bazaars', pp. 66-84 (p. 74); 'Service Charities Concert', p. 7.

¹⁸² 'Service Charities Concert', p. 7.

¹⁸³ Curley, 'Tainted', pp. 52-73 (p. 63).

donate to countless charitable causes.¹⁸⁴ As Marlis Schweitzer has determined, '[e]very week the [local and national] papers were full of the latest charity entertainment' for the benefit of causes such as Belgian refugees, prisoners of war, the 'War Wool Fund', and the Red Cross, and included a glut of 'amusements' from fancy dress competitions, garden fetes, and sports days, to fire dancing, fashion shows, and even a 'display of war firemen showing their skills', (a photograph of which featured in the *Daily Mirror* in June 1918).¹⁸⁵

Entertainment charities, too, enticed members of the nondisabled public to donate by offering them a variety of tangible and intangible rewards. Perhaps most obviously, benevolent donors received a sense of personal well-being for assisting deserving, and sacrificial disabled ex-servicemen: by 'repaying' their debt to the war-disabled, members of the nondisabled public alleviated any sense of guilt or debt towards disabled ex-servicemen, and simultaneously experienced the satisfaction of moral well-being.¹⁸⁶ Further still, contributing to charity conferred a charitable status upon individuals, and elevated their social prestige: this was perhaps most obvious within charitable discourse and newspaper reports, which regularly praised middle- and upper- class individuals for their contributions to deserving disabled ex-servicemen. In 1926, for example, a Miss Coleman, was 'congratulated for her success in arranging a concert' for disabled ex-servicemen.¹⁸⁷ According to the *SDR*, Coleman's event was 'not only a great musical treat', but also 'raised a substantial sum for [St Dunstan's'] funds at practically no cost' to the

¹⁸⁴ Jane Angell, 'Music and Charity on the Home Front during the First World War', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 33.1-3 (2014), 184-205 (p. 186).

¹⁸⁵ Untitled, *Bury Free Press*, 5 February 1916, p. 5; 'Prisoners of War Fund', *Todmorden Advertiser and Hebden Bridge Newsletter*, 9 August 1918, p. 1; 'Charity Entertainment at the Hippodrome', *Gloucester Journal*, 21 April 1917, p. 3; Marlis Schweitzer, 'Patriotic Acts of Consumption: Lucile (Lady Duff Gordon) and the Vaudeville Fashion Show Craze', *Theatre Journal*, 60.4 (2008), 585-608; 'Before the War— Firemen Give a Display of Their Skill', *Daily Mirror*, 22 June 1918, p. 8.

¹⁸⁶ Alan J. Kidd, 'Philanthropy and "the Social History Paradigm"', *Social History*, 21.2 (1996), 180-192 (p. 184).

¹⁸⁷ 'St Dunstan's Singers', *SDR*, 10.105, January 1926, p. 17.

institution.¹⁸⁸ Countless press reports and charitable appeals likewise publicly thanked members of the public for their donations to the AWF, NFA, and LWF.¹⁸⁹ The *AM*, for example, included a monthly list of generous financial donors, a separate list of individuals who had donated leisurely objects, and a third list of drivers, and publicly praised each group for their contributions.¹⁹⁰

Charitable rewards were not limited to (largely immaterial) personal fulfillment and social status, but also included a variety of material items. The AWF and LWF, for example, remunerated subscribers with charitable badges: LWF members reportedly received ‘a blue enameled badge with “Lest We Forget, 1914-1918” in gold lettering’ in exchange for their membership fee of 10s. 6d., and AWF ‘associates’, too, received a ‘miniature ascot brooch’, in the form of a ‘soldier in blue’, as compensation for their membership payments.¹⁹¹ These badges offered members a material symbol of benevolence that could be kept, worn, and displayed as evidence of donors’ generosity to the war disabled. Indeed, AWF ‘soldier[s] in blue’ immediately connected donors to the deserving war-disabled, who were displayed in ‘miniature’ on their lapels, and thus lent these individuals a sense of increased social prestige that was connected to donating to these deserving men and simultaneously acted as a form of publicity for the Fund.

¹⁸⁸ ‘St Dunstan’s Singers’, p. 17.

¹⁸⁹ See for example, ‘Generous Donation: Assisting the Not Forgotten Association’, *Northern Whig*, 9 May 1930, p. 3.

¹⁹⁰ See for example ‘Acknowledgements’, *AM*, 1.3, November 1928, p. 18. In some cases, the charitable returns offered to nondisabled civilians were subtler: the royal family, for example, were both expected to perform these duties for the needy, and additionally used their charitable work as a way to secure popular loyalty in the aftermath of the conflict. Frank Prochaska, *Royal Bounty: The Making of a Welfare Monarchy* (London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 185. For entertainers, too, charitable fundraising events provided the opportunity for free publicity: press reports regularly described AWF, NFA, and LWF events in minute detail, and drew attention to both the benevolence, and talent, of various performers. See for example, “‘Lest We Forget’ Concert”, *Era*, 4 April 1925, p. 17.

¹⁹¹ ‘Associates’, *AM*, 2.1, September 1929, p. 11; Elizabeth de Serclaes, ‘Lest We Forget’, *Western Morning News*, 15 February 1930, p. 4.

Alongside badges, entertainment charities also rewarded nondisabled benefactors with a variety of printed material items that could both be displayed in donors' homes or bookshelves, and also provided more prolonged leisure and amusement. The NFA charity gift book, *Rosemary*, for example, contained a number of essays from the some of the most well-known and prominent authors during this period, including G. K. Chesterton, Arthur Conan Doyle, and John Buchan, and thus prolonged the (often temporary) pleasure elicited through charitable action.¹⁹² The *AM*, too, acted as a charitable reward (albeit a more ephemeral one) that donors could purchase for a 4s. donation, read, and enjoy: the *AM* featured updates on war-disabled charitable recipients, and also included regular accounts of the latest fashionable London entertainments, photographs of celebrity performers, and reviews of West End premiers (some of which were attended by AWF members).¹⁹³ In October 1923, the NFA even offered 'a souvenir calendar' in return for '£1 1s.' subscriptions to the organisation, and in 1930, 'R. Clement's Lyttle Studios' in Belfast ran a promotional deal that offered members of the public the opportunity to be photographed in exchange for a charitable donation to the NFA, both of which similarly rewarded supporters with tangible items that could be exhibited in a display of conspicuous benevolence.¹⁹⁴

By utilising these objects as charitable rewards, entertainment charities objectified their aims through various things: *Rosemary*, the *AM*, and souvenir calendars were not only useful, re-usable, objects, but also materialised the ideals of the AWF, NFA, and LWF in tangible form. These items both embodied the patriotic desire to assist disabled ex-servicemen and evidenced the fulfillment of this popular duty. This was particularly evident

¹⁹² de Burgh and Stoneman.

¹⁹³ 'Subscription Form', *AM*, 1.3, November 1928, insert.

¹⁹⁴ 'Not Forgotten Association', *Western Morning News*, 18 October 1923, p. 7; 'Support the "Not Forgotten Association"', *Northern Whig*, 4 November 1930, p. 6. Photographs, in particular, deserve further, anthropologically informed, exploration to expose the various meanings and materialities of these things and their relationships to members of the nondisabled public, as well as the organisations that sold and produced them.

in AWF badges, which quite literally embodied the social reintegration of disabled ex-servicemen in blue. By purchasing badges, charity gift books, journals and calendars and displaying these objects in their homes or on their bodies, members of the public consequently forged new social identities via the medium of material culture: the charitable ideals encapsulated by these things were transferred onto benevolent donors, and tangibly marked donors as generous, patriotic individuals.¹⁹⁵ These activities thus altered the various meanings of objects, and positioned charitable items as especially desirable things. Remunerative objects not only encouraged nondisabled individuals to donate on the basis that they received *something* in return, but (like printed lists of donors featured in charity journals such as the *AM*,) also incentivised civilians to assist the war-disabled as a way to elevate their own social standing and distinguish themselves as patriotic, charitable citizens.

Calendars and charity gift books, however, were not the only things that charitable donors received in exchange for their contribution to entertainment charities. The AWF, NFA, and LWF further enticed the public to donate by inviting them to extravagant and fashionable entertainment events in exchange for financial contributions to the war-disabled. In March 1920, for example, 'the first Grand National Ball [was] held in Liverpool', and the proceeds of the event were dedicated to St Dunstan's for the benefit of war-blind soldiers.¹⁹⁶ In 1929, the NFA similarly held a 'divertissement held at Hyde Park Hotel, London', and donated the proceeds towards 'Christmas stockings and little special treats' for disabled ex-servicemen in hospitals in the London area, and '10,000' others in 'Britain and Ireland'.¹⁹⁷ The LWF, too, held numerous fundraising occasions, such as one

¹⁹⁵ Janet Hoskins, *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 4.

¹⁹⁶ 'A Grand National Ball', *Sketch*, 21 February 1920, p. 5.

¹⁹⁷ "'Not Forgotten' Association', *Western Morning News*, 14 December 1929, p. 7.

'presentation of "Tom Jones"' by the Wimbledon Lyric Operatic and Dramatic Society at 'Baths Hall, Wimbledon' 'given in aid' of the association in April 1926, which was reportedly 'largely attended [...] by warmly appreciative attendees'.¹⁹⁸

Like pre-war charity balls and bazaars, and wartime theatrical events, the AWF, NFA, and LWF thus conceptualised entertainment itself as a charitable product that was available for purchase by benevolent members of the public. By exchanging monetary contributions for charitable amusements. These events consequently offered multiple incentives for members of the public to donate: by buying a ticket, benevolent individuals gained both the satisfaction of completing a charitable act, and were also rewarded with an evening of amusement and entertainment. The *AM* emphasised this point when it noted that, 'these [...] events provide a good opportunity for obtaining first class enjoyment and of replenishing the Fund's exchequer'.¹⁹⁹ Indeed, charitable organisations implicitly positioned fundraising events as a form of popular commercial entertainment, and thus further induced nondisabled individuals to attend these events for the sake of enjoyment and socialisation alone: St Dunstan's, for example, advertised the March 1925 'Grand Carnival and Ball' alongside an 'Afternoon Tea', a 'Grand Gala Night', a 'Cinderella Night', and a 'Grand Cabaret Night', and thus aligned the occasion with similar fashionable events, and implicitly positioned this form of giving as an especially easy activity for well-to-do donors, who likely attended popular theatricals and balls as part of their every-day social activities.²⁰⁰

At the same time, these various entertainments also provided further opportunities for nondisabled benefactors to conspicuously display their benevolence in public, leisured

¹⁹⁸ 'Wimbledon Lyric O. and D. S.', *Stage*, 8 April 1926, p. 22. This was a regular event. See also 'Wimbledon L. O. D. S.', *Stage*, 3 December 1925, p. 16.

¹⁹⁹ 'Dates to Remember', p. 3.

²⁰⁰ Palais de Danse, Derby, 'Another Novelty Week', *Derbyshire Advertiser and Journal*, 27 March 1925, p. 16.

sites. Much like charitable badges, charitable activities such as balls, dances, and theatre performances acted as a conspicuous display of benevolence for many nondisabled members of British society, who 'wish[ed] to be seen' in attendance at charitable events.²⁰¹ Indeed, many of the entertainments arranged by charitable action in this period were especially prestigious, and consequently offered attendees the opportunity to interact with, and display their benevolence to, prominent members of society. St Dunstan's Grand National Ball, for example, was attended by 'many people who [were] at Aintree for the National', including 'Lord and Lady Denby, Lord and Lady Crew, and Lord and Lady Wavertree'.²⁰² The NFA 'divertissement' at Hyde Park likewise appealed to the 'Duchess of York', who reportedly attended in 'a long blue coat in her favourite shade of blue'.²⁰³ Purchasing charitable tickets, then, elevated the social standing of ticket-holders, who, by donating to the war-disabled, also bought entry into a wealthy, and desirable social group.²⁰⁴

In addition to this 'first class enjoyment', charitable fundraising events also offered benevolent donors a less obvious reward: access to heroic war-disabled men. Whilst many fundraising activities in this period (such as the 'Grand Carnival Ball',) catered solely to benevolent donors, numerous charities also advertised opportunities for the nondisabled public to attend occasions alongside disabled ex-servicemen. Although this form of charity was primarily intended to reduce the risk of isolation and misery among disabled heroes, it nevertheless positioned war-disabled men as part of the 'reward', or 'compensation' offered to nondisabled individuals in exchange for their donation. As scholars such as Anderson, Carden-Coyne, and Reznick have determined, popular benevolence towards the

²⁰¹ Webber, pp. 122-134 (p. 124).

²⁰² 'A Grand National Ball', *Sketch*, 21 February 1920, p. 5.

²⁰³ "'Not Forgotten' Association', *Western Morning News*, 14 December 1929, p. 7.

²⁰⁴ Webber, pp. 122-134 (p. 124).

war-disabled in this period was 'meshed in sympathetic spectatorship'; obligation and sympathy were not the only motivations behind charitable giving, 'there was also a lot of curiosity' surrounding these men.²⁰⁵ Nondisabled members of the public exhibited a particular fascination with the 'broken' parts of disabled soldiers' bodies, and wartime hospital magazines regularly recounted the public tendency to 'ogle' at men's missing limbs, or expressed 'dismay [...] with becoming an object of public gaze'.²⁰⁶

Entertainment charities took this relationship one step further, and commodified war-disabled bodies as charitable objects to be purchased and stared at for the purposes of amusement and enjoyment. By paying for, and attending, charitable fundraising events, members of the public could 'consume' ephemeral material encounters with disabled ex-servicemen, whose bodies were both a locus of curiosity, and a 'sacred' and desirable remnant of the First World War.²⁰⁷ This is most evident within AWF appeals, which offered individuals the opportunity to spend varying amounts of time with war-disabled men at AWF events, dependent on the amount of money that they donated. The *AM* regularly supplied a list of the various aspects of 'Sunday Socials' that required public funding, along with the cost of each item. According to these appeals, 'a Sunday Entertainment at Wigmore Hall [for] 400' men cost 'thirty-two guineas, and friends [were] invited to raise that amount and thus make themselves responsible for one afternoon'.²⁰⁸ For fifteen guineas, the donor purchased the position of 'tea host'; for nine guineas, civilians could act as 'Concert Host'; three guineas purchased the gifts for the lucky draw, or, alternatively, supplied 'all the smokes' for the evening.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ Anderson, *War*, pp. 52-53.

²⁰⁶ Reznick, *Healing*, p. 88.

²⁰⁷ Nicholas J. Saunders, 'Material Culture and Conflict: The Great War 1914-2003', in *Matters of Conflict: Material Culture, Memory and the First World War*, ed. by Nicholas J. Saunders (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 5-25 (p. 14).

²⁰⁸ 'The Adair Wounded Fund and its Work', *AM*, 1.2, November 1928, inside front cover.

²⁰⁹ 'The Adair Wounded Fund and its Work', inside front cover.

Whilst these appeals were intended to stimulate donations, they simultaneously read as a menu of designated time slots with war-disabled attendees: alongside their status as ‘host’ of a particular aspect of AWF events, donors who occupied these positions also essentially purchased a monopoly over war-disabled men for the duration of these various occasions. For ‘thirty-two guineas’, for example, nondisabled individuals bought access to a group of disabled ex-servicemen for an entire afternoon. A number of appeals even more obviously commodified war-disabled men: alongside this ‘price-list’, the AWF also explicitly offered women the opportunity ‘of acting as hostess to one wounded man’ at Sunday Dances, where they could escort men ‘both at the [d]ance and the tea that follow[ed]’ in exchange for ‘a donation of two shillings and upwards’.²¹⁰ This appeal put a monetary value upon an allotted amount of time with a war-disabled men, and consequently monetized access to war-disabled men by offering ladies the privilege of one-to-one, uninterrupted time with these shattered heroes for a pre-allocated amount of money.²¹¹

During this stage of their ‘social lives’, then, war-disabled bodies moved into what Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff have termed ‘the commodity phase’ of their ‘careers’ (or object-biographies).²¹² The process of consumption initiated by charitable organisations and individuals altered the ‘social nature’ of war-disabled bodies and shifted the myriad ways that they were physically and culturally located within British society.²¹³ According to anthropological studies of consumption, the ‘economic exchange’ of an object ‘creates value’: that is, the ‘real or imagined’ commercial status of an object creates the notion that this thing is desirable, and that is thus warrants the sacrifice of another item (be this money,

²¹⁰ ‘The Adair Wounded Fund and its Work’, inside front cover.

²¹¹ ‘The Adair Wounded Fund and its Work’, inside front cover.

²¹² Arjun Appadurai, ‘Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value’, in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 3-64 (pp. 12-17). See also Igor Kopytoff, ‘The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process’, same volume, pp. 64-94.

²¹³ Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), pp. 192-193.

or another object).²¹⁴ By monetizing access to the war-disabled, charities such as the AWF, NFA and LWF consequently endowed war-disabled bodies with (yet further,) value within the specific ‘social situation’ of entertainment, increased the social desirability of disabled ex-servicemen, and further encouraged members of the public to purchase access to these heroic, and economically esteemed, individuals.²¹⁵

Further still, the ways that disabled ex-servicemen — as commodities — also invested these objects with additional cultural meanings.²¹⁶ According to Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, all goods (or ‘circulating commodities’,) act as ‘part of a live information system that variously communicates information about the individuals who purchase, own, and consume these things, as well as the products themselves.’²¹⁷ For members of the nondisabled public, purchasing deserving, and desirable, war-disabled bodies thus endowed these individuals with a charitable status, and acted as a further form of charitable performance that elevated their social standing. At the same time, this mode of charitable circulation positioned war-disabled bodies themselves as a purchasable form of entertainment, and a locus of spectacle.

Indeed, numerous charitable occasions featured war-disabled performers as headlining acts, and sold access to view and even stare at the war disabled for the price of a ticket. In March 1922, for example, the *SDR* recalled ‘a very enjoyable evening’ at the Y.M.C.A. Girls’ Club in Richmond, London, where two war-blind ‘conjurers’ from St Dunstan’s performed a variety of tricks, including ‘a mystifying rope trick’ and ‘an entirely

²¹⁴ Appadurai, p. 3.

²¹⁵ Appadurai, p. 4.

²¹⁶ Appadurai, p. 14. Claire Jones has discussed the relationship between consumption, commodification, medicine, and disabled bodies in detail. See Claire L. Jones, Claire L., ‘Introduction: Modern Prostheses in Anglo-American Commodity Cultures’, in *Rethinking Modern Prostheses in Anglo-American Commodity Cultures, 1820-1939*, ed. by Claire L. Jones (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017) pp. 1-24 and Claire L. Jones, *The Medical Catalogue in Britain, 1870-1914* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013).

²¹⁷ Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards and Anthropology of Consumption* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. xiv.

new card and egg trick, in which a card taken by a lady turned up, after it had seemingly been lost, in the centre of an egg'.²¹⁸ The audience were reportedly 'immensely delighted and entertained' by the blind performers, who were described by the newspaper as 'A St Dunstan's Marvel'.²¹⁹

St Dunstan's conjurers were by no means the only war-blind performers in this period. The institution also trained blind soldiers in singing and pianoforte as a means of 'producing public entertainers', and offered members of the public the opportunity to attend a number of performances by the 'St Dunstan's Singers'.²²⁰ According to reports, the group of war-blind singers performed 'sailors shanties' to audiences of nondisabled donors in various public locations, including the prestigious Aeolian Hall on Bond Street in central London, and delivered 'a most striking performance' that 'won' the enthusiastic applause of audiences.²²¹ In April 1926, the St Dunstan's Singers even travelled to Swansea 'to sing at a large church social' which was 'broadcast from Swansea [radio] station' for the benefit of audiences who were not able to physically attend the occasion.²²²

It is clear that, much like the prestigious performers and fashionable sites that played host to similar fundraising events, charitable organisations both utilised, and constructed popular curiosity and interest in war-disabled bodies as a way to entice the nondisabled public to donate to these deserving heroes, and to increase the social and economic values of disabled ex-servicemen. Numerous occasions actively exacerbated this curiosity by rhetorically positioning disabled ex-servicemen as 'marvels', or by incorporating them into a series of spectacular performances. Blind conjurers, for example,

²¹⁸ 'Blind Conjurers at the Y.M.C.A.', *SDR*, 6.63, March 1922, p. 20.

²¹⁹ 'Blind Conjurers at the Y.M.C.A.', p. 20.

²²⁰ 'Blind, but can Conjure', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 29 June 1922, p. 10; 'St Dunstan's Singers', p. 17.

²²¹ 'St Dunstan's Singers', p. 17.

²²² 'St Dunstan's on the Razzle', *SDR*, 10.108, April 1926, p. 4.

seemingly defied popular expectations surrounding sightlessness, and performed visual feats despite their inability to see their own performances.

At the same time, charitable organisations also exploited popular interest in the war, and encouraged nondisabled civilians to consume war-disabled men as a way to access, understand, and experience the conflict. According to anthropological approaches to consumerism undertaken by scholars such as Miller, Douglas and Isherwood, consumer objects act as ‘fences or bridges’ that ‘constitute social relations’ between different groups.²²³ It is clear that disabled ex-servicemen, too, were objectified as ‘bridges’ through the familiar act of entertainment, which not only initiated social interactions between maimed soldiers and the nondisabled public, but also constructed war-disabled bodies as evocative memory-objects that encapsulated the experience of the war and thus seemingly decreased the experiential gap between combatants and non-combatants. As Nicholas Saunders has determined, in the aftermath of the First World War, conflict-related materialities were of particular interest to non-combatant members of the public: for the bereaved, in particular, artefacts from the fighting fronts created a sense of connection to their lost loved ones, and this ‘manifested in the retrieval and re-sale of scrap and souvenirs from the battlefields’.²²⁴

For nondisabled civilians, disabled ex-servicemen, too, represented a form of desirable war *matériel*, that had been physically and irrevocably altered by the experience of the First World War, and thus offered insight into the experiences of the battlefields, and acted as a ‘memory bridge’ that not only materially evidenced the experience of the First World War, but also allowed members of the nondisabled public to attempt to

²²³ Douglas and Isherwood, p. xi, p. xiv.

²²⁴ Saunders, ‘Material Culture’, pp. 10-11.

understand, and even experience some aspects of the conflict.²²⁵ Charitable occasions — and especially events featuring war-blind singers, magicians, and other similar performers — offered nondisabled members of the public to opportunity to unashamedly stare at, and experience, war-disabled bodies, and thus make some sense of the human destruction caused by the world's first mechanised conflict.²²⁶ Whilst (as Reznick has outlined,) curious women visitors to military hospitals were approached with a sense of scorn — and were even ridiculed within the popular press — staring at war-disabled bodies in the context of a fundraising performance was rendered appropriate, and even, charitable. Nondisabled attendees could not be accused of distasteful curiosity, but, rather, were praised for their financial contributions to institutions and charities and the fulfillment of their patriotic duty in supporting heroic war-disabled men. Indeed, these interactions were not limited to looking: as this chapter has outlined, dances, tea parties, and boat trips occasioned tactile encounters between nondisabled individuals and war-disabled bodies, and thus not only permitted charitable donors to look at war-disabled bodies, but additionally facilitated physical contact with these human remnants of the war.

Further still, a number of fundraising events even recreated aspects of life on the fighting fronts, and thus implicitly positioned disabled ex-servicemen as a lens through which to understand the conflict. As the introduction to this chapter has outlined, one AWF event at London Palladium included a performance of 'the songs of 1914-1918' by 'seven charming ladies' at which benevolent citizens were able to re-experience the familiar songs of the war amongst disabled men who had actually fought in the conflict: the six hundred 'wounded, blinded, and shell-shocked soldiers, [and] nine-stretcher cases' in attendance at

²²⁵ Saunders, 'Apprehending Memory: Material Culture and War, 1919-1939', in *The Great War, 1914-45: Volume II*, ed. by Peter Liddle, John Bourne and Ian Whitehead (London: Harper Collins, 2001), pp. 476-488 (p. 477); Saunders, 'Material Culture and Conflict', p. 17. See also Bourke, *Dismembering*, p. 32.

²²⁶ As Rosemarie Garland Thomson has outlined, staring at disabled bodies facilitates a sense of understanding among nondisabled 'starers'. Garland Thomson, *Staring*, p. 25.

the Palladium re-created a unique (imagined) wartime experience of soldierly camaraderie, when they, too 'rolled out the rousing choruses' alongside the women performers and nondisabled attendees.²²⁷ This experience was not unique to the AWF's March 1924 concert: in 1928, the *AM* similarly recounted a community singing event at which disabled ex-servicemen and benevolent members of the public sang a number of war songs, including 'Tipperary'.²²⁸

These occasions allowed members of the public an 'authentic' glimpse into the 'experience of war': the sight (and indeed, sound,) of war-shattered men participating in this soldierly event added an element of 'credibility' to war-time reminiscences.²²⁹ Indeed, much like the post-war consumption of inert conflict materialities, it is clear that, for some bereaved individuals, attending charitable occasions alongside disabled ex-servicemen also created a sense of connection to their loved ones. In 1924, the *Western Daily Press* revealed that one woman — Mrs E. J. Simons — whose son was reported missing during the war, and was 'officially considered as having been killed' — attended a garden parties arranged by the NFA 'to see if [she] could hear anything of Walter'.²³⁰

For the individuals who attended these events, it is clear that the bodies of disabled ex-servicemen embodied both the experience and destruction of the First World War, and simultaneously objectified the social healing engendered by charitable action. Socializing and physically interacting with war-disabled bodies allowed individuals such as Simons to

²²⁷ 'Sunday Afternoon with the Wounded: Work of the Adair Wounded Fund', *Hospital and Health Review*, 3.32 (1924), 135-135 (p. 135).

²²⁸ 'Our Social Round', *AM*, 1.1, September 1928, pp. 10-11.

²²⁹ Emily Curtis Walters, 'Between Entertainment and Elegy: The Unexpected Success of R. C. Sherriff's *Journey's End*', *Journal of British Studies*, 55 (2016), 344-375 (p. 349).

²³⁰ 'A Mother's Faith', *Western Daily Press*, 11 January 1924, p. 10; Significantly, the charitable consumption of war-disabled bodies therefore represented the inextricable connections between the processes by which disabled ex-servicemen were produced and consumed. As scholars such as Daniel Miller have outlined, the production and consumption phases of objects can rarely be separated, and it is clear that, in the context of entertainment events, the commercial, economic 'value' of disabled ex-servicemen was indistinguishably tied to the process by which they were disabled. Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*, p. 192.

experience a material aspect of the war, and consequently re-established an (otherwise lost) emotional and tangible connection with their loved ones that was mediated through the war-torn bodies of the nation's heroic disabled soldiers. At the same time, these various activities objectified disabled ex-servicemen's bodies as evidence of the success of charitable action. By interacting with and performing to the nondisabled public, war-disabled men both embodied charitable aims to reintegrate maimed soldiers into British social and cultural life, and evidenced the ability of charitable schemes such as the AWF, NFA, and LWF to accomplish these objectives.

Conclusion: Entertaining Bodies

It is clear that, whilst charities such as the AWF, NFA, and LWF were motivated by enduring understandings of lonely, physically isolated, disabled civilians, the charitable leisure (and leisured objects) associated with these two groups differed dramatically. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, disabled civilians were typically denied access to leisurely activities for myriad reasons, and subsequently embodied social isolation, loneliness, and exclusion: disabled bodies in this period were imbued with notions of social and cultural exclusion, and, to many members of the nondisabled public, were largely invisible and unseen within popular, leisured landscapes.

In the aftermath of the First World War, entertainment charities for the war-disabled conversely offered a wide variety of accessible, prestigious, and, most notably, public activities for disabled ex-servicemen, which reinserted them within dominant notions of normalcy that centred around pursuing and purchasing mass-commercial leisure. These activities consequently distinguished heroic war-disabled soldiers from their crippled, seemingly immaterial, civilian counterparts: by undertaking myriad actions and interactions involving leisurely things and leisured sites, war-disabled men were subtly

folded into public, leisured landscapes alongside members of the nondisabled public, and were consequently rendered especially visible, materialized evidence of charitable action and popular benevolence. The variety of entertainments offered to disabled ex-servicemen thus not only contrasted the limited scope of these provided for the civilian disabled, but additionally reinforced the material differences between war-disabled bodies and those of the civilian disabled. Unlike disabled civilians, the material interactions undertaken by war-disabled bodies within the context of charitable entertainment acted as implicit evidence of social inclusion; the very ubiquity of leisure, leisured landscapes, and leisured objects inscribed disabled soldiers with dominant — and supposedly normal — cultural values surrounding leisure. Entertainment charities and leisured objects consequently acted as enabling forces that mediated social relationships between disabled ex-servicemen and members of the nondisabled public in the aftermath of the First World War.

At the same time, charitable entertainment also contributed to the wider commercialisation of charitable action: numerous charitable organisations for the war-disabled offered members of the public a variety of tangible and intangible products — including fashionable, commercially competitive, entertainment events — in exchange for their donations, and thus both reinforced existing notions of charitable action as a form of leisure in itself, and simultaneously incorporated charitable giving into a commercial exchange. This method of attracting public donors contributed to shifting charitable motivations that were increasingly focused on tangible remuneration, and, most significantly, commodified war-disabled bodies as ephemeral, tangible rewards, that allowed nondisabled civilians to temporarily consume a piece of ‘authentic’ war *matériel*, and ‘purchase’ a fleeting experience of the First World War.

By selling access to the war-disabled, charitable action moved disabled ex-servicemen into a ‘commodity’ phase of their social life, during which members of the

benevolent public purchased access to their economically and socially valuable material bodies.²³¹ This, in turn, constructed disabled ex-servicemen as material evidence of popular benevolence and successful charitable action: by presenting disabled ex-servicemen as entertaining things, charities such as the AWF, LWF and NFA objectified disabled ex-servicemen themselves as charitable, leisured, items. Within this context, disabled ex-servicemen both embodied the destruction of the First World War, and simultaneously (and somewhat ironically) acted as materialized evidence of post-war charitable efforts, popular benevolence, charitable success, and social healing.

Much like the various leisured items adopted for fundraising purposes, purchasing ephemeral interactions with the war-disabled consequently elevated the social status of charitable donors: for these individuals, disabled ex-servicemen — like the myriad other objects involved in charitable entertainment, including tickets and raffle prizes — objectified their generosity, patriotism, and charitable nature in a visible, touchable, tangible form that could be displayed in public, leisured, sites as evidence that they had fulfilled their duty (and debt) to the war-disabled. Unlike secluded disabled civilians these occasions consequently presented these men as ‘fashionable’, desirable, and *visible*, ‘objects of charity’, and rendered disabled bodies more visible than ever before. Indeed, whilst pre-war charity events allowed individuals to donate without actually encountering the crippled, impoverished, and pitiful objects of their benevolence, the AWF, NFA, and LWF actively positioned disabled ex-servicemen as the very locus of commercial entertainment events. Overall, it is clear that maimed soldiers’ corporeal actions within the context of leisurely activities ‘orient[ed]’ them towards a ‘distinct social and cultural

²³¹ Arjun Appadurai, ‘Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value’, in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 3-64 (pp. 12-17). See also Igor Kopytoff, ‘The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process’, same volume, pp. 64-94.

identity' that encompassed heroism, public curiosity, and social healing, and ultimately elevated the social and economic value of these objectified remnants of the war, as well as the charities, and charitable individuals, that entertained them.²³²

²³² Chris Gilleard and Paul Higgs, *Ageing, Corporeality and Embodiment* (London: Anthem Press, 2014), p. 160.

Chapter 2

‘Saved by Cigarettes’: Charitable Fags and Sympathetic Smokers

Introduction: Cigarettes as Material Culture

In February 1922, the *St Dunstan’s Review (SDR)* reported that a Grimsby man had been ‘saved from possible death or injury in the Birmingham train smash’ by purchasing a packet of *St Dunstan’s Cigarettes*.¹ Mr C. Winn allegedly ‘first got into the carriage next to the guard’s van, which was [later] wrecked’ in the crash, ‘but, remembering that he wanted a packet of *St Dunstan’s Cigarettes*’, he alighted, and ‘having purchased [the cigarettes] got into a carriage higher up’.² The irresistible draw of the charitably branded ‘smokes’ thus fortuitously protected Winn from sudden death or serious physical injury; by enticing him away from the epicentre of the crash, *St Dunstan’s Cigarettes* removed him from any potential harm, and the ensuing article consequently declared that Winn was ‘saved by cigarettes’.³

This (possibly apocryphal) account epitomised widespread public representations of charitable ‘fags’: Winn was by no means the only individual who was apparently unable to resist the temptation of *St Dunstan’s Cigarettes*; nor was he the only man who was supposedly ‘saved’ from the ramifications of permanent injury by the newly issued smokes. *St Dunstan’s* launched its eponymous cigarettes in November 1921, to alleged enthusiasm from the public, who ‘cordially approve[d]’ of the brand.⁴ The cigarettes were manufactured by Carreras, and — much like ticket-proceeds from charitable entertainment events — profits from sales were dedicated to ‘helping sailors and soldiers blinded in the

¹ ‘Saved by Cigarettes’, *St Dunstan’s Review* [hereafter *SDR*], 6.62, February 1922, p. 10.

² ‘Saved by Cigarettes’, p. 10.

³ ‘Saved by Cigarettes’, p. 10.

⁴ ‘*St Dunstan’s Cigarettes*’, *Kent and Sussex Courier*, 20 January 1922, p. 6.

war'.⁵ Alongside Winn, the coveted 'fags' thus purportedly 'provide[d] a widespread means of' saving countless ex-servicemen from the supposed misery of permanent disability through charitable consumption. By purchasing the cigarettes, benevolent members of the public contributed to skills training, financial assistance, and various other forms of social reintegration provided by St Dunstan's' after-care association.⁶

Whilst 'St Dunstan's' were the most successful and well publicised charitable cigarettes launched during this period, they were not the only such smokes connected to saving disabled ex-servicemen.⁷ In the immediate aftermath of the First World War, a number of tobacco schemes were similarly organised to provide various forms of assistance to deserving war-disabled men. Tobacconists in both Portsmouth and Edinburgh advertised a brand of cigarettes called 'Sursum Corda' ('Lift up your hearts',) the profits of which were, like 'St Dunstan's', dedicated to assisting and employing maimed soldiers in conjunction with the National Scheme for Disabled Men (although the details of this were somewhat vague).⁸

Alongside charitable cigarette brands, a number of schemes were additionally established to hire disabled ex-servicemen as tobacconists, and thus rescue these men from the financial destitution that supposedly resulted from disability. Alongside cigarette sales, Sursum Corda, for example, hired disabled soldiers to act as 'agents' of the brand.⁹ In December 1919, the Ex-Servicemen's Tobacco Supplies Company was further set up with the particular object of 'train[ing] and assist[ing] Discharged and Demobilised Sailors and

⁵ 'St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *Kent and Sussex Courier*, p. 6

⁶ 'St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *Kent and Sussex Courier*, p. 6; Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation: 'Soul of a Nation'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 49-50.

⁷ For the purposes of clarity, this thesis refers to St Dunstan's charitably branded cigarettes as either St Dunstan's Cigarettes or 'St Dunstan's'. References to the organisation itself will take the form St Dunstan's.

⁸ 'Sursum Corda Co', *Portsmouth Evening News*, 2 April 1921, p. 6; 'Cigarette Company for Ex-Service Men', *St Andrews Citizen*, 10 December 1921, p. 6; 'Sursum Corda', *Portsmouth Evening News*, 13 May 1921, p. 5.

⁹ 'Sursum Corda', p. 5.

Soldiers, disabled or otherwise, to become Branch Managers and Assistants' at tobacconists in London, and also encouraged war-disabled men 'to take a financial interest' in the enterprise through the 'acquisition by them of Shares in the Company'.¹⁰ A little over a year later, in April 1921, tobacco manufacturer E. Constantinidi & Company was renamed 'The United Ex-Servicemen's Cigarette Company Limited' for much the same purpose: like the Tobacco Supplies scheme, the Cigarette Company aimed to exclusively employ '[e]x-[m]embers of his [m]ajesty's [f]orces', and gave priority to hiring disabled ex-servicemen.¹¹

In addition to these formal methods of assistance, members of the public also informally adopted cigarettes as charitable objects. Throughout the 1920s, middle- and upper- class individuals handed out cigarettes to disabled ex-servicemen at both charitable institutions and entertainment events, including many of the occasions discussed in Chapter One of this thesis. Much like charitable leisure provisions, the benevolent public conceptualised cigarette donations as both a way to demonstrate appreciation for men's war-service, and a source of comfort and amusement that reduced the social isolation (supposedly) caused by disability. Indeed, cigarettes themselves were leisured objects; cigarette smoking 'occupied a large part of [disabled ex-servicemen's] leisure time' and was also undertaken whilst participating in a range of other activities, including relaxation and work.¹² Smoking among war-disabled men was so prevalent that cigarettes became a significant feature of charitable discourse, and publicity material was regularly

¹⁰ The Ex-Servicemen's Tobacco Supplies Company (Limited), 'Company Registration under the Companies Act 1917' (London: Jordan and Sons Ltd., 12 December 1919), The National Archives, Kew [hereafter TNA], Records of the Board of Trade and of Successor and Related Bodies 1919-1932 [hereafter BT], 31/25343/161595.

¹¹ Board of Trade, 'Certificate of Change of Name: E. Constantinidi & Company', 8 April 1921, TNA, BT 31/24343/161595; The Ex-Servicemen's Tobacco Supplies Limited, 'Declaration of Compliance', 11 December 1919, TNA, BT, 31/25343/161595.

¹² Matthew Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture 1800-2000: Perfect Pleasures* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 2; Matthew Hilton, 'Leisure, Politics, and the Consumption of Tobacco in Britain since the Nineteenth Century', in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. by Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg, 2002), pp. 319-316 (p. 320).

accompanied by images and photographs of disabled soldiers smoking cigarettes in the grounds of charitable homes alongside both their disabled comrades and nondisabled benefactors.

Although a number of scholars have traced the history of smoking and its relationship to human conflict, these accounts have tended to focus on the intimate connections between cigarettes and fighting soldiers. Michael Reeve, for example, has illustrated the personal importance of smoking as a 'psychological and social salve for those in the line of fire' during the First World War.¹³ Rosemary Elliot and Matthew Hilton have additionally investigated the myriad ways that popular discourse reconceptualised cigarette consumption and cigarette smoking in relation to active combatants.¹⁴ Hilton has traced wartime advertising material to demonstrate the various ways that opportunistic cigarette manufacturers reshaped fags as symbols of military masculinity, positioned cigarettes as a necessity for fighting Tommies, and consequently popularised cigarette smoking in relation to the conflict.¹⁵ Elliot has extended this commercial analysis to focus upon the broader impact of the war upon public understandings of cigarette consumption, and has relatedly revealed that charitable appeals and popular discourse also shaped the act of purchasing 'soldierly smokes' as a display of patriotism and citizenship.¹⁶

Despite this focus upon the entangled identities of cigarettes and fighting troops, it is clear that, for contemporaries, the connection between cigarettes and soldiering did not

¹³ Michael Reeve, "'Special Needs, Cheerful Habits': Smoking and the Great War in Britain, 1914-18', *Journal of the Social History Society*, 13.4 (2016), 483-501 (p. 484).

¹⁴ Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 96, p. 126; Rosemary Elliot, *Women and Smoking since 1890* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 29-54; Rosemary Elliot, "'Destructive but sweet": Cigarette Smoking Among Women 1890-1990' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2001), pp. 146-152.

¹⁵ Matthew Hilton, 'Advertising a Modernist Aesthetic of the Marketplace?: The Cultural Relationship Between the Tobacco Manufacturer and the "Mass" of Consumers in Britain, 1870-1940', in *Meanings of Modernity: Britain from the Late Victorian-Era to World War II*, ed. by Martin Daunton and Bernhard Rieger (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2001), pp. 45-70.

¹⁶ Rosemary Elliot, 'From Tobacco in the War to the War on Tobacco: Smoking in Britain and Germany from c.1900 to 1945', in *Health and Citizenship: Political Cultures of Health in Modern Europe*, ed. by Frank Huisman and Harry Oosterhuis (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), pp. 141-154; Elliot, *Women*, pp. 29-52.

necessarily end upon a man's disablement and subsequent military discharge. As both the establishment of charitable cigarette brands and the continuation of cigarette donations in the post-war period suggest, charitable action continued to link cigarette consumption, gifting, and smoking to disabled ex-servicemen upon their return to Britain. However, scholarly accounts have not yet traced the relationship between cigarettes, charity, and disabled ex-servicemen in detail: Julie Anderson has provided the only brief analysis of charitably branded cigarette schemes for disabled soldiers, with particular reference to St Dunstan's Cigarettes as one aspect of wider institutional publicity and fundraising for the after-care association.¹⁷ This chapter extends both Anderson and Elliot's research to more fully investigate the interrelated charitable constructions of disabled soldiers and cigarettes throughout the 1920s. It considers the multifaceted and shifting ways that cigarette consumption, advertising, and the embodied act of smoking were incorporated into charitable efforts for the war-disabled, and consequently shaped popular perceptions of disability, war-disabled bodies, and charity in the aftermath of the First World War.

As Richard Klein and Alan Brandt have observed, cigarettes are particularly 'porous' objects that lend themselves to being imagined and reimagined within multiple social contexts: they are 'frequently signs, but especially ambiguous ones, difficult to read', which represent a variety of 'social values about pleasure, leisure, sexuality and gender', and are thus an 'encompassing vehicle for understanding the past'.¹⁸ Like all things (and indeed, all leisure pursuits), cigarettes both physically and figuratively shape (and shaped) human culture, and are simultaneously shaped *by* culture.¹⁹ Cigarettes are subject to various

¹⁷ Julie Anderson, 'Stoics: Creating Blind Identities at St Dunstan's 1914-1920', in *Men After War*, ed. by Stephen McVeigh and Nicola Cooper (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp.79-91 (p.87).

¹⁸ According to Klein, this is largely due to the identical material forms of these objects, which each represent one other and are consequently subject to constant cultural re-imaginings. Richard Klein, *Cigarettes are Sublime* (Basingstoke: Picador, 1995), pp. 26 - 27; Alan Brandt, *The Cigarette Century: The Rise, Fall, and Deadly Persistence of the Product that Defined America* (New York: Basic Books, 2007), p. 2.

¹⁹ Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), p. 18.

interpretations that shift according to their geographical and temporal location, and also fluctuate in relation to the individuals who consume them.²⁰ As scholars such as Hilton and Jarrett Rudy have outlined, the meaning of cigarettes is often subject to advertising rhetoric, medical discourse, and dominant social and cultural trends including etiquette and taste.²¹ At the same time, smoking, and the particular form of tobacco that individuals choose to smoke, shapes the public identity of consumers according to these discourses. Buying and smoking cigarettes is a form of 'role-playing' and 'species of rhetoric' that implicitly 'signif[ies] certain qualities of the smoker'.²²

Alongside these symbolic interpretations, cigarettes and cigarette smoking are also materially constituted by humans and involved in multiple physical encounters with human bodies. The materiality of cigarettes (and tobacco in general,) is shaped by technological advances, manufacturing processes, and consumer demand.²³ These varying materialities too, articulate human identity and physically shape human bodies: cigarettes are not only purchased, but are also physically consumed, and have tangible impacts upon human corporeality.²⁴ Cigarettes, for example, are taken into the body during inhalation, and (perhaps most obviously,) stimulate chemical and psychological relaxation, provoke taste buds, produce and satisfy addiction, and also incite devastating bodily side-effects, including sickness and even death.²⁵

²⁰ Jarrett Rudy, *The Freedom to Smoke: Tobacco Consumption and Identity* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); Hilton, *Smoking*, pp. 41-59. See also G. L. Apperson, *The Social History of Smoking*, (London: Martin Secker, 1914).

²¹ Rudy, p. 4; Hilton, 'Advertising', pp. 45-70.

²² Michael E. Starr, 'The Marlboro Man: Cigarette Smoking and Masculinity in America', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 17.4 (1984), 45-57 (p. 45).

²³ Hilton, *Smoking*, pp. 83-115.

²⁴ Hilton, *Smoking*, pp. 41-59; Rudy, pp. 46-88.

²⁵ For discussions of the effects of both medical discourse and physical addiction upon tobacco consumption see Brandt, *The Cigarette Century*; Virginia Berridge, *Demons: Our Changing Attitudes to Alcohol, Tobacco and Drugs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), and Hilton, *Smoking*, pp. 179-244.

Alongside these physical reactions, cigarettes also mediate innumerable movements and gestures: they are mechanically and manually rolled; physically exchanged; held between lips; grasped between fingers; set alight; inhaled; tapped and stubbed upon ashtrays; crushed underfoot; and (alternatively,) thrown. Smoking consequently engages humans in countless embodied actions, and also simultaneously locates individuals in certain environments amongst particular groups of people where smoking is either permitted, or expected.²⁶ As Klein has observed, 'smoking cigarettes bodies forth an implicit language of gestures and acts' that are, in turn, 'interpreted' according to prevalent cultural understandings.²⁷ Much like the charitable consumption of, and participation in, entertainment, charitable cigarettes thus shaped both the cultural identities and physical forms of the individuals who purchased, gifted, and smoked them, and consequently had a significant impact upon popular understandings of disability and war-disabled bodies.

This chapter assesses charitable cigarettes as interchangeably conceptual and physically material 'things', to draw attention to the cultural meanings attached to charitable cigarettes in their varying forms, and additionally examine the material gestures constituted by these objects at different periods in their 'social lives'.²⁸ Although cigarettes are especially ephemeral objects that are intended to be burnt, smoked, materially altered, and ultimately disappear altogether, they nevertheless leave a variety of traces within the historical record.²⁹ Whilst no examples of charitable cigarettes themselves exist, it is

²⁶ Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 130.

²⁷ Klein, p. 9.

²⁸ Jermone de Groot, *Remaking History: The Past in Contemporary Historical Fictions* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 91. Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,' in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 3-63; Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', same volume, pp. 64-94.

²⁹ Klein, p. 31.

possible to examine their cultural and material significance through analysis of the various rhetorical and visual references to these things within charitable discourse. Indeed, as Hilton and Penny Tinkler have suggested, both images and written accounts of cigarettes and smoking ‘proliferated’ during the first half of the twentieth century; ‘few other products ha[d] so much written on them’, and ‘understandings of smoking were [also] inextricably bound up with [an abundance of] visual representations’.³⁰

This chapter examines charitable cigarette packaging and advertising, as well as newspaper reports and publicity material, to investigate the ways that charitable discourse shaped and reshaped cultural perceptions of cigarettes and smoking in relation to war-disabled men. It also focuses upon images, photographs, and films that captured transient (and otherwise untraceable) interactions between disabled ex-servicemen, cigarettes, and benevolent donors, to explore the tangible impact of charitable smokes and *smoking* upon the physical configuration of war-disabled bodies in relation to other human and non-human things. Moreover, whilst it is clear that a variety of tobacco schemes were established to assist disabled ex-servicemen in 1920s Britain, this chapter most prominently concentrates upon St Dunstan’s Cigarettes, which were (as previously mentioned,) the most well publicised and familiar charitable cigarettes on the market during this period, and thus offer a wealth of source material, and — as the most pervasive charitable cigarette brand during the 1920s — also provide the greatest insight into post-war understandings of, and practices surrounding, charitably branded smokes and ‘sympathetic smoking’.

In so doing, this chapter reveals that charitable organisations and individuals variously adopted and reimagined cigarettes throughout the period 1914-1929. Like

³⁰ Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 8; Penny Tinkler, *Smoke Signals: Women, Smoking and Visual Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Berg, 2006), p. 11. See also Hilton, ‘Leisure’, p. 320.

charitable entertainment, publicity material surrounding charitable cigarettes — and ‘St Dunstan’s’ in particular — positioned public consumption of these things as a mark of appreciation and support for deserving war-disabled men, and a form of financial compensation for their corporeal sacrifices (albeit one that was mediated through various institutional channels). Charitably gifted cigarettes, too, acted as individual expressions of thanks and friendship to war-disabled men, and tangibly ‘repaid’ maimed soldiers for their war service by providing temporary amusement, relaxation, and even emotional healing to these individuals. At the same time, the introduction of St Dunstan’s Cigarettes (and their publicly inferior charitable competitors,) reflected and reinforced shifting charitable practices in this period that increasingly reconfigured benevolent giving as a formal commercial transaction. By adopting cigarettes as charitable objects, St Dunstan’s offered members of the public something in return for their donations, and consequently rendered charitable action more easily accessible, and more attractive, to a larger proportion of the public. The scheme ultimately raised the prominence of the (already prestigious) institution upon a ‘hierarchy of charity’, and concurrently shaped these particular fags as an especially desirable consumer product: smoking and purchasing ‘St Dunstan’s’ allowed individuals to fulfil their obligation to disabled men, and also offered various tangible and intangible ‘rewards’ to consumers that raised the social value of these smokes in relation to non-charitable cigarettes.

Charitable activities involving cigarettes not only encouraged financial donations, but also reconstructed disabled ex-servicemen’s public identities in multiple ways. Publicity material (and publicity *materials*) surrounding St Dunstan’s Cigarettes reflected wider institutional narratives that positioned blind ex-servicemen as stoic and independent members of British society, and distinguished these heroic men from pre-war conceptions

of degraded and socially derided blind beggars.³¹ Cigarette donations, too, incorporated disabled ex-servicemen into a number of ubiquitous smoking practices amongst both their disabled comrades, and the nondisabled public: gifts of cigarettes created a tangible bridge between disabled ex-servicemen and nondisabled donors, and additionally incorporated war-disabled bodies into a variety of gestures that both evidenced men's physical ability to smoke (and enjoy smoking), and brought disabled ex-servicemen into figurative and bodily contact with members of the public.

Much like charitable entertainment events, public displays of disabled ex-servicemen smoking cigarettes consequently demarcated these heroic and deserving men from pre-war conceptions of disability as a socially isolating condition. The very act of smoking located disabled soldiers within a specifically male social group of smokers, and thus evidenced continued camaraderie between groups of disabled men. Public smoking rituals also acted as a form of social reintegration with the nondisabled public, and most notably, went some way to alleviate popular anxieties surrounding the romantic futures of these men by implicitly mediating romantic gestures and interactions between war-maimed smokers and benevolent women.

Locating Charitable Cigarettes: 'The World's Desire'

As Hilton has suggested, 'any history of the cigarette's role in British society must begin with [a] technological explanation of its early popularity'.³² This chapter therefore 'begin[s]' by locating charitable cigarette schemes within the wider histories of cigarette manufacturing and advertising, to investigate the multiple and shifting conceptualisations of cigarettes both prior to, and during, the First World War, and explore the changing

³¹ Anderson, 'Stoics', pp. 79-91.

³² Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 84.

popularity and uses of these things in this period. In so doing, this section explores the various ways that cigarettes were entangled with cultural expressions of military masculinity and soldiering during the war and offers a contextual basis through which to explore the emergence of wartime charitable cigarettes schemes, and the consequent establishment of charitable cigarettes for war-disabled men.

As scholars such as Hilton and Rudy have illustrated, the material characteristics of cigarettes, and interrelated manufacturing processes involved in cigarette production during the late nineteenth century typically limited cigarette consumption to a 'niche' and 'elite' group of smokers.³³ During this period, cigarettes were hand rolled by women in tobacco factories and, as a consequence, were particularly expensive in comparison to other forms of tobacco which necessitated less intensive labour.³⁴ Moreover, the sleek and supposedly feminine shape of cigarettes, combined with widespread visual rhetoric that depicted liberal, bourgeois, male cigarette smokers as particularly 'dandified' and effeminate connected cigarettes to a somewhat derided notion of femininity.³⁵

From 1883, however, this began to change: in this year Bristol based tobacco company W.D. & H.O. Wills (hereafter Wills) purchased and installed a cigarette-making machine called the 'Bonsack' with the ability to mass-produce up to 300 cigarettes a minute, and began to make cigarettes more quickly and cheaply than ever before.³⁶ By 1888, Wills produced a variety of cheap machine-rolled cigarette brands for as little as a penny for five (known as 'penny cigarettes',) under brand names such as 'Woodbines' and 'Cinderellas' for an expanding working class male market (for whom pre-made cigarettes became an affordable option).³⁷ During the 1890s, tobacco manufacturers throughout the

³³ Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 83.

³⁴ Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 83.

³⁵ Hilton, *Smoking*, pp. 53-54; Elliot, *Women*, p. 4.

³⁶ Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 83.

³⁷ Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 5.

country purchased similar machines in an effort to compete with Wills (although none were as fast as the Bonsack,) and thus, placed cigarettes within the budgets of a larger proportion of the British population.³⁸

A mass consumer market for machine-rolled cigarettes did not, however, emerge overnight. As Hilton has illustrated, cigarette manufacturers adopted a variety of marketing techniques in an effort to popularise (and masculinise) the previously marginal and effeminate cigarette.³⁹ Early cigarette advertisements typically appealed to ‘the lowest common denominators’ in society in an effort to attract a mass-market for mass-produced fags.⁴⁰ These were essentially ‘images so common or uncontroversial that they could not offend any particular section of the market’, and included, for example, references to the consumer’s own body and bodily health, as well as celebratory visions of ‘Britain’s romantic past’.⁴¹

The most prominent of these themes were the late Victorian and Edwardian tropes of militarism, empire, and monarchy that were designed to appeal to British consumers on the basis of a shared sense of patriotism.⁴² Promotional material particularly engaged consumers’ sense of adventure and national pride by employing militaristic language and imagery to allude to the supposed origin of cigarette smoking in Britain, which apparently began when soldiers returned from the Crimean war (1854-1856) with a taste for cigarettes acquired from French and Turkish troops.⁴³ Cigarette manufacturers consequently entangled cigarettes and cigarette smoking with soldiers and sailors, who acted as

³⁸ Matthew Hilton, ““Tabs”, “Fags” and the “Boy Labour Problem” in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain’, *Journal of Social History*, 28.3 (1995), 587-607 (pp. 589-590).

³⁹ Hilton, *Smoking*, pp. 84-85.

⁴⁰ Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 95. This was a common advertising technique in this period. See Lori Ann Leob, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 143.

⁴¹ Hilton, ‘Advertising’, p. 51.

⁴² Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 95.

⁴³ Elliot, ““Destructive””, p. 128.

embodiments of Britishness in a plethora of material(s): John Player & Sons (Player's), for example, adopted a widely recognisable sailor logo known as 'Hero' as the symbol of their 'Navy Cut' cigarettes, and (alongside this rhetorical and visual connection,) also bolstered notions of cigarettes and cigarette smoking as 'soldierly' things in a practical way when they sent over £1,500 in cigarettes to men fighting in the Second Boer War (1899-1902) — an activity that Player's eagerly publicised.⁴⁴

During the First World War, popular discourse, advertising rhetoric, and charitable action further confirmed and consolidated the connection between soldiering and cigarette smoking, and the various meanings and material uses of cigarettes correspondingly shifted in relation to the conflict. As Hilton has determined, cigarette manufacturers viewed the war as an opportunity to further promote cigarettes and elevate social preferences for these things above other forms of tobacco.⁴⁵ From the outbreak of the conflict, cigarette companies intensified existing military advertising tropes, and renewed these themes in an effort to remain relevant within a society that was now (more than ever,) universally preoccupied with the experience of conflict.⁴⁶



Figure 2.1: S. Hindin (1919), Advertisement for 'Carry On!' Cigarettes

⁴⁴ Elliot, *Women*, p. 13, p. 37; Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 95; Hilton, 'Advertising', p. 52, p. 57.

⁴⁵ Hilton, *Smoking*, pp. 96-97.

⁴⁶ Elliot, *Women*, p. 45.

Numerous companies adapted their existing military symbols and slogans to apply more directly to this particular war, and manufacturers launched a host of new cigarette brands with war-themed names such as ‘Tipperary’ and ‘Carry-On’ (Figure 2.1).⁴⁷ Indeed, war-themed cigarettes were so pervasive that *Punch* satirised the trend in April 1917 by suggesting that future cigarette brands should be named ‘The Brass-Hat,’ ‘The Offensive,’ and ‘The Gas Attack’.⁴⁸ Alongside these persistent military themes, popular rhetoric additionally reinforced existing conceptions of soldiers as ‘archetypal cigarette smokers’. Countless brands (including ‘Carry-On’) employed images of British soldiers in mid-battle or smoking in uniform, and a number of companies directly targeted soldierly consumers.⁴⁹ Wills, for example, heralded ‘Woodbines’ as ‘Tommy’s favourite fag’, and sent regular cigarette donations to the fighting fronts, and Carreras even included 24-page French-to-English dictionaries, phrase books, and French grammar in packets of ‘Black Cats’ (for soldiers who apparently required French lessons alongside their smokes).⁵⁰

Innumerable accounts went so far as to suggest that cigarettes were an emotional and material necessity for thousands of real-life combatants. This was primarily connected to the specific materiality of cigarettes, which were allegedly the most logistically efficient form of tobacco for soldiers. The *Tobacco Trade Review (TTR)*, for example, elevated cigarettes above other forms of tobacco when it noted that these things were especially practical for men in the trenches as they ‘required no pipe’, and ‘there was [therefore] nothing to lose except the matches’.⁵¹ Alongside these (more obviously) tangible uses of

⁴⁷ W. & M. Taylor, ‘Tipperary Cigarettes’, Imperial War Museum [hereafter IWM], Souvenirs and Ephemera Collection [hereafter EPH], 2168 <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30082072>> [accessed November 2018]; S. Hindin, ‘Carry On!’, *Tobacco Trade Review* [hereafter *TTR*], 1 July 1919, p. 58.

⁴⁸ ‘Co-operative Advertisements’, *Punch*, 4 April 1917, p. 228.

⁴⁹ S. Hindin, ‘Carry On!’, p. 58.

⁵⁰ Chris Wrigley, ‘Smoking For King and Country’, *History Today*, 64.4 (2014), 24-30 (p. 27); Unnamed report, *People*, 19 December 1915, p. 2, in Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 126.

⁵¹ Unnamed report, *TTR*, 1 February 1915, p. 45, in Elliot, “‘Destructive’”, p. 224.

cigarettes, promotional accounts also recurrently emphasised the physiological and symbolic benefits of cigarette smoking for soldiers: advertisements and press reports variously suggested that fags had the capacity to both reduce physical pain and trauma, and to help soldiers overcome the nerves of battle. Trade publication *Tobacco Weekly* claimed that cigarettes provided ‘solace to soldiers, sailors and the wounded’, and Benedict Crowell, Assistant Secretary of War, similarly noted that, ‘to a man enduring physical hardship, tobacco fills a need nothing else can satisfy’.⁵²

Indeed, like Crowell, military and medical officials voraciously supported these sentiments, and lent further credibility to advertising claims: from the beginning of the war, government policy removed the duty on purchases of cigarettes sent to the front, and from 1916 onwards the War Office supplied cigarettes to troops as part of standard equipment (in much the same way as the rum rations soldiers received before going ‘over the top’).⁵³ The physical benefits of smoking were particularly legitimised by medical practitioners, who likewise lauded smoking as a physiological way to alleviate nerves. In 1915, for example, the *Lancet* ‘brush[ed] aside [...] prejudice about the use of tobacco’ to claim that it was ‘a source of comfort’ to ‘soldier and sailor engaged in a nerve-wracking campaign’.⁵⁴ These activities, in particular, implied that fags were more than a soldierly predilection, and shaped cigarettes as an absolute material requirement for soldiers. Alongside ‘official’ claims, numerous press reports and advertising accounts also explicitly suggested that cigarettes were an essential form of war *matériel*. In July 1917, the *Sussex Agricultural*

⁵² ‘Tobacco and War’, *Tobacco Weekly*, 1 January 1919, p. 28; Benedict Crowell, in A. E. Hamilton, *The Smoking World* (London: Methuen, 1928), p. 7. Princess Mary also famously gave Royal support to soldierly cigarette smoking when she sent a tin containing a packet of cigarettes and pouch of tobacco to every soldier on the western front in December 1914. ‘Princess Mary’s Gift Fund 1914 Box, Class A, Smokers’, IWM, EPH, 9380, <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30089139>> [accessed November 2018].

⁵³ Elliot, *Women*, p. 47.

⁵⁴ Unnamed article, *Lancet*, 3 October 1914, in James Walton, *The Faber Book of Smoking* (London: Faber & Faber, 2000), p. 207.

Express criticised soldiers for smoking too much, and further noted that they ‘appeared to think that cigarettes were a part of regulation equipment’.⁵⁵ Likewise, in October 1914, the trade journal *Tobacco* claimed that ‘it might almost be said that a man in the firing line first thinks of his cartridges and the very next thing he seems to worry about is tobacco for his pipe’, and thus placed smoking on a pedestal above soldiers’ guns.⁵⁶ These reports suggested that cigarettes not only provided comfort, but also — like guns and helmets — kept men alive. On a number of occasions cigarettes and cigarette holders literally saved soldiers’ lives by fortuitously shielding parts of their bodies from shrapnel or bullets.⁵⁷

The emotional value of cigarettes was perhaps most evident within reports surrounding the war-wounded, for whom the material benefits of cigarette smoking were regarded as a particularly essential source of physical and emotional healing. A number of accounts divulged that, although they were often unable to physically light the match, ‘the [wounded] soldiers’ [very] first request’ was often for a cigarette.⁵⁸ In 1916, the *Leeds Mercury* recounted the story of one soldier, Private J. T. Elmer, who suffered ‘hell’ during the course of battle, and received a shrapnel wound ‘to his body’, yet later found ‘his world’s desire — a cigarette’ — at a casualty clearing station in Deville Wood.⁵⁹ According to Elmer, the provision of a cigarette meant that, whilst he experienced ‘[h]ell one day’, he encountered [h]eaven the next’, in the form of this much coveted smoke.⁶⁰

These accounts variously suggested that for wounded soldiers too, cigarettes were an essential source of comfort, and, indeed, were often soldiers’ primary concern (or

⁵⁵ ‘Cigarettes as Equipment’, *Sussex Agricultural Express*, 6 July 1917, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Unnamed article, *Tobacco*, October 1914, in Wrigley, p. 24.

⁵⁷ Elliot ‘From Tobacco’, p. 146. For an example of a cigarette case damaged by shrapnel see also ‘Cigarette Case: British’, IWM, EPH, 1308 <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30081470>> [accessed October 2018].

⁵⁸ Unnamed photograph, *Edinburgh Evening News*, 13 August 1915, p. 4.

⁵⁹ ‘Wounded but Cheerful: A Cigarette the World’s Desire’, *Leeds Mercury*, 9 November 1916, p. 2.

⁶⁰ ‘Wounded but Cheerful’, p. 2.

'world's desire') even in the face of injury and death. To some extent, this rhetoric positioned cigarettes as medicinal objects that physically relieved pain and reversed the trauma of wounding. One report in the *Manchester Evening News*, for example, revealed that 'a pipe, "baccy", or a cigarette' allowed 'wounded heroes' to 'forget their pain and the horrible war experience through which they ha[d] passed', and also suggested that cigarettes were an 'easy' way of 'making these men happy' despite their injuries.⁶¹

Although it is impossible to extricate soldierly understandings of cigarettes from popular constructions of these things, it is clear that, to some extent, advertisements and popular reports did reflect the various uses and meanings of cigarettes on the fighting fronts. As Elliot has determined, cigarettes and cigarette packaging were an 'integral' material aspect of 'day-to-day life' for soldiers: men not only smoked fags, but used cigarette packaging to store personal items such as soap, or hold together ripped Franc notes.⁶² Further still, cigarettes played a key role in mediating relationships and facilitating camaraderie between soldiers, for whom companionship was an essential source of emotional survival on the front lines.⁶³ As Reeve and Klein have outlined, soldiers regularly used cigarettes as a monetary unit, a mark of esteem between troops, and a 'social salve' that initiated homosocial bonding.⁶⁴ For men starved of physical intimacy, the ritualised sharing and lighting of cigarettes also initiated tactile interactions between soldiers, and reinforced friendship by placing men's bodies in close physical proximity to share perhaps one of the only personal items at their disposal.⁶⁵ One soldier, W.A. Quinton, affirmed that

⁶¹ 'Tobacco Fund for 6,000 Wounded Soldiers', *Manchester Evening News*, 15 October 1915, p. 2.

⁶² Elliot, 'From Tobacco', p. 146.

⁶³ Santanu Das, "'Kiss Me Hardy": Intimacy, Gesture, and Gender in First World War Trench Literature', *Modernism/Modernity*, 9.1 (2002), 51-75 (p. 56). See also Sarah Cole, *Modernism, Male Friendship and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 6-7.

⁶⁴ Klein, p. 137; Reeve, pp. 483-501 (pp. 485-486). Tobacco related paraphernalia, too, was often bartered or sold amongst soldiers. Saunders, *Trench Art*, p. 41.

⁶⁵ Numerous official and press photographs showed soldiers leaning together to share a match or light one another's smokes, and also depicted stretcher-bearers and nurses leaning towards wounded men poised with

'[s]haring everything, down to the last cigarette end, the last army biscuit, the last bit of cover under enemy bombardment' was a source of 'love' between troops. Indeed, this particular account also attested to the critical role that cigarettes played in soldiers' lives: by equating fags with food and shelter, Quinton's unpublished memoir implicitly suggested that smokes (like these other forms of sustenance,) were essential to soldiers' very survival.⁶⁶

As Nicholas Saunders has outlined, cigarette and smoking related paraphernalia, too, fulfilled a variety of material and emotional needs for soldiers on the fighting fronts. 'Tobacciana' (or the material culture of smoking,) was familiar to almost all soldiers, who personalised cigarette lighters, made these objects from 'bullets and/or scrap metal', created matchbox covers 'from brass or steel scrap, and often simply inscribed and decorated tobacco boxes [...] and tobacco cloth pouches, cigarette cases and ashtrays made from metal'.⁶⁷ Matchbox holders and cigarette cases not only (reportedly) protected soldiers' bodies and provided essential protection for cigarettes, matches, and fragile wooden matchboxes but, for many men, also encapsulated personal wartime narratives: these objects were both a material record of conflict that were created from the debris of war, and were also often inscribed with discursive and visual stories of men's experiences.⁶⁸ Matchbox holders, for example, generally consisted of a number of flat, pliable surfaces (made from scrap metal such as brass or copper) upon which soldiers inscribed decorative

matches to light their cigarettes. See for example Unnamed photograph, *Edinburgh Evening News*, 13 August 1915, p. 4. For an in-depth discussion of gesture and intimacy between soldiers during the First World War, see Santanu Das, *Touch and Intimacy in First World War Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁶⁶ W. A. Quinton, Unpublished memoir, in Das, "'Kiss me Hardy'", pp. 51-74 (p. 63). Countless commercial cigarette advertisements also featured images of men sharing cigarettes as a symbol of male bonding in the trenches. See for example, S. Hindin, 'There is No Peace for Us', *TTR*, 1 June 1918, p. 35. Sharing cigarettes was not limited to men on active duty; wounded soldiers likewise regularly gifted cigarettes to their similarly injured companions in military hospitals as a symbol of comradeship. 'The Hospital Life of the Wounded: Comradeship, Cheerfulness and Cigarette-Smoking', *Hospital*, 1512.58 (1915), 227- 228.

⁶⁷ Nicholas Saunders, *Trench Art: Materialities and Memories of War* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), p. 30, p. 39.

⁶⁸ Saunders, *Trench Art*, p. 85, pp. 83-86.

images and writing that ranged from their names and initials to landscapes.⁶⁹ This activity (much like smoking itself,) both alleviated boredom, and allowed soldiers to emotionally process and commemorate their experiences.⁷⁰

By 1918, cigarettes were firmly established as soldierly things, and soldiers were accordingly conceptualised as avid, and constant smokers. This was, in large part, due to commercial efforts to popularise cigarettes, but was also driven by a general grassroots shift towards cigarette smoking that was (at least partially), initiated by soldiers themselves, for whom cigarettes acted as an important source of physiological comfort and homosocial bonding.⁷¹ However, soldiers and cigarette manufacturers were by no means the only groups who contributed to entangled notions of militarism and smoking in this period, nor were they the only individuals who generously shared cigarettes during the war: charitable action too, played a significant role in promulgating notions of soldierly smokers, and further transformed these objects into ‘charitable’, patriotic items.

From the outbreak of the war, benevolent members of the public launched a variety of grassroots efforts and organised schemes with the explicit purpose of providing cigarettes to men at the fronts. Newspapers and periodicals established a number of initiatives to campaign for cigarette donations, including the ‘Soldiers’ and Sailors Tobacco Fund’ and the ‘Smoke Fund’ (the latter of which was endorsed by the War Office and Admiralty, and enjoyed the patronage of Queen Alexandra).⁷² These funds variously collected money through cigarette subscriptions and organised events, which, notably, rendered this form of charitable action particularly accessible for members of the public:

⁶⁹ Saunders, *Trench Art*, p. 85.

⁷⁰ Saunders, *Trench Art*, p. 41.

⁷¹ Elliot, ‘From Tobacco’, p. 145.

⁷² ‘Soldiers and Sailors Tobacco Fund’, *Cornishman*, 4 November 1913, p. 3; Thomas Bert, ‘“Fag” Day’ Poster for The Smoke Fund, (London: Witherby & Co., 1917), IWM, Poster collection [hereafter PST], 0415 < <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/26181> > [accessed September 2018].

even the poorest members of society were able to donate or collect a few cigarettes for the fund, and children too, were included in these efforts. For example, Jennie Jackson, the daughter of a miner from Towneley Colliery in Burnley, dressed as 'little Kitchener' and collected coppers from local factories to supply tobacco to soldiers.⁷³ Likewise, in November 1914 a group of Girl Guides from Staines, Middlesex collected 800 cigarettes and sent them to wounded soldiers recovering at Charing Cross Hospital.⁷⁴

As the efforts of the Staines Girl Guides demonstrate, cigarette funds were not limited to active combatants, but also incorporated wounded soldiers. Newspapers regularly requested financial donations to supply cigarettes to the wounded, for whom 'a pipe or a cigarette' was reportedly 'the greatest of luxuries', and members of the public likewise collected cigarettes and monetary donations to provide smokes for these men.⁷⁵ Manchester and Salford, for example, initiated a 'Tobacco Fund' for wounded soldiers in local hospitals, whilst members of a Cardiff 'Conservative Club' collected individual cigarettes in a box to be distributed to wounded soldiers in the local area.⁷⁶ On 19 May 1917, the 'Smoke Fund' also arranged a specific "'Fag" Day' to collect and distribute cigarettes to wounded soldiers and sailors recovering in hospital, and posters for the event featured the familiar image of a wounded soldier in hospital blues smoking a cigarette alongside an injured sailor in full naval uniform with his arm in a sling (Figure 2.2).⁷⁷

⁷³ Peter Grant, *Philanthropy and Voluntary Action in the First World War* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 45-46.

⁷⁴ 'Cigarettes for the Wounded', *Middlesex Chronicle*, 28 November 1914, p. 3.

⁷⁵ 'Tobacco Fund for 8,000 Soldiers', *Manchester Evening News*, 1 December 1915, p. 6.

⁷⁶ 'Cigarettes for Cardiff Wounded', *Western Mail*, 3 October 1914, p. 6

⁷⁷ Bert, "'Fag" Day'.



Figure 2.2: Bert Thomas (1917), “Fag” Day’ Poster for the ‘Smoke Fund’

During the war, cigarette donations were so abundant that they, like war-themed cigarette brands, were also satirised within press reports. One November 1916 cartoon in *Punch* depicted a woman selecting ‘a useful present for her nephew in the trenches’ in the form of an ash-tray, a presumably useless object in the temporary confines of a dug-out.⁷⁸ A similar *Punch* cartoon likewise depicted a wounded soldier who ‘lay on his deck chair placidly smoking his hundredth cigarette that day’, and thus commented on the over-generosity of the ‘sentimental public’.⁷⁹ ‘Studies in Frustration’ (as the image was entitled,) informed readers that, although this particular wounded soldier ‘was not naturally a smoker [...], cigarettes arrived in enormous numbers and something had to be done with them’.⁸⁰ Indeed, whilst the article was intended to ridicule cigarette donations, it did

⁷⁸ Henry Thomas, ‘Prime Lady’, *Punch*, 8 November 1916, p. 336.

⁷⁹ E.V. Lucas, ‘Studies in Frustration’, *Punch*, 5 January 1916, p. 13.

⁸⁰ Lucas, p. 13.

somewhat accurately reflect the vast numbers of cigarettes provided for wounded men: in his wartime memoir, hospital orderly Ward R. Muir revealed that '[s]tretcher cases' often received a 'customary packet of cigarettes' upon entering hospital, and 'this packet was probably the second, for he often gets one at the railway station too'.⁸¹

It is clear that, to a certain extent, the profusion of charitably gifted smokes was inspired by wartime cigarette marketing, which (unsurprisingly), not only positioned cigarettes as a necessity for fighting men, but also encouraged the public to send these essential items to soldiers. The inclusion of French-to-English phrase books in packets of 'Black Cats', for example, implicitly instructed members of the public to send 'Black Cat' cigarettes to their loved ones on the fighting fronts. Numerous cigarette companies also distributed cigarette subscription forms in both the popular press and tobacco journals, in an attempt to persuade the public to sign up to send regular donations of smokes to the front at '[d]uty free rates'.⁸²

However, cigarette donations were additionally (and concomitantly,) inspired by a sense of popular obligation towards both fighting soldiers and wounded men. Charitable cigarette appeals regularly referenced the heroism and bravery of the soldier heroes who were 'defending [British] Homes and Hearth', and thus deserved 'all the thoughtfulness and kindness the Homeland [could] give them'.⁸³ According to these accounts, soldiers therefore, 'must have it all, all the time', and one way to ensure this was by sending these men the cigarettes they allegedly craved.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Ward T. Muir, *Observations of an Orderly: Some Glimpses of Life and Work in an English War Hospital* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1917), p. 101.

⁸² Players, Unnamed advertisement, *TTR*, 1 January 1919, p. 13.

⁸³ 'Something to Smoke Fund', *Berwickshire News and General Advertiser*, 30 May 1916, p. 6.

⁸⁴ 'Something to Smoke Fund', p. 6.



Figure 2.3: S. Hindin (1918), Advertisement for Crayol Cigarettes

For wounded soldiers, too, cigarette provisions were not only considered a preferred source of comfort, but were also portrayed as both a tangible reward, and form of material recompense for soldiers' war service and subsequent wounding. One advertisement for Crayol cigarettes recounted that 'we never can do enough, for those who have done their bit', and thus encouraged the benevolent public to mimic, Lady Crayol (a generous elderly lady pictured in the advertisement,) who always 'carr[ie]d a large size muff, with plenty of smokes in it' (Figure 2.3).⁸⁵

Further still, by portraying cigarettes as an absolute material necessity for soldiers in wartime, charitable schemes and commercial advertising rhetoric subsumed cigarette consumption into broader popular attempts to assist the war effort.⁸⁶ Conceptions of cigarettes as essential to both troops' fighting abilities and physical comfort not only elevated the social prestige of these items in wartime, but additionally positioned cigarette

⁸⁵ Drapkin & Co., 'My Lady Crayol', *TTR*, 1 January 1918, p. 29.

⁸⁶ Elliot, 'From Tobacco', p. 146.

consumption itself as a patriotic contribution to the war: by suggesting that cigarettes were as fundamental to Allied victory as soldiers' guns (for example,) popular discourse framed cigarette donations as a display of patriotic citizenship.⁸⁷ Like the countless other 'comforts' schemes established during the war, cigarette funds were consequently lauded in the popular press for making valuable contributions to the 'war effort', and various schemes even explicitly styled themselves as 'Patriotic Tobacco Fund[s]'.⁸⁸ Much like entertainment provisions for war-disabled men, cigarette donations thus fulfilled a sense of public obligation towards deserving soldiers, and also 'rewarded' members of the public for their benevolence by providing a sense of wellbeing and moral virtue.⁸⁹ As Elliot has outlined, cigarette donors were regularly lauded in trade journals and newspaper reports, which listed these individuals by name and thus compensated members of the public for their generosity and patriotism by increasing their social status in a public forum.⁹⁰

At the same time, cigarette consumption and donations also initiated a connection between the home and fighting fronts. Cigarettes were a tangible piece of home that were physically transported to the front lines, and for many individuals, 'collecting cigarettes and tobacco for the troops' thus also 'provided a bridge between the different existences at home' and in the conflict zones.⁹¹ This was most obviously expressed in the *British American Tobacco Bulletin*, which printed correspondence from troops personally thanking individuals for their tobacco donations, and thus created a further sense of connection

⁸⁷ Elliot, 'From Tobacco', pp. 141-154.

⁸⁸ See for example, 'Local War Efforts', *Middlesex Chronicle*, 26 September 1914, p. 2; 'Our Patriotic Tobacco Fund', *St Andrews Citizen*, 2 February 1918, p. 4.

⁸⁹ Various collections also offered members of the public tangible rewards for their benevolence. 'Fag Day', for example, rewarded donors with 'Fag Day' flags, and likely took direct inspiration from popular wartime 'flag days', after which to occasion was named. 'Wounded Soldiers and Sailors Fag Day Fund Flag', n.d., Museum of Liverpool, First World War Charity Flag Pins Collection, MMM.2002.66.4 <<http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/mol/collections/social-history/community/charity-flag-pins/item-629042.aspx>> [accessed June 2017].

⁹⁰ See for example, 'Gift to Soldiers and Sailors Tobacco Fund', *Hull Daily Mail*, 18 December 1916, p. 3.

⁹¹ Elliot, *Women*, p. 45.

between British donors and soldierly smokers.⁹² Various cigarette funds, too, explicitly positioned cigarettes as tangible expressions of affection that traversed the boundary between Britain and the fronts: the *Berwickshire Journal* 'Something to Smoke Fund', for example, directly referred to cigarette donations as 'a human touch', and labelled charitably gifted cigarettes symbols of 'love and affection'.⁹³ One Scottish 'Patriotic Tobacco Fund', similarly suggested that members of the public could make 'a friend at-the-Front' by donating a 'few extra shillings [...] for cigarettes' to 'friendless' soldiers.⁹⁴

It is clear that for soldiers, too, charitably donated (or 'affection[ately]' gifted) cigarettes both acted as reminders of home, and material symbols of 'love'. Various soldierly accounts conceptualised cigarettes as a romantic bridge between men and their sweethearts, and even suggested that cigarettes had the capacity to facilitate new relationships. Trench literature, for example, regularly described cigarettes as a comforting replacement for the physical presence of women, and a reminder of soldiers' loved ones (who had most likely sent them the cigarettes). Cigarette smoke, too, was especially sensualised as a nostalgia inducing 'picture screen' through which to envisage a female companion.⁹⁵ One poem in the soldiers' press depicted a woman's red lips puffing upon a cigarette in the 'magic picture set' of his cigarette smoke:

When I smoke my cigarette
I can see two red lips curving
In the magic picture set
Where the smoke goes floating, swerving.⁹⁶

⁹² Elliot, *Women*, p. 45.

⁹³ 'Something to Smoke Fund', p. 6.

⁹⁴ 'Our Patriotic Tobacco Fund', p. 4.

⁹⁵ Graham Seal, *The Soldiers' Press: Trench Journals in the First World War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 212.

⁹⁶ Seal, p. 212.

As Graham Seal has revealed, cigarettes represented an eroticised fantasy of home for many soldiers, and the very act of smoking, too, recalled ‘idealised image[s] of a [invented] modest [and] women’.⁹⁷

Much like the cigarettes shared between men in the trenches, charitably gifted cigarettes also initiated a variety of intimate gestures and created the potential for romantic encounters between charitable women and soldiers. For charitable women, in particular, cigarette donations were a way to negotiate (perhaps otherwise inappropriate) relationships with heroic and desirable soldiers during wartime. Lieutenant Colonel T. H. Clayton Young commented on this cultural phenomenon within one diary entry that described ‘two old ladies in short tweed dresses’ who, ‘thinking themselves young and comely were going about giving chocolate and cigarettes to the officers and men’ on one train of soldiers.⁹⁸ For wounded soldiers, too, charitably gifted cigarettes mediated a variety of allegedly romantic physical gestures and encounters with nurses (in particular). Numerous wartime magazines, advertisements, and postcards depicted nurses suggestively leaning towards heroic wounded soldiers to light their cigarettes, and thus further depicted smokes as intimate and seductive objects.⁹⁹ This particular trope was not lost upon commercial manufacturers: one advertisement for De Reszke cigarettes, for example, depicted a wounded cavalryman with his arm in a sling, grasping the hand of a Red Cross nurse, who held a box of cigarettes just out of his reach (Figure 2.4).¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Seal, p. 212.

⁹⁸ Lieut. Col. T. H. Clayton-Nunn, Diary entry, 11 April 1916, in Janet K. Watson, *Fighting Different Wars: Experience, Memory and the First World War in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 109-111.

⁹⁹ Luci Gosling, “‘Arf a Mo Kaiser’ – Smokes for Tommy – Cigarettes & Soldiers, WWI’, ([n. p.], Mary Evans Picture Library, 2013) <<https://blog.maryevans.com/2013/11/smokes-for-tommy-cigarettes-and-the-british-soldier-ww1.html>> [accessed November 2018] (para. 7 of 12).

¹⁰⁰ Rillette, ‘Just One More’ (London: J Millhoff & Co. Limited, c.1914-1918), IWM, PST, 13678 <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/22922>> [accessed October 2018].



Figure 2.4: Rillette (c. 1914-1918), 'Just One More', Advertisement for De Reszcke Cigarettes

The soldier somewhat provocatively begged for 'just one more' cigarette, whilst cupid hid, arrow poised, behind a box of 'medical supplies' which contained a further supply of 'De Reszkes'.¹⁰¹ The advertisement both alluded to the pseudo-medicinal healing qualities of cigarettes — or so-called 'medical supplies' — for wounded men, and also positioned De Reszke cigarettes as a material aid to romance. Indeed, the smokes not only symbolically sparked romance between the couple, but also brought their bodies into close physical proximity. By holding the smokes out of reach, the nurse enticed the wounded soldier — who was apparently desperate for a fag — to lean into her body and grasp her hand in a way that suggested romantic attraction.

It is clear that, by the end of the First World War, cigarettes were no longer considered effeminate, dandified objects, but were, rather, connected to a particular male

¹⁰¹ Rillette, 'Just One More'.

group of soldierly smokers. By connecting cigarettes with the ubiquitous fighting Tommy, commercial businesses successfully completed pre-war attempts to reconceptualise cigarettes (and cigarette smoking) from a marginal, semi-derided object into desirable things, so that, 'from having a tiny share of the tobacco market in 1890, by the end of the First World War, the majority of the tobacco consumed in the United Kingdom was in the form of cigarettes'.¹⁰²

Whilst this shift was largely initiated by commercial activities, charitable action also played a significant role within the broader reconceptualisation of cigarettes. Charitable inducements to collect cigarettes for wounded and fighting soldiers further reinforced entangled notions of cigarette smoking with soldiering, and additionally encouraged increased public consumption of these things that consequently stimulated further cigarette purchases within the remit of benevolence. To a certain extent, this discourse also inspired members of the public to smoke as a form of connection to their loved ones at war. As Hilton has determined, by the end of the conflict, cigarette smoking was a universal habit amongst the British populace: 'the First World War [...] democratised the cigarette more than any other event', and not only encouraged increased consumption of these items, but additionally inspired an entire generation of 'avid' cigarette smokers, who were eager to participate in an archetypal aspect of day-to-day life in the trenches.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 84.

¹⁰³ Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 126. The recasting of cigarette smoking as both a soldierly habit and patriotic duty had unintended, and somewhat ironic, consequences. As Peter Taylor has pointed out, the tobacco 'extolled by governments' and smoked by soldiers during war was 'capable of killing more people than the wars they were fighting'; wartime enthusiasm for cigarettes contributed in no small part to the spread of lung cancer 'twenty to thirty years' later. By 1960, over 10,000 people a year died from lung cancer, causing enormous expense for the newly formed National Health Service (although not nearly as large as the money the state gained from tobacco sales). This figure directly correlated with the widespread popularity of smoking during the First World War, and although it is difficult to ascertain the numbers of soldierly smokers who later contracted the disease, it is clear that the 'greatest increase' in smoking-related lung cancer during the 1940s was among male smokers over the age of forty-five (the demographic most commonly conscripted during the First World War). Peter Taylor, *Smoke Ring: The Politics of Tobacco* (London: The Bodley Head: 1984), pp. 1-3; Virginia Berridge, 'The Policy Response to the Smoking and Lung Cancer Connection in the 1950s and 1960s', *Historical Journal*, 49.4 (2006), 1185-1209 (p. 1189).

The various wartime meanings of cigarettes did not end upon the Armistice: as the next section of this chapter demonstrates, soldierly conceptualisations of cigarettes prevailed in the post-war period, and the various charitable uses and understandings of these things initiated during the conflict were continually applied to disabled soldiers throughout the 1920s. From November 1921, St Dunstan's, in particular, further intensified 'the world's desire' for fags by incorporating these things into fundraising efforts for the *most* heroic disabled soldiers: war-blind men.

Consuming Charitable Cigarettes: 'Every Little Helps'

As the introduction to this chapter has outlined, in the aftermath of the war, a number of initiatives, including St Dunstan's Cigarettes, Sursum Corda, the United Ex-Service Men's Cigarette Company, and the Ex-Service Men's Tobacco Supplies Company, continued to incorporate cigarettes into charitable efforts for the war-disabled. Unlike wartime schemes, which focused solely upon the provision of smokes to active combatants and wounded servicemen, post-war charities also used cigarettes as fundraising objects, and thus further reconceptualised the social uses and meanings of cigarettes in relation to disabled ex-servicemen.

This section examines charitable discourse, cigarette advertising, and cigarette packaging, to assess the various meanings and uses of charitably branded smokes in 1920s Britain and investigate the myriad ways that these objects shaped understandings of war-disabled men and charitable action during this period. It explores both the financial and physiological consumption of charitable smokes, and draws particular attention to the popular motivations involved in purchasing these things, as well as the numerous physical gestures and smoking rituals constituted by charitable fags. Whilst a number of schemes launched charitably branded cigarettes in the aftermath of the war, this section primarily

focuses on St Dunstan's Cigarettes, which (as the introduction to this chapter has outlined,) were the most well publicised charitable fags during the 1920s.

In so doing, this section reveals that, much like charitable entertainment, St Dunstan's' cigarette scheme rendered charitable action more accessible, and more appealing, to a wider portion of the nondisabled public. By offering individuals a tangible object in exchange for donations, St Dunstan's reshaped charitable giving as a commercial transaction that rewarded nondisabled smokers for their benevolence. Cigarette consumption offered individuals both a sense of social prestige connected with assisting the heroic war-blind, and simultaneously compensated individuals with a useful object that could be smoked, enjoyed, and publicly displayed for personal benefit. Like wartime cigarette schemes, St Dunstan's consequently reshaped cigarettes, cigarette consumption, and smoking itself, for the broader needs of a nation recovering from mass upheaval. Publicity material positioned these particular smokes as especially desirable charitable objects, and concurrently recharacterised the embodied act of smoking as an exceptionally pleasurable experience, and a public display of benevolence.

The idea for St Dunstan's Cigarettes was devised in 1921 by the founder of the institution, newspaper mandate and philanthropist Sir Arthur Pearson (who was himself blind as a result of glaucoma,) and the fags were launched in November that year (shortly before Pearson's unfortunate and untimely death a month later).¹⁰⁴ It is clear that the scheme was, in part, inspired by a continued connection between soldiers (disabled or otherwise,) and cigarette smoking. As Anderson has illustrated, St Dunstan's Cigarettes recalled 'the mateship of the trenches, shared by opposing soldiers, dying comrades, and

¹⁰⁴ 'St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *SDR*, 6.59, October 1921, p. 11. 'St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 5 November 1921, p. 5; 'St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *Grantham Journal*, 21 January 1922, p. 9.

wounded and survivors alike'.¹⁰⁵ This is particularly evident within press reports, which specifically associated St Dunstan's Cigarettes with the fags smoked by active combatants during the war. Upon the launch of the brand in November 1921, the *Chelmsford Chronicle*, for example, noted that, "[h]ave a St. Dunstan?" was destined to become as popular as another brand was among the troops during the war', and thus explicitly connected St Dunstan's Cigarettes to soldierly wartime fags.¹⁰⁶

'St Dunstan's' were immediately popular: by March 1923, sales of the fags had raised over £9,000 in royalties for the after-care association.¹⁰⁷ This success dramatically contrasted similar cigarette schemes, which were both poorly advertised, and poorly received by the nondisabled public. Although it is possible to trace various ex-servicemen's tobacco companies through legal documentation, schemes such as Sursum Corda, the United Ex-Service Men's Cigarette Company, and the Tobacco Supplies Company were sparsely advertised within the popular press, and dissolved shortly after their inception. The Ex-Servicemen's Tobacco Supplies Company was founded in December 1919, and was officially liquidated just over two years later in January 1921.¹⁰⁸ Limited newspaper reports on the company reveal that the various tobacconists opened as part of the scheme closed at the same time, and ex-servicemen were forced to relocate their businesses: one branch in Leamington Spa run by a Mr Norman Cambray, for example, opened in 1920 and closed in October 1923, when Cambray was forced to move on and open a business 'on his own

¹⁰⁵ Anderson, 'Stoics', p. 87.

¹⁰⁶ 'St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 11 November 1921, p. 7.

¹⁰⁷ 'St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *Aberdeen Journal*, 18 November 1921, p. 3; Unnamed snippet, *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 10 March 1923, p. 4. This was an impressive feat considering that, during this period, cigarettes generally offered a low profit margin. Matthew Hilton, 'Retailing History as Economic and Cultural History: Strategies of Survival by Specialist Tobacconists in the Mass Market', *Business History*, 40.4 (1998), 115-137 (p. 120).

¹⁰⁸ 'Notice of Appointment of Liquidator: United Ex-Servicemen's Cigarette Supplies Company', 15 July 1921, TNA, BT, 31/25343/161595.

account'.¹⁰⁹ A liquidator was likewise appointed to the United Ex-Service Men's Cigarette Company in July 1921, just three months after they adopted this new name (although the company did not officially 'wind up' until May 1925).¹¹⁰

The comparative popularity of St Dunstan's Cigarettes was based, in part, upon widespread public awareness of St Dunstan's Hostel, and was additionally connected to the social prestige of blinded ex-servicemen, who, as Anderson has outlined, were considered among the *most* worthy charitable causes in this period.¹¹¹ According to contemporary notions of disability, war-blind men had made the greatest possible bodily sacrifice in war — their sight — and were thus considered both the most heroic war-disabled men, and the most deserving of public support.¹¹² Furthermore, blind soldiers were viewed as especially 'trainable' and therefore 'useful': unlike limbless soldiers, who (as Chapter Three of this thesis demonstrates,) were regarded as particularly incapable of employment as a result of their fractured corporeality, blind ex-servicemen were generally portrayed as physically whole, and were consequently viewed as especially capable of gaining meaningful employment and successfully returning to civilian life.¹¹³ For nondisabled members of the public, blinded soldiers' intact bodies were also more acceptable, less upsetting, and therefore more appealing than those of limbless ex-servicemen, whose empty sleeves and trouser-legs were a shocking and pitiful sight.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ 'Announcement - the United Ex-Servicemen's Tobacco Supplies Co. Ltd', *Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser*, 27 October 1923, p. 5.

¹¹⁰ 'Affidavit Verifying Statement of Liquidator's Account: The Ex-Servicemen's Tobacco Supplies Company (Limited)', 7 July 1921, TNA, BT, 31/25343/161595. It is likely that these schemes failed due to the increasingly mechanised, industrial nature of cigarette manufacturing in this period, which slowly 'did away' with specialist tobacconists and, as Hilton has determined, replaced expert retailers and made-to-taste tobacco mixes with selections of pre-packaged, identical cigarettes. Hilton, 'Retailing', pp. 115-137 (p. 116).

¹¹¹ Anderson, 'Stoics', p. 81.

¹¹² Anderson, 'Stoics', pp. 79-91.

¹¹³ Anderson, 'Stoics', p. 81.

¹¹⁴ Anderson, 'Stoics', p. 81.

St Dunstan's publicity actively promulgated these various notions of blindness, and created a heroic 'war blind identity' that separated blind ex-servicemen from degraded and beggarly blind civilians — who were viewed with a 'combination of derision, scorn, guilt, and embarrassment' — and thus encouraged popular support for the institution, and St Dunstaners themselves.¹¹⁵ Promotional material especially propagated notions of the war-blind as 'stoic' and retrainable, and reassured the benevolent public that blinded soldiers at St Dunstan's were able to regain their economic 'normalcy', and 'learn to be blind' through a mixture of employment training, sport, and comradeship provided by the institution.¹¹⁶ The creation of this 'war-blind identity' was key to the success of St Dunstan's, and accordingly, to the popularity of St Dunstan's Cigarettes, which encapsulated these messages in a saleable form, and acted as a way for members of the public to fulfil their obligation to the war-blind.¹¹⁷

Although Carreras received a sum of money to cover the material costs of manufacture, the profits from charitable cigarette sales went towards retraining blinded ex-servicemen at St Dunstan's, and publicity material consistently and forcefully emphasised this point.¹¹⁸ Most significantly, advertising material reminded the nondisabled public of their duty towards war-blind men. The interior of each packet of 'St Dunstan's' prompted '[c]igarette smokers the world over' to 'purchase St Dunstan's Cigarettes' as a way of 'proving, in the most practical way, their desire to assist in the welfare of the Blind Soldiers and Sailors of St Dunstan's who have given so much for the Empire' (Figure 2.5).¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Anderson, 'Stoics', p. 81.

¹¹⁶ Anderson, 'Stoics', p. 83; Anderson, *War*, pp. 49-53, pp. 58-62.

¹¹⁷ Anderson, 'Stoics', p. 81.

¹¹⁸ 'St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *Grantham Journal*, 21 January 1922, p. 9.

¹¹⁹ St Dunstan's Cigarette Box 1, c. 1920s, inner, BVUK.



Figure 2.5: *St Dunstan's* (c. 1921), Cigarette Box 1, inner

By highlighting what St Dunstaners had 'given' 'for the Empire', the packets recalled men's wartime sacrifices — in the form of their sight — and suggested that cigarette consumption was a way for the nondisabled public to 're-pay' these men.

Press reports further reinforced this message: in 1921, for example, one account suggested that smokers were 'afforded an opportunity, while enjoying [a] smoke, to help in a material way [...] probably the most deserving of charitable causes — the assistance of the blind'.¹²⁰ This account implicitly suggested that donations given through cigarettes were a form of monetary compensation for soldiers' loss of sight, and furthermore, reinforced conceptions of blindness as the worst possible disability, and thus induced

¹²⁰ 'St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *Lichfield Mercury*, 11 November 1921, p. 2.

smokers to contribute to St Dunstan's over other charitable schemes — by purchasing St Dunstan's Cigarettes.

Alongside popular recommendations to purchase 'St Dunstan's' through a sense of obligation, promotional material also directly equated cigarette consumption with the social reintegration of deserving war-blind men. Numerous advertisements gave specific examples of the various ways that purchasing St Dunstan's Cigarettes assisted blind ex-servicemen: one press account, for example, revealed that buying 'St Dunstan's' contributed to

the greater welfare of the Blinded Soldiers and Sailors After-Care Organization, which sets every St Dunstan's man on the road to independent wage-earning citizenship again, and in addition, never leaves him without practical help and advice for the rest of his life.¹²¹

By connecting the cigarettes to the broader aims of the institution, St Dunstan's provided further incentive to purchase the brand, and suggested that consuming St Dunstan's Cigarettes was a way to further ensure that heroic war-blind men could regain their 'independence' and 'wage-earning potential'.

These intertwined notions of cigarette consumption and war-blind men were not limited to rhetorical inducements to purchase charitable smokes: publicity material also utilised visual imagery to further reinforce the connection between cigarettes, cigarette consumption and the broader reconstruction of heroic blinded soldiers. St Dunstan's Cigarette packets, for example, featured visual references that directly evidenced the successful outcomes of institutional retraining for war-blind men, and further encouraged the public to 'buy into' the aims of the charity by purchasing 'St Dunstan's'. Most

¹²¹ 'Smoke St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *Sheffield Independent*, 5 January 1922, p. 5.

noticeably, the eponymous nomenclature of the cigarettes immediately recalled the familiar narrative promulgated by the institution: during this period the names of particular cigarettes were (and arguably still are,) consciously designed to reflect the nature of the product. For example, brand names such as 'Wild Geranium' and 'Sunflower', reflected the sweet taste of these cigarettes, whereas 'Mayfair' and 'Piccadilly' evoked aristocratic values and were designed to entice consumers from the upper-strata of society.¹²² The name 'St Dunstan's', then, directly encapsulated the broader charitable aims of the institution, and implicitly categorised the cigarettes as charitable objects that contributed towards these objectives.



Figure 2.6 St Dunstan's (c.1921), Cigarette Box 1, outer

Further still, St Dunstan's cigarette packaging and advertisements incorporated a number of familiar St Dunstan's logos and symbols that visually recalled the purpose of the smokes. Alongside the name 'St Dunstan's', each packet of fags prominently featured the

¹²² Hilton, 'Advertising', p. 47.

recognisable institutional logo, a flaming torch, which, according to reports, 'lighted the darkness of thousands of blinded men, revealing the way to new life and new hope for them' (Figure 2.6).¹²³ The torch both further connected the smokes to St Dunstan's, and also implied that the cigarettes themselves offered deserving war-blind men 'new hope', and even 'new life'.

The most obvious visual inducement to purchase St Dunstan's Cigarettes was the symbol of 'three happy men', which featured on packets of 'St Dunstan's', and was also regularly used to advertise the brand in the popular press (Figure 2.7).¹²⁴ Like the flaming torch, the 'three happy men' was an identifiable symbol of St Dunstan's that was frequently incorporated into promotional material(s), such as St Dunstan's Christmas cards and collection tins.¹²⁵ The image was adapted from a painting by British artist Harold Copping — who was commissioned to create the artwork for St Dunstan's shortly after the institution was founded in 1915 — and depicted three men walking arm in arm with smiles on their faces, and, notably, cigarettes in their hands (Figure 2.8).¹²⁶ The icon offered perhaps the most poignant and obvious visual reminder of what cigarette consumption achieved. Whilst all three men in the image were visibly blind, the companions walked arm-in-arm, and thus embodied the companionship and sociability elicited at the institution, and simultaneously evoked notions of stoic St Dunstaners 'walking alone', despite their disabilities.¹²⁷ Perhaps most obviously, the 'three happy men' were depicted smiling and enjoying their stroll, and thus exemplified the emotional transformation provided through

¹²³ 'St Dunstan's', *Tamworth Herald*, 22 October 1932, p. 6.

¹²⁴ 'For St Dunstan's', *Sheffield Independent*, 25 January 1922, p. 5.

¹²⁵ St Dunstan's Collection tin, c. 1920s, BVUK.

¹²⁶ Harold Copping, 'Three Happy Men', original painting, c.1915, BVUK.

¹²⁷ Julie Anderson and Neil Pemberton, 'Walking Alone: Aiding the War and Civilian Blind in the Inter-War Period', *European Review of History*, 14.4 (2007), 459-479 (p. 460).

both St Dunstan's training, and the interrelated financial support offered to the institution by generous cigarette consumers.

Further still, although two of the 'happy men' wore mufti, the central figure was dressed in hospital blues, and the companions thus visually evidenced the success of training at St Dunstan's. Although the central man represented war-blinded inhabitants at the Regent's Park Hostel, his companions in mufti acted as implicit, embodied proof that training at St Dunstan's taught men to be blind, and ultimately allowed them to return to civilian life. By including the 'three happy men' on 'St Dunstan's' packaging, the institution tacitly confirmed that cigarette consumption was one way through which members of the public could contribute to this charitable outcome and transform convalescent war-blind men into fully participatory members of British society. Indeed, this narrative was more literally extended within a number of kiosks in central London, at which members of the nondisabled public were able to purchase St Dunstan's Cigarettes directly from war-blind retailers.¹²⁸ These men both played upon an inherent sense of popular obligation towards the war-blind, and simultaneously acted as embodied evidence of the independence that cigarette consumption eventually offered war-blind men, and thus further induced smokers to purchase St Dunstan's Cigarettes (among a number of other items).

¹²⁸ Anderson, 'Stoics', p. 80.

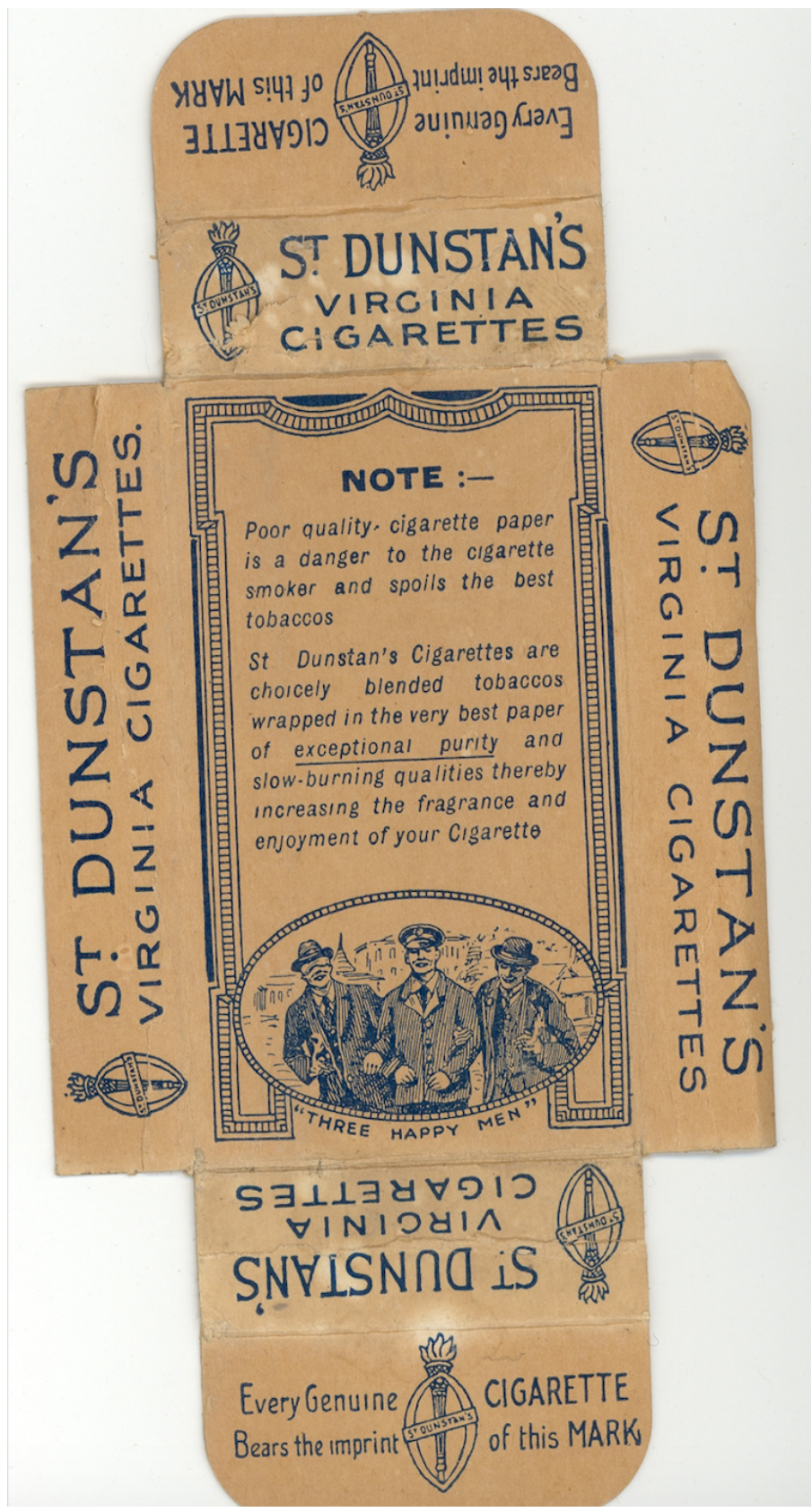


Figure 2.7: St Dunstan's (c.1921), Cigarette Box 2, inner



Figure 2.8: Harold Copping (c.1915), 'Three Happy Men', Original Painting

By visually and rhetorically connecting St Dunstan's Cigarettes to the care of deserving war-blind soldiers, the institution adopted a number of existing (wartime) understandings of cigarette consumption and continued to conceptualise cigarette purchases as both a charitable act, and public obligation. However, St Dunstan's also adapted charitable cigarettes, and charitable action itself, to appeal more directly, and compellingly, to nondisabled members of the public. Despite the apparent success and wealth of St Dunstan's (which was located within fifteen acres of land in the centre of Regent's Park,) it is clear that the institution was unable to rely upon an existing donor-base, nor depend upon popular obligation towards the sacrificial war-blind. According to reports, St Dunstan's Cigarettes were, in part, invented as a way to renew popular interest in blinded soldiers, and alleviate financial pressure upon the institution. Upon the launch of the brand the *SDR* revealed that

[t]he raising of funds for the efficient carrying on of the widespread activities of St Dunstan's is a strenuous and difficult business nowadays. Departure from routine lines is more than ever necessary; and we are hoping that the marketing of St Dunstan's Cigarettes will relieve us of a great deal of financial anxiety in the future.¹²⁹

As with charitable entertainment events (and their associated material rewards,) this so-called 'departure from routine' was not solely based upon the moral reward of assisting the war-blind, but also offered members of the public tangible recompense for their benevolence, in the form of a packet of cigarettes.

Upon a visit to the Carreras factory in 1922, Sir Neville Pearson (the son of the late Arthur Pearson) revealed that this was, indeed, the original intention behind the brand. According to Pearson (junior) his father launched the cigarettes because he felt that '[t]he best way to get money for charity nowadays is to let the public feel that in buying something — in getting something for their money — they are helping the good work'.¹³⁰ St Dunstan's publicity also explicitly highlighted this point: countless advertisements heralded the cigarettes as 'a means of interesting the public still further in St Dunstan's work, and giving them, at the same time, material value for their support of it'.¹³¹ The popular press, too, reminded the public that they were getting *something* in return for their money. According to one report, '[t]he placing of St Dunstan's Cigarettes on the market [wa]s a practical effort to devise a means of raising greatly needed funds for St Dunstan's work, and to give the public value for their support'.¹³²

Pearson's innovation consequently shifted the way that the nondisabled public donated to St Dunstan's and increasingly characterised charitable donations as a charitable

¹²⁹ Anderson, 'Stoics', p. 80; 'St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *SDR*, 6.60, November 1921, p. 11.

¹³⁰ 'St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *Grantham Journal*, p. 9.

¹³¹ 'St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *SDR*, 6.60, November 1921, p. 11. Emphasis author's own.

¹³² 'For S. Dunstan's - A New Cigarette', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 7 December 1921, p. 9.

transaction, during which benevolent donors received commercial goods in return for their monetary contribution to St Dunstan's. This form of fundraising undoubtedly rendered charitable action more desirable, and more attractive to many members of the nondisabled public, and, indeed, made charitable giving accessible to a wider proportion of society. As this chapter has outlined, by the 1920s (and in part, as a result of wartime advertising), smoking was a ubiquitous habit amongst (almost) all members of British society.¹³³ Indeed, upon the launch of St Dunstan's Cigarettes in November 1921, the *SDR* itself pointed out that '[t]here are multitudes of men to-day who would much rather go without food than go without tobacco'.¹³⁴

Unlike participation in charitable entertainment, which often involved a significant outlay of time and money, purchasing charitably branded cigarettes was thus almost effortless. Charitable cigarettes had a practical everyday use for innumerable members of the public, who could simply purchase 'St Dunstan's' as a substitute for their usual smokes with very little exertion. According to reports, the majority of British tobacconists stocked the fags, and passing consumers could also easily purchase 'St Dunstan's' from numerous conveniently located kiosks in train stations and busy areas.¹³⁵ Charitable cigarette consumption even allowed donors to ignore the (often unsettling) presence of war-blind men altogether, and perform their 'duty' from afar, without obligation to approach or engage with the men they were supporting, and thus allowed nondisabled members of the

¹³³ Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 84.

¹³⁴ David Masters, 'A Packet of Cigarettes: How Tobacco is Grown, Chosen and Treated', *SDR*, 6.60, November 1921, p. 11.

¹³⁵ 'St Dunstan's: A New Cigarette', *The Times*, 6 December 1921, p. 5. Kiosks were an increasingly popular and convenient form of retail among tobacco consumers in this period. Hilton, 'Retailing', pp. 115-137 (p. 121).

public to 'forget' the material damage of the war altogether, whilst simultaneously doing their part to 'resolve' it.¹³⁶

St Dunstan's Cigarettes were not only a convenient form of charitable action but were also financially available to even the poorest members of society. According to the *SDR*, 'St Dunstan's Cigs, [were] for every man', and publicity material accordingly suggested that St Dunstan's cigarettes were 'within the capacity of the poorest person'.¹³⁷ In November 1921, the *SDR* cited the 'affordability' of cigarettes as one of the initial inspirations behind the scheme when it noted that

[w]e do not think there is any doubt that a very large proportion of the public who have the cause of St Dunstan's very deeply at heart, but who actually have not the means to make even the most modest donation to its funds. It is not that they are unwilling to give; it is that they cannot. The issue of St. Dunstan's cigarettes provides, we are hoping, the *via media* for these kindly folk.¹³⁸

'St Dunstan's' were sold in a variety of prices — to reflect different segments of the market — and were thus financially accessible to a variety of consumers: the smokes were available in packets of 10 or 20 (for 6 pence or 1 shilling respectively), and could additionally be purchased in boxes of 50 or 100 (for 2s.6d. or 5s.), or in decorative cabinets of 200 and 400 (for 10s. or 20s.), which were often advertised as an excellent Christmas gift for loved ones.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Seth Koven has discussed the 'politics of forgetting' the war, and the interrelated 'erasure of bodily pain' in detail. Seth Koven, 'Remembering and Dismemberment: Crippled Children, Wounded Soldiers, and the Great War in Great Britain', *American Historical Review*, 99.4 (1994), 1167-1202.

¹³⁷ 'Cigarette Slogan Competition', *SDR*, 6.64, April 1922, p. 17; Advertisement, *Lincolnshire Echo*, 12 November 1921, p. 3.

¹³⁸ 'St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *SDR*, p. 11.

¹³⁹ 'For St Dunstan's', *Hull Daily Mail*, 15 December 1921, p. 6. The cigarettes sat in the 'middle' price range for this period (10 for 6d), and were not, therefore, 'the cheapest' but were nevertheless 'still affordable on a mass basis'. Hilton, 'Advertising', p. 63.

The popularity of St Dunstan's Cigarettes was not just based on the logistical and financial practices involved in purchasing these products, but was also connected to the material characteristics of the fags, which were, according to one report, 'universally approved' as a quality 'smoke'.¹⁴⁰ According to cigarette packets, 'every effort ha[d] been made to provide a cigarette that [could] fully hold its own on merit alone', and 'St Dunstan's' were thus made from

choicely blended tobaccos wrapped in the very best paper of exceptional purity and slow-burning qualities thereby increasing the fragrance and enjoyment of your cigarette.¹⁴¹

These material qualities further contributed to the supposed 'ease' with which the public could support the war-blind; the 'choice' materiality of St Dunstan's fags ensured that charitable smokers did not have to forgo the physiological 'enjoyment' stimulated by smoking for the sake of charity, but, rather, could smoke a more 'fragrant' and 'slow-burning' product whilst simultaneously assisting the war-blind. Indeed, this rhetoric positioned 'St Dunstan's' as more than a substitute for other cigarette brands and suggested that these particular cigarettes were materially superior to similar products which (according to packets of St Dunstan's Cigarettes), were made with 'poor quality cigarette paper' that was both 'a danger to the cigarette smoker and spoil[ed] the best tobaccos'.¹⁴²

By emphasising the quality of the cigarettes, advertising rhetoric reinforced the sense of reward that consumers gained from purchasing St Dunstan's Cigarettes, and thus

¹⁴⁰ 'St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *Sheffield Independent*, 25 January 1922, p. 5.

¹⁴¹ St Dunstan's Cigarette Box 2, inner and outer, BVUK.

¹⁴² St Dunstan's Cigarette Box 2, inner and outer.

offered further impetus to purchase these particular smokes. According to advertising claims, consuming charitable fags offered both a sense of wellbeing associated with assisting the heroic war-blind, *and* compensated individuals with an enjoyable smoke that was as (if not more), pleasurable than other brands. Indeed, various reports suggested that (alongside the superior materiality of 'St Dunstan's',) the charitable impetus behind these cigarettes made them even more pleasurable. The *Hartlepool Daily Mail*, for example, described 'St Dunstan's' as 'a satisfying smoke with a satisfactory object', and thus suggested that the taste of the cigarettes was further enriched by the moral benefits of the smokes.¹⁴³ The *Sussex Agricultural Express* took this one step further, and more explicitly revealed that '[t]he pleasure of a good cigarette [would] be enhanced by the knowledge that the smoking of it is helping a good cause'.¹⁴⁴ One *John Bull* report even commented that the sense of satisfaction acquired from 'St Dunstan's' was so acute that non-smokers would actually consider taking up the habit: '[i]f anything could tempt us to take up smoking it would be the fact that St Dunstan's have put on the market a special St Dunstan's Cigarette'.¹⁴⁵

These alleged material and physiological benefits of smoking both elevated the status of St Dunstan's Cigarettes, and concurrently contributed to a broader shift in charitable giving. Claims that 'St Dunstan's' were more fragrant and more enjoyable than other cigarettes objectified the superior quality of St Dunstan's' charitable values, and thus reinforced the similarly 'tasteful' and superior nature of the charity's aims and, and elevated St Dunstan's upon a 'hierarchy of charity'. Indeed, advertising rhetoric implicitly outlined this connection: one advertisement suggested that '[t]he quality of St. Dunstan's

¹⁴³ 'St Dunstan's', *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 10 November 1921, p. 5.

¹⁴⁴ 'St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *Sussex Agricultural Express*, 4 November 1921, p. 10.

¹⁴⁵ 'A Message of Thanks for Sir Arthur Pearson', Cigarette Packet Collectors Club, [n. d.], BVUK

Cigarettes [wa]s worthy of the splendid cause they support'.¹⁴⁶ At the same time, these claims positioned the smokes as a viable competitor within a mass commercial cigarette market and encouraged the nondisabled public to purchase 'St Dunstan's' not solely through obligation or pity, but because they were the best cigarettes available. This discourse consequently contributed to emerging notions of charitable giving as a commercial exchange, and encouraged smokers to purchase the fags for their own 'merit alone, quite apart from sympathy with St Dunstan's'.¹⁴⁷ Indeed, numerous reports emphasised that, whilst funds from the smokes went towards the war-blind, St Dunstan's Cigarettes were made by Carreras Tobacco Company in Camden, London, and thus implicitly reinforced the commercial status of the products, and included 'St Dunstan's' amongst some of the most fashionable cigarette brands in this period, including Carreras' famous 'Black Cats'.¹⁴⁸

Further still, various St Dunstan's advertising campaigns adopted a number of popular tobacco marketing methods and advertising tropes that further positioned St Dunstan's Cigarettes as a commercial product. Perhaps the most obvious example was a widely published cartoon of a young boy smoking an over-sized St Dunstan's Cigarette whilst his parents looked on with expressions of thinly veiled amusement (Figure 2.9).¹⁴⁹ The accompanying caption explained his parents' lack of disappointment despite his clear transgression of the legal smoking age — '[d]on't be angry Daddy, it's for St Dunstan's' — and suggested that (despite continued popular concern surrounding the juvenile smoking in the 1920s), the boy's parents deemed his smoking permissible because his transgression

¹⁴⁶ 'Smoke St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *Sheffield Independent*, 5 January, p. 5.

¹⁴⁷ St Dunstan's Cigarette Box 1, inner.

¹⁴⁸ 'Company Meetings: Carreras (Limited)', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 1 February 1922, p. 11. Whilst Pearson reportedly made 'careful inquiries and experiment' he 'found that cigarette making was not an industry which could be effectively undertaken by blinded men'. 'St. Dunstan's Enterprise', *Nottingham Journal*, 12 November 1921, p. 4.

¹⁴⁹ Poy, 'Every Little Helps', *TTR*, 1 July 1922, p. 61.

was one of charity.¹⁵⁰ Indeed, the image further noted that, although this small child was only able to smoke 'little' amounts, his charitable habit nevertheless assisted the war blind as, according to the image, '[e]very Little [h]elp[ed]' these heroic men.¹⁵¹



Figure 2.9: Poy (1922), *Every Little Helps*, Advertisement for St Dunstan's Cigarettes

Most significantly, the image mimicked an array of similar commercial advertisements in this period that featured images of children smoking, (or holding,) cigarettes.¹⁵² One Crayol

¹⁵⁰ Poy, p. 61.

¹⁵¹ For discussion of male juvenile smoking see Hilton, *Smoking*, pp. 162-178.

¹⁵² This was part of a broader trend within advertising discourse that increasingly targeted consumers on the basis of domesticity and parenthood: numerous advertisements in this period included images of healthy and happy children as a way to target women consumers and persuade them to purchase certain foods or health products for the benefit of their families. Katherine Parkin, *Food is Love: Food Advertising and Gender Roles in Modern America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp. 193-210.

advertisement, for example, similarly featured an image of a male child alongside a poem entitled 'When he's a man', which included the verses,

I've quite decided — when I'm a man —
To smoke as much as ever I can.
I'm going to stick to the cigarettes
That my old governor always gets.¹⁵³

These campaigns, like early twentieth century cigarette advertisements, were intended to appeal to consumers on the basis of (a supposedly) universal interest in domesticity and family, and incorporated cigarettes into broader notions of respectable family life.¹⁵⁴ As the Crayol advertisement revealed, images of young boys smoking, in particular, conjured a sense of masculine bonding between fathers and sons, and played upon an implicit sense of male legacy and masculine domesticity that were tied to particular brands of cigarette. St Dunstan's' advertisement resourcefully played upon this common advertising trope, and thus both implicitly positioned St Dunstan's Cigarettes as symbols of male bonding, and simultaneously incorporated these charitable products into broader advertising discourse and further located 'St Dunstan's' within a wider market of commercially branded and advertised cigarettes.

The invention of charitably branded fags not only reshaped the uses and meanings of cigarettes, but also altered smoking rituals. Smoking St Dunstan's Cigarettes was more than a source of leisure and physiological satisfaction, but also acted as a conspicuous display of benevolence that elevated the social status of sympathetic smokers, and

¹⁵³ Major Drapkin & Co., 'Crayol', *TTR*, 1 December 1919, p. 35.

¹⁵⁴ Stanford University, 'Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising' (Stanford: Stanford University, [n.d]) <http://tobacco.stanford.edu/tobacco_main/subtheme.php?token=fm_mt016.php> [accessed November 2018] (see subtitle 'Children and Infants').

concomitantly reshaped smoking as a charitable activity. Whilst cigarettes were ephemeral objects, and could not, therefore, be worn upon lapels, nor displayed upon mantles and shelves, the various movements and public activities involved in buying, lighting, and inhaling St Dunstan's Cigarettes nevertheless allowed benevolent individuals to publicly display their charitable nature.

As the introduction to this chapter has outlined, smoking was a particularly social, and communal habit that generally took place amongst fellow smokers, and concomitantly had (and has,) a significant impact upon the public identities of individual smokers.¹⁵⁵ Smoking particular brands of cigarettes characterised (and characterises,) individuals as part of a certain social group: smoking penny cigarettes, for example, implicitly aligned twentieth century individuals with a working-class group of smokers, whereas consuming expensive Turkish cigarettes signified the affluence amongst individuals who had a 'substantial income' and were thus able to purchase these things.¹⁵⁶ So too, did the various gestures directed by cigarettes. For example, holding a cigarette between finger and thumb further categorised smokers within a working-class group, 'whereas middle-class smokers [more typically] held [cigarettes] between the first and second finger'.¹⁵⁷

Smoking St Dunstan's Cigarettes then, conspicuously aligned members of the public with a particular social group of charitable individuals. As tangible embodiments of St Dunstan's' aim to assist the war-blind and teach these men to walk alone, the very act of purchasing St Dunstan's Cigarettes from a tobacconist or kiosk, removing a cigarette from clearly branded St Dunstan's packaging, and lighting a charitable fag publicly conferred a benevolent status upon consumers, and characterised 'sympathetic smokers' as generous

¹⁵⁵ Starr, pp. 45-57 (p. 45).

¹⁵⁶ Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 128.

¹⁵⁷ Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 129.

charitable citizens who were successfully fulfilling their obligation to the war-blind. Indeed, these (newly classified) charitable actions were not limited to St Dunstan's Cigarettes: during the 1920s St Dunstan's also sold charitable match box holders to raise money for the institution, which (much like cigarette packets), both implicitly connected St Dunstan's to trench culture and the tobacciana of wartime, and also featured familiar symbols of charitable support that further aligned smokers with the institution (Figure 2.10).¹⁵⁸ The holders showed a blinded soldier on one side and a blinded sailor on the other, and also included a prominent written description down the spine that read, 'in aid of St Dunstan's Hostel, Regent's Park. For Soldiers and Sailors Blinded in the Great War', and thus obviously denoted the charitable 'identity' of the object. The match box holders even featured a glow-in-the dark border, which was designed to assist smokers in finding their matches in the dark, but, nevertheless, was a particularly spectacular object-feature that undoubtedly drew further attention to these things, and the individuals who used them.¹⁵⁹ The use of these match box holders, much like St Dunstan's Cigarettes styled the owners of these objects as charitable donors and implicitly labelled smokers as morally virtuous, charitable individuals with a worthy interest in the heroic and deserving war-blind.

¹⁵⁸ St Dunstan's, Match box holder, c. 1915-1927, National Museum of Wales, First World War Collections, F2014.9.9. Whilst it is not possible to ascertain the exact time period during which St Dunstan's sold match box holders, the reference to Regent's Park on the spine of the items locates them within the period 1915 (when the Regent's Park site was established,) to 1927 (when the St Dunstan's training centre moved to Brighton). Anderson, *War*, p. 49; 'St Dunstan's New Move', *Western Daily Press*, 8 February 1927, p. 12.

¹⁵⁹ St Dunstan's, 'Match Box Holder'. 'Luminous' match box holders were developed as early as 1881, with the intention of 'reducing the annoyance and inconvenience of searching fruitlessly for a match box in the dark'. However, the match boxes, which were painted with phosphorescent paint, were 'unobtainable' during the war, due to the scarcity of this material, and were thus especially novel in the 1920s. 'By a Lady', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 2 January 1881, p. 11; 'Derby Ladies Column', *Derbyshire Advertiser and Journal*, 2 September 1921, p. 2.



Figure 2.10: *St Dunstan's* (c.1915-1927), Match Box Holder in aid of *St Dunstan's Hostel*

For members of the nondisabled public, public displays of purchasing, lighting, and smoking *St Dunstan's* Cigarettes consequently acted as an 'intangible' reward that further incentivised individuals to purchase and smoke charitable cigarettes — and '*St Dunstan's*' in particular — above all other commercially branded products (which did not confer the same prestigious charitable status upon smokers). Indeed, it is clear that nondisabled civilians were especially eager to publicly align themselves with both the brand, and the charity. Numerous women displayed their love of *St Dunstan's* Cigarettes in a spectacular fashion throughout the 1920s by dressing up as 'representations' of *St Dunstan's* Cigarettes at various public events. A Miss Wettle of Tonbridge, for example, took home the prize 'for the most original costume' at a fancy dress ball in Sevenoaks in December 1921, by 'representing *St Dunstan's* Cigarettes', and in April 1922 a Miss Filby also won a prize for her *St Dunstan's* Cigarette costume at one event held in aid the Royal Institution for the

Blind.¹⁶⁰ Women were not the only individuals who presented themselves as a physical embodiments of charitable giving: in September 1922, the niece of a St Dunstaner likewise ‘won the fourth prize out of an entry of nearly 500 children’ for her carnival costume ‘as St. Dunstan’s Cigarettes’ (Figure 2.11).



Figure 2.11: *St Dunstans (1922), Clarice May Taylor Dressed as St Dunstan’s Cigarettes*

The *SDR* particularly praised the girl, who was named as Clarice May Taylor, for the ‘ingenious design of the costume’ and the ‘welcome subject’ of St Dunstan’s Cigarettes, ‘as the sales of this excellent smoke help forward St Dunstan’s work’.¹⁶¹ These various displays evidenced the power of the St Dunstan’s brand amongst the British public, who were so invested in St Dunstan’s Cigarettes (and their accompanying message of support,) that they materially altered their bodies for the purposes of charitable action, and consequently

¹⁶⁰ ‘Leigh Ball’, *Sevenoaks Chronicle and Kentish Advertiser*, 16 December 1921, p. 9; ‘To Aid the Blind’, *Bedfordshire Times and Independent*, 28 April 1922, p. 9.

¹⁶¹ ‘A Carnival Costume’, *SDR*, 7.68, September 1922, p. 7; ‘Some Pictures of the Month’, same issue, frontispiece.

reshaped themselves as a form of embodied charitable material culture.¹⁶² As Michael Brian Schiffer has outlined, these ‘personal artifacts’ had ‘dramatic effects on an individual’s properties and performance characteristics’ and communicated a variety of messages about the individuals who wore them.¹⁶³ The costumes (and the cigarettes from which they were created,) facilitated the construction of a public charitable identity that elevated the social prestige of these charitable individuals.¹⁶⁴ At the same time, these costumes also acted as a further form of publicity for the institution that notified other smokers about the brand, reinforced notions of St Dunstan’s Cigarettes (and St Dunstan’s as an institution) as socially desirable objects, and ultimately encouraged yet more members of the nondisabled public to purchase the cigarettes.

It is clear that, in the aftermath of the First World War, St Dunstan’s adopted a number of existing wartime meanings of cigarettes, and further adapted these things to support the deserving and heroic war-blind. Whilst advertising material and popular discourse surrounding the scheme continually intertwined cigarettes with notions of charity, soldiering, and popular obligation, St Dunstan’s built upon these meanings, and further reshaped cigarettes, cigarette consumption, smoking in the aftermath of the war. At the same time, St Dunstan’s Cigarettes contributed to a broader shift in charitable practices in this period that increasingly positioned charitable giving as a commercial transaction. By inextricably connecting cigarette consumption to the *most* deserving war-disabled men — the war-blind — St Dunstan’s increased the desirability of these particular

¹⁶² It is likely that ‘dressing’ as St Dunstan’s Cigarettes was a way that women and children could contribute to this particular scheme without actually purchasing or physically consuming the cigarettes. Although an increasing number of women smoked during this period, smoking remained relatively unacceptable amongst middle-class women, and dressing up as ‘St Dunstan’s’ thus offered an alternative form of charitable display. For analysis of women smokers see especially Elliot, *Women*.

¹⁶³ Michael Brian Schiffer, *The Material Life of Human Beings: Artefacts, Behaviour, and Communication* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 24.

¹⁶⁴ Schiffer, p. 24.

material objects in relation to their non-charitable counterparts. Buying and smoking St Dunstan's Cigarettes both conferred nondisabled donors with the socially prestigious charitable status embodied by these objects, and also rewarded these individuals with a tangible, useful object in return for their benevolence. This attractive, affordable, and accessible form of fundraising concurrently elevated the (already prominent) status of St Dunstan's upon a hierarchy of charity, and further encouraged members of the nondisabled public to support war-blind men over all other charitable causes.

Whilst, as Anderson has determined, blind civilians were viewed as a particularly pitiful, beggarly social group, who were primarily reliant upon popular sympathy, St Dunstan's cigarette scheme went some way to distinguish war-blind men from these negative conceptualisations of blindness. By advertising St Dunstan's Cigarettes as a competitive commercial product that were made by a well-know and fashionable cigarette company, St Dunstan's went some way to distinguish war-blind men from notions of charity and pity altogether, and suggested that members of nondisabled public consumed the fags for their material qualities alone. St Dunstan's Cigarettes, were not, however, the only charitable cigarettes that distinguished war-disabled men from their pitiful civilian counterparts. As the next section of this chapter outlines, charitably gifted cigarettes, too, had a significant effect upon perceptions of war-disability.

Sharing Charitable Smokes: One Armed Smokers and 'Boys in Bed'

Charitable smoking was not limited to members of the nondisabled public, but was also undertaken by disabled ex-servicemen themselves, who continued to receive charitably gifted cigarettes (and subsequently smoked these items,) in the aftermath of the war. As the introduction to this chapter has outlined, numerous entertainment charities, grassroots efforts, and benevolent individuals donated cigarettes to disabled ex-

servicemen at a variety of institutions throughout the 1920s, and concurrently engaged war-disabled men in various smoking rituals alongside nondisabled civilians. This section examines cigarette advertisements, photographs, film footage, and written accounts to trace the various enduring motivations behind charitable cigarette donations in the aftermath of the First World War and highlight the embodied movements and social interactions mediated by these things. It draws particular attention to the ways that cigarettes and cigarette smoking physically directed war-disabled bodies and incorporated disabled ex-servicemen into countless physical and social encounters with other human and non-human things.

In so doing, this section demonstrates that, much like charitable entertainment events, both cigarette donations and the interrelated gestures involved in smoking acted as leisured rituals that reintegrated disabled ex-servicemen into British society. Cigarette donations offered a physically and temporally adaptable form of leisure that could be undertaken by even the most severely disabled ex-servicemen, and thus offered relaxation, relief from boredom, and, most significantly, incorporated these men into a ubiquitous aspect of British social and cultural life. Moreover, cigarette donations and cigarette smoking also acted as a form of social reintegration that initiated various tangible and intangible encounters between war-disabled men and members of the nondisabled public. Much like wartime cigarette donations, gifts of cigarettes created a tangible bridge between civilians and disabled soldiers that acted as a symbol of friendship and compensation for men's corporeal losses. At the same time, cigarette donations also facilitated myriad bodily interactions between disabled ex-servicemen and benevolent donors which — like entertainment events — went some way to alleviate popular concerns surrounding the social isolation of the war-disabled, and further distinguished disabled soldiers from the civilian disabled — who (as Chapter One of this thesis outlined,) were

considered a particularly isolated and socially derided group — and raised the social prestige of war-disabled men upon a ‘hierarchy of disablement’.

It is clear that, in the immediate aftermath of the war, cigarette manufacturers continued to associate cigarettes and cigarette smoking with a masculine, soldierly identity. In the months following the Armistice, cigarette advertising reflected persistent conceptions of smoking as a ‘military habit’: wartime brands such as ‘Carry-On’, for example, were sold and advertised throughout 1919, and sustained the connection between cigarette smoking and the soldiery.¹⁶⁵ Advertising rhetoric also continually entreated members of the public to send cigarettes to demobilising troops, and regularly reminded both civilian consumers and commercial tobacconists that soldiers would continue to smoke their favourite wartime brands after the war.¹⁶⁶ Major Drapkin & Co. (who manufactured Crayol,) were among a number of companies that reminded retailers to continue to stock popular wartime brands, on the basis that ‘the “smokes” that Tommy enjoyed in the trenches’ were allegedly ‘those he [would] buy [...] at home’.¹⁶⁷

Numerous manufacturers went so far as to suggest that smoking was a positive aspect of trench culture that soldiers wanted to retain upon demobilisation as a reminder of their days in battle. One 1919 advertisement for ‘Grey’s’ cigarettes, for example, depicted an upper-class man in full hunting gear smoking a cigarette in the familiar surroundings of rural England, with his back against a pile of earth, and his gun and his hunting dog at his side (Figure 2.12).¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ S. Hindin, ‘Carry on!’, p. 58.

¹⁶⁶ Carreras, ‘Black Cats’, *TTR*, 1 February 1918, p. 31.

¹⁶⁷ Drapkin & Co., ‘Crayol’, *TTR*, 1 July 1919, p. 39.

¹⁶⁸ Drapkin & Co., ‘Grey’s’, *TTR*, 1 September 1919, p. 31.



Figure 2.12 Drapkin & Co. (1919), Advertisement for Grey's Cigarettes

The plume of smoke rising from his cigarette provided insight into his thoughts, which were depicted within the smoke, and portrayed the same man sitting in the trenches enjoying his cigarettes with his back similarly against the trench wall, and his gun at his side. The caption heralded his cigarette of choice — Grey's — as '[f]irst in war. First in peace', and thus suggested that the soldier had retained his wartime habit of smoking Grey's after demobilisation.¹⁶⁹ At the same time, the presence of the former-soldiers' thoughts in his plume of smoke suggested that Grey's cigarettes embodied the positive experiences of the

¹⁶⁹ Drapkin & Co., 'Grey's', p. 31.

western front, and were, therefore, a nostalgic aspect of life in the trenches for many ex-servicemen.¹⁷⁰

Alongside cigarettes, wartime tobacciana also remained an emotionally resonant materiality for both soldiers and members of the noncombatant public. As Saunders has determined, smoking paraphernalia was among myriad 'kinds of trench art made by the war generation' that 'became part of the succeeding generation's given environment' and continued to structure perceptions of the conflict, and the men who fought in it. Like cigarettes themselves, metal matchbox holders, lighters, and ashtrays 'made variously by frontline soldiers, service personnel [and] prisoners of war' during the conflict 'embodied different experiences of the war and its aftermath' for both their makers, and the noncombatant individuals who bought and consumed these items.¹⁷¹

Most notably for the purposes of this chapter, a number of cigarette companies adapted this rhetoric to appeal more directly to the social needs of a society undergoing demobilisation and continued to conceptualise cigarettes as material necessity for soldiers. As scholars such as Robert Graves and Alan Hodge have determined, the demobilisation of troops throughout 1919 was met with anxiety from the government, the war office, the public, and soldiers themselves; 'in 1918 there were two distinct Britains', 'the fighting forces' and 'the Rest', and these groups were consequently faced with the 'problem' of ex-servicemen's 'reabsorption' into civil life.¹⁷² Various advertisements suggested that cigarette smoking remained a 'social salve' for soldiers in peacetime, and shaped cigarette

¹⁷⁰ Drapkin & Co., 'Grey's', p. 31.

¹⁷¹ Saunders, *Trench Art*, p. 37.

¹⁷² Robert Graves and Alan Hodge, *The Long Weekend: A Social History of Great Britain, 1918-1939* (London: Faber & Faber, 2008), p. 14. Joanna Bourke and Michael Roper have similarly outlined the numerous difficulties experienced by newly demobilized soldiers and their families in the immediate aftermath of the conflict. Joanna Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face to Face Killing in Twentieth Century Warfare* (London: Granta, 1998); Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 276-313.

smoking as a way to ease the difficult transition back into domestic life. A 1919 advertisement for Kenilworth Cigarettes, for example, reassured soldierly smokers that ‘Kenilworth are of the same high quality, size, and weight as heretofore’, and featured an image of an officer in uniform and a gentleman civilian simultaneously purchasing the same packet of Kenilworth Cigarettes from a tobacconist (Figure 2.13).¹⁷³ The image suggested that Kenilworth assisted officers during their transition from military to civilian life — indeed, both the men in the image appear to be one and the same — as Kenilworth cigarettes, and their related quality and taste, were constant and unwavering, and thus offered the smoker a sense of comfort and familiarity.¹⁷⁴

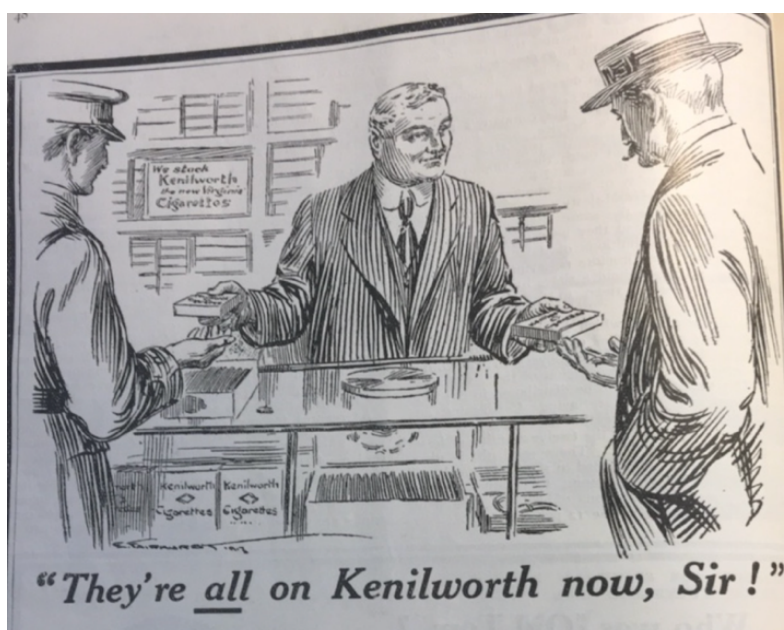


Figure 2.13: Cope Bros & Co. Ltd. (1919), Advertisement for Kenilworth Cigarettes

Kenilworth advertisements (in particular), also reinforced notions of cigarettes as romantic objects, and suggested that cigarette consumption and cigarette smoking successfully mediated social and romantic relationships between demobilised soldiers and

¹⁷³ Cope Bros. & Co. Ltd., ‘They’re All on Kenilworth now Sir!’, *Tobacco*, 1 March 1919, p. 48.

¹⁷⁴ Cope Bros., ‘They’re All on Kenilworth’, p. 48.

their friends, sweethearts, and wives, even in the aftermath of the war. A similar publicity image for Kenilworth, for example, included an image of a man and his wife in a middle-class domestic setting; whilst the man in the picture smoked, his wife leaned subserviently into his side in a gesture of love, and the accompanying caption revealed,

You've seen it through! You don't want to talk about it. You don't want to think about it. You just want to lean back and feel that the day you've been dreaming of since August 1914 has come at long last. It's good to be alive. It's good to be with her. It's good to sit at home, lazily watching the smoke curl up from your Kenilworth Cigarette and enjoying the flavour of that wonderful golden tobacco that suits the hour so well. Peace finds Kenilworth unchanged.¹⁷⁵

The caption thus implicitly inferred that wartime uses of cigarettes as a form of tangible connection and romantic mediator between soldiers and their sweethearts continued in the post-war period, and continued to conceptualise cigarettes as a way to cement romantic relationships. At the same time, Kenilworth's apparently unchanged material qualities consistently shaped this particular brand as a liminal, transitory object that offered fighting men comfort during their transformation from soldier to citizen, and domestic husband. By continually positioning soldiers — demobilised or otherwise — as avid smokers these advertisements ultimately reinforced wartime understandings of cigarettes and cigarette smokers, and encouraged generous civilians to continue to purchase specific brands of cigarettes as gifts for ex-servicemen.¹⁷⁶ Further still, this discourse relatedly reconceptualised cigarettes themselves into liminal, transitional objects and strengthened existing conceptions of cigarettes as social mediators that both

¹⁷⁵ Cope Bros. & Co., 'You've Seen it Through', *Graphic*, 12 April 1919, p. 481.

¹⁷⁶ Graves and Hodge, p. 11.

facilitated social relationships and physical interactions between soldiers and civilians, and mediated romance between men and women.

These meanings of cigarettes were especially significant in relation to war-disabled men, who, as Chapter One of this thesis has outlined, were considered particularly at risk of social isolation and exclusion from British social and cultural life. For disabled ex-servicemen, too, cigarettes were also conceived a transitional objects that both assisted social reintegration, and— like many of the other forms of charity discussed throughout this thesis — acted as a tangible form of public appreciation and recompense for men’s war service and resultant corporeal losses.

Whilst advertising rhetoric more regularly targeted demobilising and demobilised soldiers, cigarette manufacturers also directly appealed to disabled ex-servicemen, and constructed this group as a distinct consumer market. In the 1920s, Capstan, for example, included coupons for a pair of shoes in cigarette packets that could be claimed as either a pair, or a single shoe (with half the number of coupons usually required) and thus ‘recognised the number of war veterans who were amputees’, and enticed these individuals to purchase Capstan cigarettes.¹⁷⁷ Much like advertisements that focused on nondisabled demobilised soldiers, this scheme persistently conceptualised disabled ex-servicemen as soldierly tobacco consumers in the aftermath of the war (and in the aftermath of their disablement,) and included these men within a wider group of smokers (and coupon collectors). Notably, as this chapter has so far outlined, charitably branded cigarettes, too, also subtly characterised war-disabled men as smokers. The three happy men of St Dunstan’s, for example, were depicted clutching cigarettes in their hands as they happily walked arm-in-arm.

¹⁷⁷ Elliot, *Women*, p. 58.

Charitable action too, continued to conceptualise disabled ex-servicemen as cigarette smokers. Cigarette donations did not end in 1918, but continued throughout the 1920s. Innumerable cigarettes were distributed at both formal entertainment events and informal social occasions. For example, the Not Forgotten Association (NFA) regularly handed out packets of cigarettes to war-disabled attendees: one group of ‘paralysed or badly crippled men’ at the annual NFA garden party in 1927 were gifted tea and cigarettes donated by the Queen, and another group of disabled soldiers were handed packets of cigarettes by a band of women volunteers as they disembarked from a charabanc on their way to an NFA theatre outing in London’s West End (Figure 2.14).¹⁷⁸ Various charitable groups and benevolent individuals likewise supplied war-blind St Dunstaners with ‘smokes’: a number of photographs taken at the institution in the 1920s feature war-blind men queuing to accept packets of cigarettes from matrons, or receiving ‘smokes’ from benevolent upper-class women visitors (Figure 2.15).¹⁷⁹ In 1921, Sir Arthur Pearson even ‘had a special package’ of newly issued St Dunstan’s branded cigarettes delivered ‘to all [the] men’ at the institution.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ ‘London Letter: Not Forgotten’, *Hull Daily Mail*, 31 August 1927, p. 4; Wendy Davis, ‘Matinee at West End Theatre’, c.1918, IWM, Film Collection, 348 <<http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/1060022826>> [accessed November 2018].

¹⁷⁹ Photograph of men receiving cigarettes at St Dunstan’s, BVUK, loose photographs.

¹⁸⁰ ‘St Dunstan’s Cigarettes’, *SDR*, p. 11.



Figure 2.14 Wendy Davis (c.1918), Women Volunteers Handing Disabled Ex-servicemen Cigarettes Outside a West End Theatre



Figure 2.15: St Dunstan's (c.1915-1927), A Matron Hands Out Cigarette Donations to Blind Ex-Servicemen

Like the cigarettes sent to soldiers on the fighting fronts and gifted to the wounded, popular rhetoric framed these donations as physical and emotional ‘comforts’ for permanently disabled ex-servicemen. According to press reports, the NFA ‘kept’ disabled

ex-servicemen 'supplied with cigarettes, fruits, magazines, and other little comforts' as a way 'to relieve their lot'.¹⁸¹ Further still, charitable publicity suggested that these men deserved these gifts: in February 1922, for example, the *SDR* lamented the inability of one ex-servicemen — 'who had lost his sight and his right forearm fighting for his fellow citizens' — to purchase a packet of St Dunstan's Cigarettes due to 'an Act of Parliament [that made] it impossible for even the blind and disabled hero to secure a fag after 8p.m', and suggested that 'nothing', including cigarettes, should be 'refused a blind soldier'.¹⁸² These reports conceptualised cigarettes as both a comforting necessity for disabled men, and a form of tangible recompense of their injuries. The *SDR* account in particular, implied that disabled ex-servicemen deserved cigarettes more than any other smoker who was limited by this law.

Further still, cigarettes were not only a much-deserved gift, but were also considered to be especially materially suitable for these men, many of whom were unable to participate in more physically strenuous leisure activities as a result of their corporal losses. Cigarettes were a small, and easily transportable, form of leisure that could be consumed within a variety of locations and situations, by even the most severely disabled men. War-blind soldiers at St Dunstan's, for example, smoked whilst participating in a range of activities, including basket making, boot repairing, and even during pantomime performances (Figure 2.16).¹⁸³ Indeed, cigarettes were also incorporated into various other leisure activities: alongside smoking pantomime performers, disabled ex-servicemen at institutions such as Endell Street Hospital in London, and Dunhope House, (a specialist orthopaedic annexe of Dundee Royal Infirmary for discharged soldiers and sailors),

¹⁸¹ 'London Letter: Not Forgotten', p. 4.

¹⁸² Arthur Pearson, 'The Blind and Smoking', *SDR*, 6.62, February 1922, p. 16.

¹⁸³ Photograph of blind soldiers repairing boots, BVUK, Album 2; Photograph of blind ex-servicemen men making baskets, BVUK, Album 2; Photograph of war-blind pantomime performers, BVUK, Album 1.

participated in 'cigarette races' at sports-day events, during which war disabled men raced or crawled towards female sporting partners with cigarettes in their mouths, lit the cigarette, and raced to the finish line with their companions.¹⁸⁴



Figure 2.16: St Dunstan's (c. 1920s), War-blind Basket Makers Smoking on the Job

Perhaps most significantly, cigarettes could be smoked from even the most sedentary position and were thus considered especially suitable for even those men confined to bed as a result of their disablement. Various press reports and charitable accounts highlighted these tangible benefits: the *Gloucester Journal*, for example, reminded the public that cigarettes (which in this instance were kindly donated by a Mr. G. J. Elliot and handed out at a British Legion entertainment event,) could be smoked by the 'boys in bed also', and thus offered a source of leisure to men who were unable to attend formal occasions.¹⁸⁵ Indeed, charitable individuals regularly provided sizeable donations of

¹⁸⁴ Jennian F. Geddes, 'Deeds and Words in the Suffrage Military Hospital in Endell Street', *Medical History*, 51 (2007), 79-98 (p. 88); 'Sports at Dunhope House', *Dundee Courier*, 21 July 1919, p. 8.

¹⁸⁵ 'War Time Hospital', *Gloucester Journal*, 26 July 1930, p. 5.

fags to be taken back to charitable institutions and hospitals for the men who were too badly disabled (or unwell,) to attend entertainment events.¹⁸⁶

Much like smoking on the front lines during the war, disabled ex-servicemen's ability to smoke cigarettes in a variety of locations and situations was based, in part, upon the material characteristics of these things. War-disabled men, like soldiers, expressed a preference for pre-prepared, machine-rolled fags over other forms of more labour-intensive tobacco, which often required fiddly preparation and, for amputees and blind men, were thus more difficult to consume. One amputee, J.B. Middlebrook — who lost his right arm during the war — wrote to his mother and father in 1916, and revealed that whilst he 'smok[ed] 20 cigs. a day' he could not 'smoke a pipe [...], owing to the trouble of juggling with one hand'.¹⁸⁷ For blind soldiers, too, cigarette smoking was a particularly adaptable, tactile leisure activity that could be enjoyed despite their loss of sight. Arthur Pearson emphasised this point when denounced claims that smoking was a primarily visual habit, and that blind men were, therefore, 'quite incapable of enjoying tobacco'.¹⁸⁸ Pearson's statement (which was published in both the *SDR* and the *Lancet*), conversely outlined that blind people were able to better appreciate 'the flavour of tobacco' and actually enjoyed smoking 'more than [they] used to' as sightlessness enhanced their other senses and thus enhanced both the taste, and smell of cigarettes and smoking.¹⁸⁹

It is clear that, for many disabled ex-servicemen, charitable cigarettes thus acted as an important source of recreation and social inclusion. For men with severe disabilities, who were primarily confined to bed, and were consequently unable to participate in many of the other activities provided by charitable individuals, the provision of cigarettes offered

¹⁸⁶ 'Not Forgotten Association', *Northern Whig*, 22 July 1931, p. 10.

¹⁸⁷ J.B. Middlebrook, Letter to mother and father, 21 September 1916, IWM, Private Papers of J.B. Middlebrook, 2, 272.

¹⁸⁸ Pearson, 'The Blind and Smoking', p. 16.

¹⁸⁹ Pearson, 'The Blind and Smoking', p. 16.

a form of leisure and relaxation that undoubtedly reduced the sense of boredom elicited by physical disability, and, furthermore, went some way to incorporate these men into ubiquitous aspect of British social and cultural life.

Alongside these various personal uses of cigarettes, smoking also tangibly incorporated disabled ex-servicemen into a variety of bodily encounters with both their maimed comrades, and nondisabled civilians. Numerous photographs of St Dunstaners in the grounds of the Regent's Park Hostel, for example, show that blind soldiers regularly shared cigarettes amongst themselves, and also assisted one another in lighting fags (Figures 2.17 and 2.18). Much like wartime cigarette rituals in the trenches, these exchanges acted as social rituals of camaraderie and masculine bonding that located men within a particular masculine group of soldierly, war-blind smokers. As Hilton has outlined, during this period, smoking remained central to [...] group identity, and sharing cigarettes, in particular, acted as an important symbol of inclusion within social groups.¹⁹⁰ Perhaps most obviously, smoking rituals between war-blind men brought St Dunstaners into physical contact with one another, and incorporated these sightless men into specifically tactile, intimate bonding rituals. The bodily gestures involved in assisting another blinded man to undertake the practical, every day task of lighting a cigarette mediated and strengthened relationships between war-disabled men, and, for blinded soldiers who were perhaps unable to complete this activity without the help of a sighted (or, indeed, partially sighted,) companion, acted as a form of nurturing that 'preserved the exclusivity of [...] war time bond[s]'.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Hilton, *Smoking*, p. 2, p. 130.

¹⁹¹ Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival and the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 304. Roper has discussed these various forms of 'domestic' caring amongst veterans in detail. See Roper, pp. 302-306.



Figure 2.17: *St Dunstan's* (c.1915-1927), *Blinded Soldiers Share Cigarettes at Regent's Park*



Figure 2.18: *St Dunstan's* (c. 1915-1927), *A Soldier Assists a Blinded Companion to Light a Cigarette*

Further still, cigarette smoking also acted as a social and physical mediator that reinserted disabled ex-servicemen into various encounters with nondisabled women. Photographs and video footage taken at numerous charitable events evidence a variety of (otherwise transient and untraceable) interactions between benevolent cigarette donors and blinded ex-servicemen, who, like blinded soldiers, can be seen sharing and lighting cigarettes in an assortment of close physical gestures. One image published in the *Sunday Herald* in December 1921, for example, showed a charitable woman assisting a limbless ex-serviceman in hospital blues to light a cigarette at Queen Mary's Orthopaedic Hospital in Roehampton.¹⁹² Film footage of an entertainment event hosted by Lord Cheylysemore (the Chair of the Soldiers and Sailors Help Society) at an unnamed country estate likewise captured a brief interaction between a disabled ex-servicemen and a young woman in a

¹⁹² 'The Munition Girls' Saturday Afternoon', *Sunday Herald*, December 1921, London Metropolitan Archive, London [hereafter LMA], Westminster Hospital Group Collection, Records of Queen Mary's Hospital Roehampton, Newspaper Cuttings 1, QM/Y/01/001.

summer dress and flower adorned bonnet, the latter of whom assisted her armless companion to light his cigarettes (Figure 2.19).¹⁹³

To a certain extent, these encounters acted as a further way for members of the nondisabled public to re-pay their debt to disabled ex-servicemen. Whilst gifting cigarettes to disabled soldiers acted a tangible form of compensation for men's corporeal losses, the various gestures initiated through smoking these things also offered a variety of further, more intangible 'rewards' to heroic war-disabled men. The *Sunday Herald*, image, in particular, framed the lighting of a cigarette as a nurturing gesture from a maternal older woman, towards a 'needy' and deserving disabled soldier, and thus implicitly suggested that this woman — Mrs Vandervell from Acton Green, London — had successfully fulfilled her duty towards this man by offering both a light, and a form of emotional support.¹⁹⁴ The woman at Lord Cheylesmore's entertainment event likewise satisfied her charitable obligation to care for (this particular) deserving war disabled man, whose corporeality prevented him from lighting his own smoke, and thus left him reliant upon a dutiful woman.¹⁹⁵

Whilst many smoking interactions between members of the nondisabled public and disabled ex-servicemen undoubtedly remained private, it is clear that cigarettes also mediated numerous public encounters between these individuals: Mrs Vandervell's act of service, for example, was widely publicised within the *Sunday Herald*, and the encounter between the bonneted woman and her armless companion was likewise immortalised, and broadcast, within newsreel footage. Much like public entertainment events (and their

¹⁹³ 'Disabled Men Entertained AKA Lord Cheylsmore' (1914-1918), BPA, Old Negatives, 1852.41 <<http://www.britishpathe.com/video/disabled-men-entertained-aka-lord-cheylesmore>> [accessed May 2017].

¹⁹⁴ 'The Munition Girls'.

¹⁹⁵ 'Disabled Men Entertained AKA Lord Cheylsmore'.

related publicity,) these social and physical interactions thus went some way to alleviate widespread popular concerns surrounding the social reintegration of war-disabled men. Indeed, the myriad movements and gestures directed by charitable cigarettes not only evidenced companionship between nondisabled individuals and disabled ex-servicemen, but also arguably went some way to dispel anxieties surrounding disabled ex-servicemen's romantic futures as well. As scholars such as Joanna Bourke, Jessica Meyer, and Kate Macdonald have illustrated, during the post-war period, both popular and literary discourse expressed concerns that disabled ex-servicemen may have difficulty securing a wife due to their altered corporeality.¹⁹⁶ In 1920, for example, correspondence in *Tit Bits* included a letter entitled 'Cupid on Crutches' from one woman — named only as 'E. D.' — who felt that her war-disabled sweetheart had 'grown cold and distant' since he lost his leg, and 'fancie[d]' that 'he ha[d] no right to love' her due to his 'abnormal' appearance.¹⁹⁷

Much like smoking among both active combatants and demobilised soldiers, which (as this chapter has outlined,) was conceptualised as a romantic mediator between men and their loved ones, shared cigarettes between disabled ex-servicemen and nondisabled women likewise facilitated physical closeness between disabled soldiers and their female smoking companions, and implicitly represented romantic potential between these individuals. As Tinkler has determined, during the 1920s, the 'posturing around the lighting of a cigarette' within popular discourse

¹⁹⁶ Joanna Bourke, 'Love and Limblessness: Male Sexuality, Disability, and the Great War', *Journal of War and Conflict Studies*, 9.1 (2016), 3-19; Kate Macdonald, 'The Woman's Body as Compensation for the Disabled First World War Soldier', *Journal of Literary and Cultural Disability Studies*, 10.1 (2016), 53-70 (pp. 53-54); 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.

¹⁹⁷ 'Readers' Letters: "Cupid on Crutches"', *Tit Bits*, 14 February 1920, p. 507.

clearly conveyed shared intimacy; the flame from the lighter reinforced the connotation of passion at the same time as it illuminated the faces of the lovers, highlighting their mutual attraction and arousal.¹⁹⁸

Shared matches between disabled ex-servicemen and benevolent women thus went some way to alleviate popular concerns surrounding the romantic future of disabled ex-servicemen. The physical gestures involved in handing over a cigarette and lighting a match brought war-disabled bodies into close physical proximity with young attractive women. The couple at Lord Cheylesmore's event, for example, leaned close together to light the ex-servicemen's smoke, and the couples' faces and heads almost touched on multiple occasions during this brief encounter as they struggled to light the fag. Indeed, this initial failure to light the armless man's cigarette seemed to elicit an intimate moment between the pair, who shared a smile over this private, and somewhat comical, moment.



Figure 2.19: *British Pathé* (c.1914-1918), *A Benevolent Women Lights A Cigarette for an Armless Ex-Serviceman*

Whilst it is unlikely that these bodily gestures were anything more than a transitory, yet friendly, moment between the pair, for contemporaries who viewed the newsreel footage,

¹⁹⁸ Penny Tinkler, "Red Tips for Hot Lips": Advertising Cigarette for Young Women in Britain', *Women's History Review*, 10.2 (2001), 249-272 (pp. 264-265).

this smoking ritual undoubtedly hinted at a potential romantic relationship, and arguably went some way to assuage widespread notions of both romantic, and social isolation amongst deserving war disabled men.

Although both cigarettes and smoking rituals were especially ephemeral — indeed, the armless man at Lord Cheylesmore’s event walked away from his female assistant as soon she successfully lit his cigarette — it is therefore clear that post-war charitably gifted cigarettes acted in much the same way as their wartime counterparts: these objects both facilitated a sense of camaraderie and social intimacy between disabled ex-servicemen, who continued to share cigarettes, and smoking rituals in the aftermath of the conflict, and, furthermore, acted as a tangible bridge between disabled soldiers and benevolent members of the public that mediated both physical and social interactions between these groups. However, for war-disabled men, cigarettes and smoking rituals took on further meanings; for these men, the various interactions mediated by cigarettes additionally alleviated concerns surrounding the social isolation inherent in disability, and distinguished these men from pitiful, and marginalized disabled civilians, and successfully reinserted these deserving heroes into a universal British social and cultural pursuit — cigarette smoking.

Conclusion: ‘Not All [Up] in Smoke’

It is clear that, during the period 1914-1929, charitable action reconceptualised and renegotiated the various meanings of cigarettes, disabled ex-servicemen, and charitable institutions in relation to one another. Like entertainment charities, St Dunstan’s (in particular) reshaped the various metaphorical and material attributes of cigarettes for charitable purposes. The institution utilised war-time connections between cigarettes, charity, and soldiering, and re-deployed these various cultural values as a fundraising

technique for the war-blind. By refashioning cigarettes as fundraising objects, the institution enacted a process of charitable objectification through which cigarettes materialised the specific values associated with St Dunstan's. St Dunstan's smokes, and their associated publicity, consequently embodied notions of patriotism, appreciation, and victory over blindness, and, for members of the public, acted as a physical extension of both personal and public charitable values and identities. The embodied acts of purchasing, lighting, and smoking the cigarettes thus became increasingly meaningful gestures that both elevated the social status of smokers, and simultaneously rendered St Dunstan's Cigarettes a particularly tasteful, and desirable, smoke. Further still, the visceral, sensorial qualities of these artefacts were seemingly altered by their connection to the war-blind; according to popular discourse, the charitable aims behind St Dunstan's cigarettes not only reshaped the gestures involved in smoking, but also altered the very taste elicited through the habit and rendered smoking this particular form of tobacco an especially enjoyable experience.

Much like charitable entertainment, St Dunstan's cigarettes thus offered various material and immaterial rewards for popular benevolence, and consequently contributed to, and reinforced, the growing commercialisation of charity in this period. By exchanging public donations for charitable cigarettes, St Dunstan's did not rely upon public desires to reward the war-blind for their sacrifices, but, rather, remunerated members of the public for their benevolence. This form of fundraising made charitable giving more accessible, and more desirable, for a larger portion of the general public, many of whom easily replaced their usual smokes with charitably endowed 'St Dunstan's'. St Dunstan's Cigarettes, like war-disabled men, leisured objects, and leisurely sites, consequently shifted the various meanings and motivations behind charitable giving and enacted a growing materialisation of charitable action that increasingly commercialised popular benevolence during the first

half of the twentieth century, and simultaneously objectified the fulfilment of a public debt towards the war-disabled in a tangible, purchasable, form.

Further still, by materially promoting the successful work of the institution, and increasing public desire to donate to this particular cause, St Dunstan's cigarettes further promoted St Dunstan's' institutional values, and raised the institution upon a 'hierarchy of charity'. As objectified representations of St Dunstan's, the public presence of these objects (within advertising discourse and during smoking rituals) both implicitly and explicitly spread St Dunstan's' message of 'victory over blindness' and acted as subtle reminders of popular duty towards war-blind men. As especially desirable (and supposedly tasteful) embodied evidence of individual benevolence, the smokes also undoubtedly encouraged charitable individuals to 'donate' to the institution above all other causes, and consequently contributed to the social prestige, and popularity of the St Dunstan's cause.

Finally, cigarette branding, cigarette gifting, and smoking 'rituals' offered both symbolic and material evidence of disabled ex-servicemen's social reintegration into British social and cultural life, and consequently separated these men from negative conceptions of disabled civilians as degraded and isolated individuals. As Daniel Miller has outlined, material culture unconsciously shapes human behaviour and informs social interactions between people, their environment, and objects themselves; things advise people how to behave.¹⁹⁹ As familiar objects — with a similarly well-known set of associated bodily gestures, movements and meanings — charitably gifted cigarettes mediated a plethora of physical and social interactions between disabled ex-servicemen and members of the nondisabled public. The cultural values ascribed to the embodied acts of gifting, sharing, and lighting cigarettes were consequently transferred onto the individuals who performed

¹⁹⁹ Miller, *Stuff*, p. 78, p. 51.

these bodily gestures. For disabled ex-servicemen, these activities functioned as a form of social re-integration that both facilitated and evidenced renewed relationships with the nondisabled public. Much like entertainment events, these interactions, in turn, distinguished war-disabled men from the segregated and derided civilian disabled and elevated war-disabled men upon a 'hierarchy of disablement'. Charitable cigarettes, then, not only embodied the various charitable values surrounding St Dunstan's, victory over blindness, and caring for the war-disabled, but additionally materialised social reintegration between disabled ex-servicemen and the nondisabled public, and contributed to the creation of a distinct heroic, war-disabled identity. As Janet Hoskins has revealed: people are 'defined through [...] [their] relation to the material world, and particularly to certain objects that represent him or her'.²⁰⁰ Like leisurely things, charitable cigarettes and cigarette exchanges further dispelled popular concerns surrounding disabled soldiers' place within post-war society and 'represented' blind ex-servicemen as happy, fulfilled, and socially normal British citizens.

Overall it is clear that, despite the ephemerality of cigarettes, the various meanings and uses of these things had a persistent, and long-term significance for both the nondisabled public, and disabled ex-servicemen themselves. For post-war British society, both cigarettes, and the embodied interactions involved in consuming these things, objectified charitable values, patriotic appreciation for the war-disabled, and social reintegration amongst these deserving heroes, and consequently acted as a form of materialised social healing in the aftermath of the world's first mechanised conflict. As the *Sussex Agricultural Express* declared in November 1921, whilst these objects were burnt, crushed, and disposed of, charitable cigarettes did 'not', therefore, "'all end in smoke'".²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ Hoskins, p. 195.

²⁰¹ 'St Dunstan's Cigarettes', *Sussex Agricultural Express*, 4 November 1921, p. 10.

Part II: Producing Charitable Material Culture

Chapter 3

Re-growing Disabled Identities: Employment, Disability, and Charitable Flowers

Introduction: Flowers as Material Culture

On 11 November 1927, the British Legion released its first 'official film' to the general public.¹ The picture was entitled *Remembrance*, and featured appearances from the Prince of Wales and the former Commander-in-Chief of the British Army Earl Douglas Haig, as well as actor and First World War veteran Rex Davies.² Despite somewhat mixed reviews, it was widely promoted as 'an absorbing drama of real human interest' and lauded by the popular press as '[t]he most successful of all war pictures'.³ *Remembrance* told the story of 'three pals' who enlisted together upon the outbreak of the First World War and made 'a pact to stand by each other through thick and thin'.⁴ Although the emotional strain of war and the 'terrible ordeal' of a raid upon enemy trenches drove the companions apart, they were eventually reunited when 'all three [found] harbourage in the Poppy Factory of the British Legion' in the aftermath of the conflict.⁵

While the characters in *Remembrance* were fictional, the trio represented approximately two hundred war-disabled men employed at the British Legion Poppy Factory at the time.⁶ The Poppy Factory was originally established by the Disabled Society in July 1922 to 'ameliorate the circumstances' of severely disabled ex-servicemen by

¹ 'The Picture House', *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 15 November 1927, p. 5; Great Hall Cinema, Advertisement, *Sevenoaks Chronicle and Kentish Advertiser*, 4 November 1917, p. 10. Unfortunately, all copies of *Remembrance* have now been destroyed. For further discussion of the film see Lawrence Napper, *The Great War in Popular Cinema of the 1920s: Beyond Journey's End* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 146-152.

² 'British Legion Film', *Leeds Mercury*, 10 September 1927, p. 5.

³ Advertisement, *Kirkintilloch Herald*, 11 April 1928, p. 4.

⁴ Michael Orme, 'At the Sign of the Cinema', *Sketch*, 9 November 1927, p. 74.

⁵ Orme, p. 74.

⁶ 'The Poppy Factory', *Shields Daily News*, 16 August 1927, p. 4.

employing them to manufacture artificial flowers for sale to the public, including red Flanders poppies for sale on the anniversary of the Armistice each year (with which the release of *Remembrance* consciously coincided).⁷ The origins of the factory have been well-documented: as Nicholas Saunders has determined, by 1922, the red Flanders poppy had been widely reimagined as a pervasive symbol of commemoration for the war-dead.⁸ This was in no small part due to the efforts of American ‘humanitarian’ Moina Belle Michael, who was inspired by John McCrae’s 1915 poem, ‘In Flanders Fields’ – which described the graves of the war-dead engulfed by red poppies – and subsequently campaigned to promote the blossom as an emblem of remembrance for fallen soldiers.⁹ In 1921, the newly formed British Legion further adopted artificial poppies as fundraising objects, and began to sell French-made silk poppies at the behest of French philanthropist Anna Guérin, who employed destitute women and children ‘in the devastated areas in France’ to create the commemorative blooms.¹⁰

The objective of the sale was ‘two-fold’: selling artificial poppies both assisted French war-widows, and additionally supported ‘the ex-servicemen of the British Legion’, to whom the profits from ‘Poppy Day’ were donated under the auspices of the ‘Earl Haig

⁷ ‘Poppy Day’, *British Legion Journal* [hereafter *BLJ*], 2.1, July 1922, p. 16.

⁸ Nicholas J. Saunders, *The Poppy: A Cultural History from Ancient Egypt to Flanders Fields to Afghanistan* (London: Oneworld, 2013), see especially, pp. 95-125. See also Antony Brown, *Red for Remembrance: British Legion 1921-71*, (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1971), pp. 76-88; Adrian Gregory, *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day 1914-1946* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), pp. 93-117; Brian Harding, *Keeping Faith: The History of The Royal British Legion* (Barnsley: Leo Cooper, 2001), pp. 121-128; Chris McNab, *The Book of the Poppy* (Stroud: The History Press, 2014), pp. 67-80; Graham Wooton, *The Official History of the British Legion* (London: Macdonald & Evans, 1956), pp. 37-41 and *The Poppy Factory, History & Timeline* (Richmond: The Poppy Factory, [n.d.]) <<https://www.poppyfactory.org/history-timeline/>> [accessed 20 August 2018] (paras. 1-3 of 3).

⁹ Saunders, *Poppy*, pp. 96-103; Gregory, *Silence*, p. 99. ‘In Flanders Fields’ was first published anonymously by *Punch* on 8 December 1915, although the index of the publication for that year listed McCrae as its author. The poem found immediate popularity, was used in myriad ways to further the war effort, and was also published extensively in the United States. John F. Prescott, *In Flanders Fields: The Story of John McCrae* (Ontario: The Boston Mills Press, 1985), pp. 105-106; [John McCrae], ‘In Flanders Fields’, *Punch*, 8 December 1915, p. 468.

¹⁰ ‘Poppy Day in Dundee’, *Dundee Courier*, 8 November 1921, p. 4.

Fund'.¹¹ According to organisational reports, the undertaking was an immediate success; the Legion raised over £106,000 in November 1921 alone, so that the following year, the chair of the Disabled Society, Major George Howson, approached the British Legion and suggested that war-disabled men should manufacture commemorative poppies as a way to return these deserving individuals to the workforce.¹² The Legion consequently funded the Poppy Factory with a £2,000 donation from their Unity Relief Fund, and Howson hired forty severely disabled employees to manufacture 'Haig Poppies' in a small workroom on the Old Kent Road in southeast London.¹³ The scheme continued to grow throughout the 1920s; by 1925, 'no less than 190 disabled men were employed at the [...] factory', and the enterprise was relocated to a larger site in Richmond that ultimately featured as the subject of the Legion's 1927 film.¹⁴

Remembrance was an innovative attempt to extract both money and support from the British public. Much like the various forms of live entertainment discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, a portion of the proceeds from ticket sales were dedicated to assisting ex-servicemen, and cinemagoers were urged to attend showings as a way to fulfil their 'duty' to the country's former soldiers.¹⁵ Most significantly, the film acted as a powerful publicity tool for the Poppy Factory that both promoted flower making as a transformative

¹¹ 'Notice: Earl Haig's Fund', *Driffield Times*, 5 November 1921, p. 2; 'Poppy Day in Dundee', p. 4. The 'Haig Fund' was a 'sister organisation' of the British Legion that acted as a welfare fund for ex-servicemen, to which the proceeds from Poppy Day were allocated. John A. Lister, *The History of the Royal British Legion Scotland* (Edinburgh: The Royal British Legion Scotland, 1982), p. 66.

¹² Poppy Factory, *History* (see subtitle 'Anna Guerin'); Saunders, *Poppy*, pp. 95-108. The Disabled Society was founded in the aftermath of the First World War to provide support to disabled ex-servicemen who had lost one or more limbs during the conflict. George Howson, *Handbook for the Limbless* (London: Disabled Society, 1922), p. ii, pp. x-xi.

¹³ 'Poppy Day', *BLJ*, 2.1, July 1922, p. 16. The British Legion Unity Relief Fund was established in January 1921 to provide financial relief for all matters relating to unemployment, including donations to poverty-stricken ex-servicemen and small loans for men to start their own businesses. Harding, pp. 69-75.

¹⁴ 'Poppy Day', *BLJ*, 2.1, July 1922, p. 16; 'The Great Work of Benevolence', *BLJ*, 4.1, July 1925, p. 4. The Poppy Factory was once again relocated to a purpose-built site in Richmond in 1933, where it is still located today. Saunders, *Poppy*, p. 132.

¹⁵ Hippodrome, Unnamed advertisement, *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 16 November 1927, p. 1; 'British Legion Notes', *Western Gazette*, 21 October 1927, p. 12.

occupation for disabled ex-servicemen, and additionally encouraged public consumption of 'Haig Poppies'. Although the characters depicted in the film were reportedly rendered 'derelict' by the war, *Remembrance* portrayed flower making as a way to reverse the material effects of the conflict and reintegrate disabled ex-servicemen into British society through comradeship, financial security, and physical recovery. One reviewer revealed that although the three men had initially 'drifted hopelessly' upon their return to Britain, they were '[r]e-united in friendship' at the factory, where, with 'their future assured', they found 'solace from their wounds, both physical and mental'.¹⁶

The film additionally acted as a timely 'reminder of the fine work done by the British Legion' that encouraged the nondisabled public to donate to the scheme.¹⁷ By releasing *Remembrance* on Armistice Day, the British Legion prompted the public to purchase 'Haig Poppies' not just as a symbol of commemoration for the war-dead, but also as an emblem of support for the living, for whom artificial flowers provided a necessary, and deserved source of employment.¹⁸ Indeed, the title and subject matter of the film further suggested that poppies were — like leisure provision and cigarettes — a way to remember, and show appreciation for, the corporeal sacrifices of poppy factory employees.¹⁹

The British Legion's cinematic debut was among countless press reports, charitable publications, and advertising paraphernalia that likewise conceptualised floral emblems and artificial flower-making as a way to rebuild disabled ex-servicemen's lives in the aftermath of the First World War. Although it was the best publicised flower-making scheme for disabled soldiers, the Richmond Poppy Factory was by no means the only such initiative. Demand for disabled-made artificial poppies was so great that supplies from

¹⁶ Orme, p. 74.

¹⁷ Orme, p. 74.

¹⁸ Gregory, *Silence*, p. 108.

¹⁹ Newspaper reports also referred to the factory itself as 'a human war memorial'. W. J. Piper, 'A Derby Man's Diary', *Derby Evening Telegraph*, 8 November 1933, p. 4.

London regularly failed to reach Scottish consumers, and in March 1926, a separate enterprise named ‘Lady Haig’s Poppy Factory’ was set up in an old wood-chopping factory in Edinburgh, where war-disabled employees created yet more (albeit materially different) artificial poppies.²⁰ During the early 1920s, the ‘Disabled Soldiers and Sailors Workshops Charity’ in Upper Norwood also employed war-disabled men to make wreaths to be placed ‘on the Cenotaph in tribute to their fallen comrades’, which were sold to the public ‘from £1 1s. upwards’.²¹ Furthermore, in 1923, a women’s section of the Church Army called ‘the Friends of the Disabled’ also established a flower-making workshop for shell-shocked soldiers in Bayswater, London.²²

Despite the multiple flower making schemes set up during this period — and the evident importance of flower manufacturing itself — scholarly explorations have not yet analysed the complex relationship between disabled soldiers and floral emblems in detail. Historical accounts of flowers and conflict have, rather, tended to focus either upon the personal meanings of ‘natural’ flowers to fighting men and soldier-poets, or have relatedly drawn attention to changing cultural understandings of red Flanders poppies in connection to death, memory, and public commemoration.²³ Saunders, for example, has traced the

²⁰ Lady Haig’s Poppy Factory, *The Start* (Edinburgh: Lady Haig’s Poppy Factory, [n.d.]) <<https://www.ladyhaigspoppyfactory.org.uk/factory-history/the-start/>> [accessed 17 August 2018] (para. 2 of 6); Poppy Scotland, *Our History* (Edinburgh: Poppy Scotland, [n.d.]) <<https://www.poppyscotland.org.uk/about-us/our-history/>> [accessed 17 August 2018] (para. 5 of 9). Press accounts initially suggested that the Legion should enlist Scottish schoolchildren to supplement French-made stock, and thus exposed assumptions surrounding the ‘light’, ‘unskilled’ nature of flower-making. ‘Flanders Poppies’, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 November 1921, p. 2; ‘Poppy Day in Dundee’, p. 4.

²¹ The workshops were established and run ‘on a co-operative basis’ by a ‘section of disabled men’. Howson, p. 112. Unfortunately, the scheme folded in December 1921, although the reasons for this are somewhat unclear. ‘Removal from Register of War Charities’, *Norwood News*, 2 December 1921, p. 7.

²² The Bayswater workshop was funded by an anonymous donation from a ‘friend’ of the scheme whose son died during the war. Edgar Rowan, *Wilson Carlile and the Church Army*, 3rd edn (London: Church Army Bookroom, 1928), pp. 197-198; ‘Disabled Ex-Service Men’, *Portsmouth Evening News*, 4 October 1923, p. 4. Notably, a number of gardening and botany schemes were also founded at institutions such as St Dunstan’s and the Star and Garter Home. ‘Guild of Blind Gardeners’, *SDR*, 5.54, April 1921, p. 21; A. Wright, ‘This Gardening Craze’, *Star and Garter Magazine* [hereafter *SGM*], 9.5, July 1929, pp. 135-136.

²³ For accounts of soldierly connections to pastoral imagery, the natural world, and flowers see Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 231-269 and John Lewis-

interconnected and converging uses and symbolic meanings of red corn poppies (*Papaver Rhoeas*) and 'pinkish-white' opium poppies (*Papaver Somniferum*) as symbols of remembrance and forgetfulness throughout history, to demonstrate the ways that these flowers have been figuratively and materially reshaped by human conflict.²⁴ Adrian Gregory has additionally outlined the various motivations behind the establishment and proliferation of the poppy campaign as one aspect of public commemoration and social reconstruction after the First World War in Britain, and Ann Elias has similarly offered analysis of Australian commemorative imagery and rituals involving flowers, with a particular focus on the red poppy.²⁵

Whilst disabled-made poppies undoubtedly embodied (and embody,) grief, commemoration, and memory, artificial poppies were by no means the only charitable flowers created by disabled ex-servicemen during the 1920s. Flower makers at the Richmond factory, for example, also created commemorative wreaths, decorative sprays, and blue cornflowers for sale on the anniversary of the First Battle of Ypres (31 October), which was known as 'Ypres Day', whilst employees at the Edinburgh site made floral wreaths, artificial and beadwork flowers, and a number of other products including beadwork butterflies and toys.²⁶ Moreover, shell-shocked employees at the Church Army workshops produced artificial rose petals, among other handcrafted items.²⁷ Nor did these various flowers solely represent death and commemoration. As scholars such as Elias, Jack

Stempell, *Where Poppies Blow: The British Soldier, Nature and the Great War* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2016), pp. 206-237.

²⁴ Saunders, *Poppy*, pp. 1-7.

²⁵ Gregory, *Silence*, pp. 93-117; Ann Elias, 'War, Flowers and Visual Culture: The First World War Collection of the Australian War Memorial', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, 40 (2007) <<https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/journal/j40/elias>> [accessed 24 August 2018] and Ann Elias, 'War and the Visual Language of Flowers: An Antipodean Perspective', *War, Literature & the Arts: An International Journal of the Humanities*, 20.1/2 (2008), 234-250.

²⁶ 'The Disabled Society', *Ypres Times*, 1.8, July 1923, p. 236; 'Two Poppy Factories: Richmond and Edinburgh', *Wells Journal*, 9 August 1929, p. 7.

²⁷ Rowan, pp. 197-198.

Goody, and Elaine Scarry have shown, flowers are especially prone to multiple, overlapping cultural interpretations and material uses: blossoms, through their recognisable shape and size, 'lend themselves to being imagined, and reimagined', and flowers (like all things), are thus practically and symbolically shaped for the purpose of 'human performance'.²⁸ Indeed, Elias has suggested that the 'intimate relationship' between men, flowers, and conflict requires reassessment, 'not simply because flowers commemorate the war dead, but also because they mediate the complexity of human emotions and relationships'.²⁹

This chapter therefore more closely investigates the relationship between disabled ex-serviceman and flowers in 1920s Britain to examine the complex and fluctuating meanings attached to artificial blossoms, and explore how object encounters between disabled ex-servicemen and floral emblems both physically and symbolically shaped these interconnected artefacts at different stages in their 'social lives'.³⁰ It pays notable attention to practices of charitable flower-making and selling in this period, to examine the various ways that these floral rituals tangibly located and figuratively conceptualised war-disabled bodies. Indeed, the prevalence of flower-making schemes, and the variety of blossoms created by war-disabled men, suggests that the process of flower-making itself was as significant to charitable action as the resultant floral objects.

Although, like many of the objects discussed throughout this thesis, few disabled-made flowers exist today, it is possible to trace their 'social life' through charitable discourse: the omnipresence of Poppy Factory publicity, in particular, allows for rhetorical

²⁸ Elias, 'War and the Visual Language of Flowers', pp. 234-250; Jack Goody, *The Culture of Flowers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. xvii, p. 2; Elaine Scarry, 'Imagining Flowers: Perceptual Mimesis (Particularly Delphinium)', *Representations*, 57 (1997), 90-115 (p. 93, p. 95, p. 91). See also Stephen Buchman, *The Reason for Flowers: Their History, Culture, Biology* (London: Simon & Shuster, 2015) and Claudette Sartillot, *Herbarium Verbarium: The Discourses of Flowers* (London: The University of Nebraska Press, 1993).

²⁹ Elias, 'War and the Visual Language of Flowers', pp. 234-250 (p. 247).

³⁰ Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization As Process' in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 64-94 (pp. 67-68).

and visual analysis of artificial flowers and war-disabled bodies, and offers insight into the multiple ways that nondisabled members of the public were exposed to, and understood, flower making schemes and the products they created.³¹ This chapter therefore draws particular attention to charitable publicity and events surrounding the Poppy Factories in Richmond and Edinburgh, which both provide the most wide-ranging source material, and also offer particular insight into the ways that the nondisabled public most commonly encountered charitable flower-making schemes.

In so doing, this chapter demonstrates that, in the 1920s, publicity material consciously reconceptualised flowers, flower-making, and disabled ex-servicemen in relation to one another. Popular discourse and charitable publications reshaped the supposedly feminine ‘art’ of flower ‘crafting’ into a physical manufacturing process that required bodily strength, skill, and efficiency, and rhetorically incorporated the Poppy Factories into wider twentieth century understandings of productivity and manufacturing. This discourse consequently reimagined the factory sites as sprawling production lines that churned out millions of flowers per year, and simultaneously constructed war-disabled flower-makers as efficient, productive, and physically capable workers, who, like the trio depicted in *Remembrance*, were successfully reintegrated into British society through manufacturing work. Accordingly, the Poppy Factories also materially and linguistically redesigned artificial flowers from ‘delicate’ and feminine life-like blossoms into tough, mechanical objects that reflected the industrial methods used at the factories, and additionally shaped the public identities of the men who made them. Poppy Factory methods reconstituted artificial flowers as durable, masculine objects that exemplified

³¹ Although the Poppy Factory maintains a small collection of artificial poppies, these flowers are, unfortunately, largely undated. Newspaper reports and photographs thus offer a more precise indication of the changing material characteristics of these ‘things’ over the period in question, and also provide insight into the ways that the nondisabled public understood, and ascribed meanings to ‘Haig poppies’.

efficient production, and also evidenced flower-makers' corporeal strength and skill in their ability to work with complex, metallic objects. Popular accounts thus implicitly entangled the material qualities of resilient artificial blossoms with those of their makers, who, like the flowers they created, were apparently 'regrown' through flower manufacturing.

This chapter ultimately illustrates that, like the charitable provision of leisure and cigarettes, object encounters between war-disabled flower-makers and artificial flowers both elevated the status of disabled ex-servicemen upon a 'hierarchy of disablement', and simultaneously raised the public status of the British Legion and the Poppy Factories, as well as disabled-made artificial flowers. Descriptions of mechanical flower manufacturing and durable, masculine blossoms countered widespread conceptions of disabled bodies as weak, emasculated, and idle, and successfully aligned war-disabled flower-makers with twentieth century notions of 'efficiency' and productivity that dispelled concerns surrounding socially 'useless' disabled bodies. At the same time, popular discourse emphasised both the moral and material superiority of manufactured flowers over both their 'natural' and civilian-made counterparts, and thus concurrently encouraged the nondisabled public to support the factory (and the Legion) above all other charitable and commercial floral enterprises. Finally, by incorporating disabled ex-servicemen into widespread notions of efficiency, popular reports suggested that both the Legion and the Factories not only contributed to the social reintegration of disabled ex-servicemen, but also strengthened British industry and supported post-war reconstruction.

Locating Disabled Flower Makers: 'Delicate' Girls and 'Indolent' Bodies

This chapter begins by locating charitable flower schemes within the wider histories of flower making, disability, and employment, to investigate the various ways that charitable action and popular discourse shaped the interrelated cultural understandings of disabled

civilians and artificial flowers prior to the First World War, and examine the impact of the conflict — and the consequent occurrence of mass-disability — upon popular perceptions of charitable flower schemes, disabled flower-makers, and floral products. In so doing, it demonstrates that, prior to the war, flower making was among a number of unskilled, low-status handicrafts undertaken by disabled civilians as a way to secure a meagre subsistence income. The trade was considered particularly suitable for women and girls, whose ‘delicate’, feminine qualities prepared them for this ‘artistic’ work, and was viewed as especially appropriate for disabled children, whose supposedly idle, enfeebled bodies prevented them from undertaking physical occupation. Artificial flowers, too, reflected these fragile, feminine characteristics, and were inextricably enmeshed with the ‘artistic’ women and ‘delicate’ crippled girls who created them.

As the introduction to this thesis has outlined, before 1914, disabled people were typically accorded a low social status. Disabled civilians were considered weak, enfeebled, and (most notably for the purposes of this chapter,) physically incapable of full-time occupation.³² During the nineteenth century, disabled bodies ‘apotheosized stasis’ and ‘epitomiz[ed] inertia’, and many poor disabled people existed among the apparently ‘unemployable’ social ‘residuum’ who were largely excluded from the workforce.³³ A significant number of disabled civilians were reliant upon poor relief, public sympathy, or item-by-item sales for financial subsistence: they begged, sold small, inexpensive, handmade objects such as woven baskets, mats, bootlaces, and brooms, or busked for

³² Maria Fawley, *Invalidism and Identity in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 43.

³³ Fawley, pp. 12-13; John Welshman, *Underclass: A History of the Excluded* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 21-26. The reasons for this exclusion are extremely complex, and included a mixture of social stigma, discrimination, and physical inability to work within a material environment that was primarily constructed for nondisabled people. For further discussion of disability and unemployment see especially Harlan Hahn, ‘Advertising the Acceptably Employable Image: Disability and Capitalism’, in *The Disability Studies Reader*, ed. by Lennard J. Davis (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 172-186 and Michael Oliver, *The Politics of Disablement* (London: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 25-42.

money to acquire a meagre and unstable income.³⁴ Physical disability was especially connected to poverty: the poor were at increased risk of disease and industrial accidents, and were therefore more likely to acquire permanent bodily injuries.³⁵ Disability was thus of particular interest to social reformers, who viewed disabled people as corporeal evidence of British physical and social deterioration, and the resultant industrial and economic 'inefficiency' of the nation.³⁶ From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, a variety of charitable schemes and sheltered workshops consequently offered various forms of training to disabled civilians that sought to 'reabsorb' them into employment, reduce their reliance on charity, and ultimately 'make them useful in society'.³⁷

Flower making was among the numerous manual trades provided for disabled civilians during this period. From 1879 onwards, 'John Groom's Watercress and Flower Girl's Christian Mission' trained impoverished crippled girls 'from all over the kingdom' in flower making at a site known as 'John Groom's Crippleage' in Farringdon, London.³⁸ Groom was reportedly inspired by his evangelical missionary work with the Ragged Schools Union, as well as his encounters with 'maimed, crippled, and blind' flower sellers, and thus established the 'Crippleage' to deliver spiritual education and instruction in flower making to disabled girls (including 'the blind, partly paralysed, [those] without legs, or only one hand').³⁹ In the early twentieth century, working-class deaf girls at St John's Institution for

³⁴ Gordon Philips, *The Blind in British Society: Charity, State and Community c. 1780-1930* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 333-337.

³⁵ Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation: 'Soul of a Nation'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 21.

³⁶ For discussion of the Edwardian rhetoric of 'efficiency' and the alleged physical and social degeneration of the British population, see Jonathan Rose, *The Edwardian Temperament, 1895-1919* (London: Ohio University Press, 1986), pp. 177-122 and G. R. Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency: A Study in British Politics and Political Thought, 1899-1914* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971).

³⁷ Anderson, *War*, p. 18; 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. 26.

³⁸ 'Death of Mr John Groom', *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 2 January 1920, p. 2.

³⁹ 'Death of Mr John Groom', p. 2; 'Floral Exhibition at Chichester', *Bognor Regis Observer*, 28 May 1913, p. 7.

the Deaf and Dumb in Boston Spa were also trained in flower making as part of their occupational therapy, which, similarly to Groom's Crippleage, was accompanied by spiritual teaching (this time of a Catholic nature).⁴⁰ Various other institutions also adopted flower making as one aspect of employment training: during the 1890s, the Aberdeen Institute for the Deaf and Dumb instructed pupils in 'basket-weaving', 'fancy bead work', and 'paper flower making', amongst a number of other crafts, and in the 1910s, 'The Lisburn Road Institution' in Belfast similarly taught deaf and dumb girls to create paper-flowers.⁴¹

Despite charitable suggestions that flower making was transformative form of instruction — which reportedly offered a 'means of livelihood for the girls who take it up' — this form of training nevertheless restricted disabled children to the bottom end of the labour market.⁴² Neither the Crippleage nor St John's offered permanent occupation, but simply trained girls to undertake flower making as a home trade, or seek casual, poorly-paid work in one of the country's increasing number of 'flower factories'.⁴³ Furthermore, flower making in these contexts did not provide year-round employment: demand for artificial blooms was seasonal, and sales relied heavily upon London's social calendar and the associated whims of fashionable ladies, who only required decorative flowers at certain

⁴⁰ Carmen M. Mangion, "'The Business of Life': Educating Catholic Deaf Children in Late-Nineteenth Century England', *History of Education*, 41.5 (2012), 575-594 (p. 587).

⁴¹ 'Aberdeen Institute for the Deaf and Dumb', *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 13 January 1899, p. 4; 'Education of the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind', *Belfast Newsletter*, 26 June 1908, p. 5.

⁴² 'The Diary of St John's 1892-1914', 7 August 1900, pp. 2-11; 'Annual Report, *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 27 August, 1885, p. 11, both in Mangion, pp. 575-594 (p. 587); John Groom's Watercress and Flower Girl's Mission [hereafter John Groom's], 'Crippled Dot', c.1896-1914, LMA, John Groom's Association for Disabled People Collection [hereafter JGA], 4305/6/18. Flower making for disabled children at these spiritual missions likely adhered to a widespread charitable belief in the healing qualities of flowers themselves. During this period, Christian periodicals suggested that both growing and gifting 'natural' flowers were sources of healing for the sick and needy, who reportedly gained inspiration from these emblems, and were 'brought to know Christ' by interacting with tangible floral specimens of 'God's power in the natural world'. Beverly Seaton, *The Language of Flowers: A History* (London: University Press of Virginia, 1995), pp. 13-14.

⁴³ 'Death of Mr John Groom', p. 2; Mangion, pp. 575-594 (p. 587, p. 582, p. 589); 'Crippled Girls' Floral Exhibition', *Evening Star*, 10 May 1899, p. 1.

times of the year.⁴⁴ ‘Flower factories’ in London therefore hired employees on a casual basis only ‘in those times when they needed workers’, and ‘self-employed’ flower makers went unpaid in the ‘off-seasons’ (April-August and December-February) when demand for artificial flowers decreased.⁴⁵ As a result, floral production was generally only practiced by ‘poorly clad and [...] delicate looking girls’, or individuals living in ‘extreme poverty’ in ‘squalid’ urban ‘slums’ who eked out a living through ‘umbrella mending [and] artificial flower making’.⁴⁶ Far from providing self-reliance and reliable earnings, charities such as St John’s and the Crippleage therefore actually reinforced the impoverished status of these children and underpinned a ‘cycle of poverty’.⁴⁷

Charitable instruction in flower-making not only sustained poverty among disabled civilians, but also reflected and reinforced wider conceptualisations of disabled bodies as weak, enfeebled, and incapable of skilled work. During this period, flower making was considered a particularly unskilled form of employment. The flower making process was typically separated into three phases: the cutting of components; the dyeing of material; and the assembly of the final product.⁴⁸ Although the former ‘cutting’ stage was increasingly mechanised — and thus considered as increasingly skilled — by the turn of the twentieth century, this aspect of production was rarely mentioned within popular discourse, which, rather, drew attention to the final manual assembly of floral items, and

⁴⁴ Andrew August, *Poor Women’s Lives: Gender, Work and Poverty in Late-Victorian London* (London: Associated University Press, 1999), p. 64.

⁴⁵ August, p. 75. ‘Artificial Flower Making’, *Leeds Mercury*, 3 October 1865, p. 7.

⁴⁶ ‘Artificial Flowers’, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 15 August 1888, p. 5; ‘The Squalid Homes of Sheffield’, *Sheffield Independent*, 29 December 1883, p. 2; Marguerite, ‘Artificial Flower Making’, *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 4 October 1906, p. 6. Indeed, as Andrew August has determined, artificial flower making was among a number of trades that were developed, in part, ‘to exploit an available cheap source of female labour’ in urban areas, and was thus particularly poorly paid, and segregated along gendered lines; August, p. 75, p. 88. Flower-making at home, in particular, allowed destitute women to contribute to household incomes whilst undertaking domestic duties such as child care. Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 96. See also Joanna Bourke, ‘Housewifery in Working-Class England, 1860-1914’, *Past and Present*, 143 (1994), 167-97.

⁴⁷ Mangion, pp. 575-594 (p. 589); August, p. 88.

⁴⁸ August, p. 88.

gave the impression that flower making constituted the creation of single, complete, products by individual women.⁴⁹ Flower making was consequently conceptualised as an inactive, sedentary activity that required little physical exertion, or skill.

Charitable flower making schemes reinforced this rhetoric within publicity accounts, which emphasised the physically undemanding gestures required to make materially flimsy artificial flowers. According to charitable discourse, synthetic blossoms — which were comprised of soft fabrics such as muslin and ‘thin silk wafers’ — necessitated (and even stimulated,) ‘gentle’ gestures that could only be completed by similarly ‘delica[te]’ crippled girls and nondisabled female flower makers, whose weakened physicality, innate ‘creative’ qualities, and eye for fashion and beauty prepared them for the trade, and allowed them to create blossoms that were ‘absolute[ly] lifelike’ in both ‘form and colour’.⁵⁰ Indeed, a number of reports took this rhetoric one step further, and not only emphasised the delicate gestures required to create artificial blooms, but also conspicuously imputed the dainty, fragile attributes of artificial blossoms onto the fragile, and seemingly ephemeral, bodies of crippled flower makers. This was particularly apparent within charitable material(s) for John Groom’s, which self-consciously adopted floral

⁴⁹ See, for example, Marguerite, p. 6.

⁵⁰ ‘Artificial Flowers in Favour’, *Walsall Advertiser*, 11 May 1901, p. 3; ‘Artificial Flowers’, *Paisley & Renfrewshire Gazette*, 25 December 1897, p. 2; ‘Making Artificial Flowers in Silk’, *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 3 February 1909, p. 6; ‘Artificial Flowers’, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General*, 19 April 1905, p. 15; ‘Artificial Flower Making’, *Burnley Gazette*, 22 July 1876, p. 8; Marguerite, p. 6. This discourse was especially driven by an existing association between femininity, feminine bodies, and flowers. As Beverley Seaton and Kristina Hunealt have outlined, during this period, popular discourse, art, and literature regularly intertwined the aesthetic and material characteristics of women and flowers: in Britain, flowers connoted love and fertility, and were thus held to be ‘the female part of nature’; women, in turn, were regularly depicted in relation to the flowers they encountered, and were variously described as ‘dainty’ and ‘fresh’, or were physically metamorphosed with images of blossoms. Seaton, p. 2, p. 7; Kristina Hunealt, ‘Flower Girls and Fictions: Selling on the Streets’, *Canadian Art Review*, 23.1/2 (1996), 52-70 (p. 57). See also Sartillot, pp. 117-150. Artificial flowers were among a variety of popular ‘imitation’ commodities in this period that authentically reproduced natural things in line with an increasingly modern aesthetic. Celeste Olalquiaga, *The Artificial Kingdom: On the Kitsch Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), p. 44, pp. 55-56.

pseudonyms such as 'Daisy', 'Dot', and 'Rose' to describe disabled girls, and accordingly described crippled flower makers *as* delicate flowers.

According to appeal leaflets, 'Groom's Girls' were 'rosebuds set with little willful thorns', who, 'without assistance', 'would, (like flowers) 'drift, droop and die'; whilst when 'answered they become bright, [and] useful'.⁵¹ Although this rhetoric was arguably intended to align impoverished, degraded crippled children with prevalent notions of acceptable femininity, it nevertheless intertwined the frail materiality of blossoms with the cripples who made them, and consequently highlighted disabled children's physical weakness, and further reinforced notions of disabled civilians as enfeebled and useless individuals. By describing Groom's Girls as flowers that 'without assistance' would 'droop' and 'die', publicity material suggested that crippled children, like natural flowers, were frail, breakable, and ephemeral things.

It is clear that, prior to the First World War, flower making not only relegated crippled flower makers to a poorly paid, unskilled, trade, but also adhered to, and reinforced, wider conceptualisations of disability that viewed corporeal difference as an 'idle' and inactive state. As a light and feminine craft, flower making was purportedly suited to disabled girls' weakened bodies, and the gentle and dainty gestures and material objects involved in flower making particularly highlighted girls' frail corporeality, which was inextricably enmeshed with the flimsy, delicate, and seemingly perishable lifelike flowers they created.

⁵¹ 'Rose Day in Cheltenham', *Gloucestershire Echo*, 21 June 1916, p. 3; John Groom's, *John Groom's Crippleage and Flower Girl's Mission* (leaflet), c.1920s, JGA, LMA, 4305/6/19; John Groom's, *What is Being Done for the Crippled Girls?*, 1903, JGA, LMA, 4305/6/18; 'Floral Exhibition at the Town Hall', p. 8.

The Charitable Reconceptualisation of Flower Making: 'A Highly Skilled Industry'

As the introductory section of this chapter has outlined, in the aftermath of the war, charities continued to conceptualise artificial flower making as a suitable form of transformative employment for disabled individuals. *Remembrance*, for example, reinforced a number of pre-war understandings of flower making as a reconstructive activity that rescued disabled ex-servicemen from 'derelict' lives. However, accounts of flower making within the context of post-war charitable employment — and the Poppy Factories in particular — dramatically contrasted depictions of feminine flower-makers and the seemingly fragile, 'lifelike' products they created: whilst gentle, feminine perceptions of flower making arguably inspired Guérin to employ destitute French women and children to produce the first artificial remembrance poppies in the early 1920s, for heroic disabled ex-servicemen, employment within a physically undemanding, low-status, feminine trade, and its implicit associations of fragility and physical weakness were unacceptable.⁵²

The following section traces popular discourse and imagery surrounding the British Legion Poppy Factories, to assess the various ways that charitable action and publicity shaped and reshaped conceptualisations of flower making in relation to war-disabled men. Although numerous scholars, including Deborah Cohen, Seth Koven, and Meaghan Kowalsky have discussed both charitable and state employment schemes for disabled ex-servicemen in detail, these accounts have typically focused upon the overall successes and failures of these initiatives, and have not yet drawn attention to the specific processes, physical movements, and products involved in charitable employment.⁵³ The following

⁵² French flower makers were considered the most talented in the trade, and provided the majority of artificial flowers sold to British consumers in this period. 'The Art and Industry of French Flower Making', *Weekly Irish Times*, 18 May 1901, p. 18. For a discussion of flower making in France see Marilyn J. Boxer, 'Women in Industrial Home Work: The Flower Makers of Paris in the Belle Epoque', *French Historical Studies*, 12.3 (1982), 401-423.

⁵³ Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany* (London: University of California Press, 2001); Koven, 'Remembering', pp. 1167-1202; Meaghan Kowalsky "'This Honourable

section thus extends this analysis to focus more closely upon the particular significance of flower making as an occupation for disabled ex-servicemen. It situates the British Legion Poppy schemes within the wider histories of both flower making and industrial manufacturing, and additionally draws attention to the objects and object encounters involved in this specific trade, to investigate the various ways that war-disabled bodies were practically and rhetorically 'arranged' at the Poppy Factories.⁵⁴

In so doing, this section demonstrates that British Legion publicity and popular discourse conspicuously separated floral assembly from negative pre-war connotations of femininity and unskilled, undemanding casual work, and rather, reconceptualised flower making as a full-time, waged form of industrial employment that seemingly necessitated physical strength and technological skill. Most significantly, popular accounts surrounding the Richmond and Edinburgh factories inserted the schemes into pervasive Taylorist-Fordist manufacturing tropes and consequently portrayed the sites as large-scale mechanised production lines that churned out millions of poppies a year. By shifting popular understandings of floral assembly, charitable publicity demarcated heroic war-disabled men from prevalent conceptions of disabled people as degraded, indolent beggars, and reintegrated them into society as financially independent, physically strong, 'efficient' workers and simultaneously bolstered claims that 'scientific management' was the most successful way to make even disabled bodies efficient.

As this chapter has so far outlined, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a variety of charitable schemes provided employment training for disabled individuals. From the advent of the First World War, charitable organisations dramatically

Obligation": The King's National Roll Scheme for Disabled Ex-Servicemen, 1915-1944', *European Review of History*, 14.4 (2007), 567-584.

⁵⁴ Carol Walkowitz, *Bodies at Work* (London: SAGE, 2006), p. 58.

adapted and accelerated this form of assistance to cater to the thousands of ex-servicemen returning to Britain with permanent disabilities: a number of existing initiatives expanded to facilitate training for war-disabled men, and countless new workshops, charities, and grassroots efforts were also established throughout the war and into the early 1920s to cater to the huge influx of disabled soldiers into Britain. These included both state and voluntary schemes, and varied in arrangement from workshops, to technical schools, and government training facilities.⁵⁵ It is clear that charitable training initiatives were, in part, motivated by prevailing perceptions of disability and idleness: from 1914 onwards, social commentators expressed continual anxieties about maimed soldiers' alleged inability to return to work, and hazarded that without assistance heroic disabled ex-servicemen would be doomed to suffer the 'hardships of poverty' 'as a result of their services'.⁵⁶ It was feared that if employment were not provided, disabled ex-servicemen would be reduced to the indolent and degraded status of crippled street sellers and blind beggars; one British Legion report explicitly warned that, without assistance, heroic disabled soldiers would become 'an army of men begging at street corners'.⁵⁷

These concerns were further compounded by the occurrence of mass-unemployment in the post-war period. Although the state began to provide disability pensions for disabled ex-servicemen from 1916 onwards, this income was not expected to fulfil men's financial needs, but was, rather, only intended to supplement earnings.⁵⁸ In a post-war economy, many war-disabled men had difficulty finding work to augment their pensions. Throughout the 1920s, over ten per cent of the insured working population were unemployed, and for many disabled ex-servicemen, this situation was aggravated by a lack

⁵⁵ Kowalsky, "Honourable", pp. 567-584 (p. 570).

⁵⁶ 'The One Day of the Year', *BLJ*, 2.4, October 1922, p. 82.

⁵⁷ 'Hull's Great Day: The Case of Compulsion', *BLJ*, 4.8, February 1925, p. 253.

⁵⁸ Gregory, *Silence*, p. 97.

of experience and skills, or 'severe physical impairment' that 'made return to their former occupation impossible'.⁵⁹ (Indeed, preconceived notions of disability and disabled bodies arguably deterred many employers from hiring war-disabled men and further exacerbated these difficulties.) In the immediate aftermath of the war, over 100,000 physically disabled ex-servicemen consequently faced unemployment.⁶⁰ For these men, who had sacrificed parts of their bodies during the conflict, a life of destitution and poverty were unacceptable. As Julie Anderson has denoted, for a 'society that had been through the horrors of war [...] the pathetic remains of ex-servicemen [...] begging on the street [was] a horrific and embarrassing sight'; disabled ex-servicemen *deserved* employment in return for their corporeal sacrifices.⁶¹

Much like pre-war charitable efforts for disabled civilians and soldiers, occupational therapy and employment were considered an effective way to counter indolence and begging amongst war-disabled men and make them 'useful', economically independent members of society, whilst concurrently contributing to their emotional and physical rehabilitation. Robert Jones (the RAMC surgeon appointed to organise the medical care of disabled soldiers during the war) asserted that curative workshops and regular skilled work 'foster[ed] a habit of diligence and self-respect, and convert[ed] indolent and often discontented patients into happy men who soon felt they were becoming useful members of society and not mere derelicts'.⁶² Howson, too, ventured that 'enforced idleness' [resulting from disability] naturally did not improve [disabled ex-servicemen's] mental or

⁵⁹ Howson, p. 68; Kowalsky, *Enabling*, p. 96. For wider discussion of unemployment in Britain during the 1920s see especially Keith Laybourn, *Britain on the Breadline: A Social and Political History of Britain Between the Wars* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990).

⁶⁰ Wooton, p. 48.

⁶¹ Anderson, *War*, p. 43; Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), p. 59.

⁶² Robert Jones, *Notes on Military Orthopaedics* (1927), p. viii, in Koven, 'Remembering', pp. 1167-1202 (p. 1188).

physical condition, and suggested that '[o]ccupation and the sense of usefulness' elicited through work were the only way to counter the misery and 'dereliction' caused by corporeal losses and reduce the risk of begging and pauperism among disabled ex-servicemen.⁶³ Whilst these commentators therefore considered 'pensions and monetary aids [...] all very well', charitable handouts were not considered a suitable answer to the 'problem of disability'.⁶⁴

Despite this desire to distinguish disabled soldiers from idle disabled civilians, it is clear that, to some extent, early twentieth century understandings of disability prevailed within a variety of charitable training schemes: numerous charitable efforts for disabled ex-servicemen incorporated elements of handicrafts and unskilled, casual, feminine work into employment training and physical recovery, and disabled ex-servicemen also undertook a variety of inactive handicrafts during their convalescence.⁶⁵ Notably, a number of these activities involved flowers in some way: men often drew flowers as gifts for nurses, embroidered laurels as signs of peace and victory, and sewed red Flanders poppies into khaki fabric as symbols of commemoration.⁶⁶ Institutions such as St Dunstan's and the Star and Garter Home also commonly instructed war-disabled men in a number of sedentary manual activities, many of which were provided for disabled civilians prior to the war, including basket weaving, crochet, rug making and embroidery.⁶⁷ Indeed, many of the

⁶³ Howson, p. 71, p. 68.

⁶⁴ Howson, p. 71.

⁶⁵ Ana Carden-Coyne, *The Politics of Wounds: Military Patients and Medical Power in the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 265-266.

⁶⁶ Carden-Coyne, *Politics*, p. 266.

⁶⁷ St Dunstan's' Regent's Park 'Hostel', for example, included departments dedicated to basket-making, mat-making, rug-making, and netting. 'Departmental Notes', *SDR*, 6.75, July 1921, p. 8. Disabled ex-servicemen at the Star and Garter Home also made cane baskets, trays, 'trinkets', 'delicate feather-work', 'raffia work', and rugs. 'Star and Garter: Successful Sale of Work', *Folkestone, Hythe, Sandgate and Cheriton Herald*, 30 November 1929, p. 8.

objects created by disabled ex-servicemen were also sold to the public on an item-by-item basis to generate an income for the individuals who made them.⁶⁸

Whilst these ventures differed very little from pre-war efforts for disabled civilians, charitable publicity and popular discourse actively demarcated handicrafts from negative conceptualisations of physically undemanding, unskilled work. Feminine activities practiced during convalescence, for example, were not characterised as training or employment, but were, rather, defined as a form of recreation and recovery and were, intended to 'alleviate [...] boredom', facilitate 'psychological recovery' and 'rebuild fine motor skills, particularly in men suffering injuries to their hands'.⁶⁹ Former Liberal politician and philanthropist Lord Charnwood further affirmed this distinction in an address on 'Technical Training for Disabled Soldiers' given to the Royal Society of the Arts in 1917, when he declined to comment on 'those surprising forms of apparently feminine fancy work which afford solace in many hospitals among strong men on their backs'; for [according to Charnwood] those belong[ed] to recreation, which [was] an adjunct of cure, and not at all to training'.⁷⁰

A number of schemes took this division a step further, and redefined notions of employment 'training' and charitable action altogether. Several charities offered disabled ex-servicemen not just instruction in handicrafts (whether for physical health or work training,) but provided full-time, permanent, waged occupation for disabled ex-servicemen. These initiatives most notably included: the LRMW, where men were employed in a number of capacities, including as toy makers, cabinetmakers, and

⁶⁸ 'Star and Garter: Successful Sale of Work', p. 8.

⁶⁹ Carden-Coyne, *Politics*, p. 266.

⁷⁰ [Godfrey Benson], 'Technical Training for Disabled Soldiers and Sailors', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 3396.66 (1917), 67-78 (p. 71). Anxieties surrounding disabled ex-servicemen undertaking effeminate forms of labour were further exacerbated by the increased presence of women in the workforce during the war. Koven, 'Remembering', pp. 1167-1202 (p. 1192).

woodworkers; Ashstead Potteries, where men made ceramics; The Painted Fabrics Factory in Sheffield, where men made tablecloths and curtains; the 'Silver Badge Valet Service' in Manchester, where men were employed 'on renovatory work and boot repairing', and a diamond cutting factory in Wrexham, where disabled ex-servicemen were paid to cut and polish diamonds.⁷¹ Whilst a number of these various occupations (such as wood working and cabinetmaking,) were typically categorised as skilled, masculine work, others — including shoe making, boot making, and embroidery — were among the casual, unskilled, feminine handicrafts commonly practiced by disabled civilians and impoverished women before the war. Although charitable instruction in these light, undemanding handicrafts arguably adhered to prevailing assumptions surrounding the bodily incapacity of disabled people for physical work, by converting these typically casual trades into full-time, waged occupations charitable schemes reimagined a number of handicrafts as forms of appropriately masculine, respectable employment for deserving war-disabled men. For example, Jason McBrinn has demonstrated that charitable employment in embroidery did not align war-disabled workers with the typically feminine associations of this trade, but, conversely, reconstructed veteran's masculine identities by reinforcing their renewed social status as breadwinners and family men.⁷²

Flower making was among these various forms of recharacterised employment. Although the charitable provision of flower-making reflected an enduring connection between enfeebled disabled bodies and supposedly gentle crafts, and, furthermore, *remained* women's work throughout the interwar period, charitable discourse separated the trade from these potentially degrading, emasculating assumptions, and

⁷¹ Cohen, *War*, p. 113, p. 123; 'The Ashstead Potters', *BLJ*, 5.2, August 1925, p. 41; 'A Plea for Employment', *BLJ*, 4.4, October 1924, p. 125; 'Work for Disabled Soldiers: Diamond Cutting Factory at Wrexham', *Lancashire Evening Post*, 20 October 1917, p. 4.

⁷² Joseph McBrinn, "'The Work of Masculine Fingers': The Disabled Soldiers' Embroidery Industry, 1918-1955", *Journal of Design History*, 29 (2016), 1-23.

reconceptualised flower making as a well-paid, physically demanding, and 'highly skilled' job for deserving disabled ex-servicemen. Much like the LRMW, Ashstead Potteries, and the Painted Fabrics Factory (amongst others), the Poppy Factories did not leave war-disabled flower makers reliant on item-by-item sales, but employed disabled ex-servicemen on a full-time, waged basis. British Legion publicity regularly highlighted this practice, and reassured members of the nondisabled public that, 'by making poppies' factory workers were 'able to earn an adequate livelihood'.⁷³ The provision of waged work distinguished war-disabled flower makers from impoverished disabled civilians, and also reshaped flower making as a full-time remunerative trade.

Charitable discourse additionally drew attention to the comparatively high wages that war-disabled men earned in comparison to female flower makers, and thus also distinguished them from conceptions of flower making as cheap, poorly paid, feminine labour.⁷⁴ According to various Legion appeals, 'the cost of [...] male labour' at the Richmond factory '[wa]s greater than the Trade Board rate of wages for female workers in the artificial flower trade': war-disabled flower makers earned £2 10s a week; whilst impoverished women flower makers received a meagre 3-6s.⁷⁵ Unlike casual employment and homework, the Poppy Factories also hired disabled ex-servicemen on a permanent basis: promotional reports emphasised that flower making at the factories was 'an all-the-year round occupation [...] instead of only a seasonal one before Poppy Day', and thus further separated the factories from casual, feminine work.⁷⁶ Significantly, this arrangement also

⁷³ British Legion Appeals Department [hereafter BLAP], 'Poppy Day 1923 Report', 1923, TNA, Records created or inherited by HM Treasury [hereafter HMTTC], T199/13, p.13.

⁷⁴ BLAP, 'Poppy Day 1923 Report', p.13.

⁷⁵ 'Poppy Day', *Todmorden Advertiser and Hebden Bridge Newsletter*, 31 October 1924, p. 6; 'A Happy Family of Forty-One', *BLJ*, 2.2, August 1922, p. 33; British Legion, 'Poppy Day 1923 Report', p.13; 'Artificial Flower Making', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, p. 6.

⁷⁶ 'At Lady Haig's Poppy Factory', *Scotsman*, 13 December 1929, p. 5; Lady Spencer Churchill, 'Women and Poppy Day: How to Help', *BLJ*, 4.6, November 1924, p. 159.

contributed to the broader reconceptualisation of charitable action: whilst the proceeds from flower sales were reportedly allocated to ‘cases [of ex-servicemen] where circumstances of distress due to unemployment [were] acute’, charitable discourse both rhetorically and physically separated war-disabled flower makers from these donations; unlike ‘distressed’, unemployed ex-servicemen, these men did not received hand-outs, but, rather, *worked* for their wages.⁷⁷

Alongside shifting financial provisions, Poppy Factory discourse also inserted both the Richmond and Edinburgh factories into widespread popular practices and discussions surrounding industrial manufacturing in this period, and consequently further reshaped floral assembly from a light, gentle, and primarily manual trade, into a large-scale form of skilled, physically demanding, mechanised production. Most significantly, charitable publicity utilised growing interest in bodily efficiency and ‘scientific management’ — or Taylorism — to dispel prevailing understandings of both disability and flower making, and position disabled ex-servicemen, and the Poppy Factories, at the forefront of British industry. In the years immediately preceding the war, Frederick W. Taylor’s theory of ‘scientific management’, increasingly pervaded British manufacturing ideals and popular discourse.⁷⁸ Taylorism — as scientific management was widely known — was developed from a series of ‘motion studies’ completed by Taylor and Frank and Lillian Gilbreth, who recorded the individual gestures undertaken by industrial workers and examined and reworked each movement in order to maximize the physiological efficiency of employees.⁷⁹ Scientific management, and the experiments that preceded it, were based upon a late nineteenth century belief that the body was a ‘human motor’ with limited energy to be

⁷⁷ BLAP, ‘Poppy Day 1923 Report’, pp. 11-12.

⁷⁸ For a detailed account of the ‘ancestry’ and ‘genealogy’ of Taylorism see Bernard Doray, *From Taylorism to Fordism: A Rational Madness*, trans. by David Macey (London: Free Association Books, 1988).

⁷⁹ Frank B. Gilbreth and Lillian Miller Gilbreth, *Motion Study for the Handicapped* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1920).

expended during work, and sought to optimise the productive output of each worker and decrease 'idleness' and fatigue to make each body useful and industrious.⁸⁰ Taylorism fragmented the production process into a series of distinct tasks, and each task into a discrete physical movement that could be timed and managed to increase the productive capacity of each individual employee.⁸¹

Taylor and the Gilbreths' methods were immediately popular, and by the late 1910s, were further adopted and adapted by American industrialist Henry Ford, who applied these theories to the production of cars within giant American factories, and additionally reorganised the separate stages of industrial production around machinery in an assembly-line process.⁸² Whilst Taylorist-Fordist methods were developed in America, and elicited some resistance amongst workers and social commentators, by the early the twentieth century there was widespread enthusiasm for the implementation of the principles of 'scientific management' in British (and indeed, European) industry.⁸³ Taylorist methods particularly appealed to pervasive ideals of 'National Efficiency' in this period, that sought to optimise British resources and manpower and increase international prestige in the face of ever-growing U.S. and German technological and military strength.⁸⁴ Notably, by claiming to increase productive output and render workers' bodies efficient, scientific

⁸⁰ See Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

⁸¹ Walkowitz, *Bodies*, p. 58.

⁸² Walkowitz, *Bodies*, p. 58. There has been much debate surrounding the differences between Taylorist and Fordist (or 'Fordian') methods, and some scholars have determined that, whilst Ford developed his assembly line techniques from Taylorism, his method was a critique of Taylor's model. Michel Freyssenet, 'Developing Analytical Tools to Identify the "Fordian Model" in Europe', in *Ford 1903-2003: A European History, Volume I*, ed. by Hubert Bonin, Yannick Lung and Steven Tolliday (Paris: P.L.A.G.E., 2003), pp. 95-118 (p. 111, p. 112). Whilst the distinction between Taylorism and Fordism remains somewhat blurred, this chapter refers more generally to Taylorist-Fordist discourse within British press reports, which notably merged the two within the same rhetorical framework, and often simply referred to 'American' manufacturing ideals.

⁸³ Harm G. Schröter, 'Economic Culture and its Transfer: An Overview of the Americanisation of the European Economy, 1900-2005', *European Review of History*, 15.4 (2008), 331-344 (p. 333). For a comprehensive overview of the spread of Fordist production and the Ford company in Europe see especially Steven Tolliday, 'The Origins of Ford of Europe: From Multidomestic to Transnational Corporation, 1903-1976', in Bonin, Lung and Tolliday, *Ford*, Volume I, pp. 153-242.

⁸⁴ Searle, p. 8; Rose, p. 177.

management seemingly offered a solution to growing alarm over physical deterioration and bodily inefficiency that were sparked by the poor health of Boer War recruits, and concurrently provided a way to increase British industrial power by regimenting both workers' bodies, and manufacturing processes, for greater efficiency.⁸⁵

By the outbreak of the First World War, Taylorist-Fordist practice increasingly informed British industrial methods and practice: in October 1911, Ford opened its first European assembly plant in Manchester using assembly line to bring cheap, mass-produced cars to a British market, and by 1914, Ford's 'Model T' was the best-selling car in Britain.⁸⁶ Taylorist-Fordist practice continued to grow in usage during the conflict, as British factories applied the principles of scientific management to munitions production, with the 'primary aim of maximizing efficiency' and 'maintaining control of labour' in 'turbulent' conditions.⁸⁷ In December 1915, Minister of Munitions David Lloyd George even appointed a 'Health of Munitions Workers Committee' 'to consider and advise on questions of industrial fatigue, hours of labour, and other matters effecting [...] the physical efficiency of workers in munitions factories and workshops'.⁸⁸ 'Scientific' manufacturing ultimately made the war itself materially possible: Taylorist-Fordist principles were used to create what Saunders has called 'the defining objects of the First World War' — the 'millions of

⁸⁵ Searle, p. 12; Rose, pp. 177-122.

⁸⁶ Schröter, pp. 331-344 (p. 333). Mira Wilkins, 'Ford Among Multinational Companies', in Bonin, Lung and Tolliday, *Ford: Volume I*, pp. 71-94 (p. 71, p. 73). Steven Tolliday, 'The Rise of Ford in Britain: From Sales Agency to Market Leader, 1904-1980', in *Ford 1903-2003: The European History Volume II*, ed. by Hubert Bonin, Yannick Lung and Steven Tolliday (Paris: P.L.A.G.E., 2003), pp. 7-72 (p. 8).

⁸⁷ Angela Woollacott, *On Her Their Lives Depend: Munitions Workers in the Great War* (London: University of California Press, 1994), p. 72.

⁸⁸ 'Report of the Welfare and Health Section for the Year Ending 1917', in Woollacott, p. 71. The ever-growing need for munitions both necessitated efficient Taylorist practices, and additionally 'provided a laboratory system' within which the British state and social scientists could run studies on industrial output and test the effectiveness of scientific management for the purposes of British industry. Woollacott, p. 67.

artillery shells made in munitions factories [...] and fired particularly along the western front'.⁸⁹

Despite growing state and industrial enthusiasm for Taylorist-Fordist methods and mechanisation, the spread of scientific management and assembly-line production was not without resistance: during the war years, for example, munitions workers staged a number of protests to object to increased managerial control under Taylorist conditions, including marches and mass absenteeism.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, it is clear that, by the 1920s, Taylorism-Fordism was a recognised, and *recognisable* trope within both British industrial practice and popular rhetoric.⁹¹ British popular discourse, art, and literature exhibited widespread fascination with mass-production, and press reports regularly described the step-by-step movements and stages involved in various manufacturing trades.⁹² Fordism, in particular, was considered a symbol of modernity and was lauded by many observers and business-owners as the most effective way to produce cheap consumer products, decrease wastage, and ultimately increase profits.⁹³

The Poppy Factories took advantage of the 'triumph of Taylorism' to socially and physically 'reconstruct' disabled ex-servicemen. Notably, wage practices at the Richmond factory were not only intended to combat pauperism among disabled ex-servicemen, but

⁸⁹ Woollacott, p. 67; Nicholas J. Saunders, 'The Ironic Culture of Shells in the Great War and Beyond', in *Matériel Culture: The Archaeology of Twentieth Century Conflict*, ed. by John Schofield, William Gray Johnson and Colleen M. Beck (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 22-40 (p. 22). See also, Nicholas J. Saunders, 'Bodies of Metal, Shells of Memory: "Trench Art" and the Great War Re-cycled', *Journal of Material Culture*, 5.1 (2000), 43-67.

⁹⁰ Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 70-111; Kevin Whitson, 'Worker Resistance and Taylorism in Britain', *International Review of Social History*, 42.1 (1997), 1-24. There has been much debate over the level of protest to scientific management in this period. Scholars have most recently shown that the impact of worker resistance has been largely exaggerated, and did not, in reality, effect the spread of Taylorism. See Whitson, pp. 1-24 (pp. 3-4).

⁹¹ In the 1920s, the government also established the 'British Higher Productivity Council' as a 'semi-state' institution which promoted 'efficiency' and 'rationalization' in industry. Schröter, pp. 331-344 (p. 333).

⁹² Joshua B. Freeman, 'Giant Factories', *Labour*, 72 (2013), pp. 177-203. See also Joshua B. Freeman, *Behemoth: A History of the Factory and the Making of the Modern World* (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2018).

⁹³ Freeman, 'Giant', pp. 177-203. For an example of interest in Fordist techniques among British business owners, see Edward A. Filene, *The Way Out: A Business-Man Looks at the World* (London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1925).

were also inspired by Fordist methods of management. Alongside the £2 10s a week paid to Poppy Factory workers, war-disabled flower makers at Richmond were additionally incentivised according to wage-bonuses, which offered an extra income based on productivity.⁹⁴ The factory was reportedly ‘managed on the American ideal [that] the more you work the more you earn’.⁹⁵ Whilst this form of payment echoed the itemised income typically offered during piecework (including handicrafts- and flower- making), Fordian wage bonuses notably differed in organisation: bonuses at the factory were not based on the creation of entire, finished, goods, nor were they intended as a means to exploit disabled ex-servicemen for cheap labour. Rather, these payments were based on time-studies techniques that sought to optimise war-disabled bodies for work and align disabled workers with nondisabled employees. According to Ford’s 1922 autobiography, *My Life and Work*, wage bonuses were ‘[t]he best way [...] by which they [blind and crippled workers] can be put on a productive par with able-bodied men’; this method did not reward men on the basis of pity, but, rather, reflected disabled worker’s capacity for productivity and removed them from degraded notions of charity.⁹⁶ Indeed, Ford further noted that, in using this method, there was ‘little occasion for charity’ for blind and physically disabled workers.⁹⁷ Most importantly, unlike the meagre incomes provided to pre-war flower-makers, these bonuses were not the sole payment provided to Poppy Factory employees; they acted as a supplement to full-time weekly wages.

Taylorist-Fordist methods in the factories were not limited to financial incentives: alongside so-called ‘American’ methods of payment, the British Legion factories also

⁹⁴ ‘Work for Disabled Ex-Servicemen: Unique Factory’, *Hull Daily Mail*, 8 November 1930, p. 4. This was not limited to the Poppy Factory: state factory-schemes organised under the MoL similarly offered an ‘efficiency bonus’ to disabled ex-servicemen who successfully completed training programmes, ‘provided that the trainee’s attendance and efficiency’ were satisfactory. Howson, p. 83.

⁹⁵ ‘Unique Factory’, p. 4.

⁹⁶ Henry Ford, *My Life and Work*, 4th edn (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1924), p. 107.

⁹⁷ Ford, p. 107.

conspicuously rejected the 'dainty' feminine associations of both flowers, and manual floral assembly, and instead inscribed flower making within contemporary Taylorist work practices that rendered disabled bodies physically capable of modern industrial employment. Both factories fragmented the floral production process into distinct phases, according to 'scientific' methods, and countless British Legion appeals and press reports specifically recounted the various steps involved in floral assembly. Upon the opening in the Richmond factory in 1922, for example, the *British Legion Journal (BLJ)* described 'How the Poppies [were] Made',

First of all the lawn is cut into the shape of the petals in lots of 36. In the same room are three veining machines [...] Each of the lots of 36 is sorted out into fours, which are placed in a receptacle in the machines and a slight turn of the handle impresses the veins on the leaves. In the adjacent assembly room [...] Each of the shapes is separated, [...] the metal disc and stalk are passed through, the base is fastened with some adhesive material and a small tab, showing, as does the metal centre, that the poppies are for 'Haig's Fund' for ex-service men, is attached to the stem. The poppy is then complete.⁹⁸

Press reports, too, corroborated official British Legion accounts: the *Hull Daily Mail* described the 'intricate' business of step-by-step flower making, which involved the separate cutting of steel, and the 'cutting of leaves' 'further along the assembly bench'.⁹⁹

By breaking tasks down into isolated gestures, Poppy Factory methods ensured that employees were only required to perform one distinct movement, or set of movements, and it was not, therefore, essential for these workers to have 'complete' bodies.¹⁰⁰ Within

⁹⁸ 'How the Emblems are Made', *BLJ*, 2.2, August 1922, p. 33.

⁹⁹ 'Unique Factory', p. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Daniel Black, *Embodiment and Mechanisation: Reciprocal Understandings of Body and Machine from the Renaissance to Present* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2014), p. 87.

a fragmented assembly line process, men could undertake actions with the functioning (or remaining) parts of their bodies, and were thus integrated to the same level as 'able-bodied' workers. This method of production was particularly significant within the Poppy Factories, which primarily employed limbless ex-servicemen: all forty war-disabled men initially employed at the Richmond Factory upon its establishment in 1922 had lost at least one limb in the war.¹⁰¹ These men were, significantly, considered to be among the most severely disabled soldiers: whilst blind ex-servicemen were viewed as the most sacrificial ex-servicemen, limbless individuals were viewed as especially incapable of physical work as a result of their corporeal losses. Although many blind ex-servicemen with 'whole' bodies, for example, were able to perform physical, tactile, tasks in much the same way as able bodied employees, soldiers with fragmented corporeal forms were especially excluded from activities and locations primarily set up for nondisabled workers.¹⁰² Indeed, in his address on 'Technical Training for Disabled Soldiers', Lord Charnwood urged that special consideration for employment should be given to limbless ex-servicemen, and especially to those who had lost an arm, as 'the loss of an arm is generally a far worse handicap than the loss of a leg'; Howson, too, confirmed that the loss of an arm was a more significant barrier to employment than the loss of one (or even both) legs.¹⁰³

Both Ford and the Gilbreths suggested that segmented manufacturing was the most effective way to incorporate limbless individuals into industrial employment. In 1920, the Gilbreths published an entire book on the subject entitled *Motion Study for the Handicapped* that advocated the use of 'motion picture apparatus' to study the distinct

¹⁰¹ 'A Happy Family', p. 6.

¹⁰² Joanna Bourke has demonstrated that the state placed specific financial values upon disabled ex-servicemen's corporeal losses, which accorded an assumed loss of earnings to each body part. Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, pp. 64-67. Every ex-serviceman employed at the Richmond Factory received a pension of at least 75 per cent, thus further indicating that these men were viewed as the most incapable of employment, and the most incapacitated by their injuries. 'Unique Factory', p. 4.

¹⁰³ Benson, pp. 67-78, (p. 69, p. 71); Howson, p. 71, p. 82.

movements of workers and develop techniques for ‘functionalizing’ the bodies of ‘handicapped’ employees.¹⁰⁴ According to the book, by this method, it was possible to determine which limbs, in particular, were necessary for certain types of work, and thus adapt certain tasks to suit disabled bodies.¹⁰⁵ In his biography, Ford likewise noted that ‘if the work is sufficiently subdivided disabled men could perform just as much work [...] as a wholly able-bodied man’.¹⁰⁶ Whilst both publications were American in origin, they were each published in Britain in the 1920s, and the Gilbreths’ work, was, notably, recommended by Howson himself within the *Handbook for the Limbless*; although it is difficult to trace, it is thus quite possible that this study was a major motivation behind the manufacturing processes at the Poppy Factory.¹⁰⁷

As both Ford and the Gilbreths suggested, the use of ‘scientific’ principles at the Poppy Factory successfully integrated severely disabled men into manufacturing work. Unlike the charitable provision of light, unskilled handicrafts (including manual methods of flower making) fragmented Taylorist methods did not exclude disabled ex-servicemen from modern, industrial work, but conversely adapted floral production to suit (similarly) fractured bodies. Charitable reports detailing the discrete stages of production particularly drew attention to the physical capacity of limbless employees for this type of work: by focusing on worker’s individual bodily movements and tangible encounters with machinery, innumerable accounts publicly accentuated limbless workers’ physical

¹⁰⁴ Gilbreth and Gilbreth, p. xii.

¹⁰⁵ Gilbreth and Gilbreth, p. 36.

¹⁰⁶ Ford, p. 108-109. Ford himself hired war-disabled American soldiers to work in his factories, and in 1918 released a film entitled *Veterans Working in Industry* that featured disabled men working alongside nondisabled employees. John M. Kinder, *Paying with Their Bodies: American War and the Problem of the Disabled Veteran* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 140.

¹⁰⁷ Howson, p. 220. The Red Cross also adopted motion studies methods to assist disabled ex-servicemen in the U.S. during this period. Gilbreth and Gilbreth, p. xiv. J. M. Gotcher has suggested that the Gilbreths’ work in European nations in the 1920s assisted over 13 million disabled ex-servicemen. J. M. Gotcher, ‘Assisting the Handicapped: The Pioneering Efforts of Frank and Lillian Gilbreth’, *Journal of Management*, 18.1 (1992), 5-13 (pp. 9-10).

dexterity and ability to overcome the most debilitating and ‘severe’ disabilities to mass-produce items. Poppy Factory workers were described ‘cutting, twisting, wiring and pasting millions of poppies for sale on Armistice Day’.¹⁰⁸ *BLJ* accounts, in particular, recounted the physicality, dexterity, and strength in men’s remaining arms and legs: one ex-serviceman at the Richmond site who was ‘formerly [employed as] a motor mechanic’ reportedly cut ‘the lawn [...] into the shape of petals in lots of 36 [...] with a strong right arm’ that drove a heavy mallet, and was praised as an expert at his work.¹⁰⁹ Another employee at Lady Haig’s Poppy Factory was allegedly able to twist wire around a ‘table studded with nails’ ‘into to any shape you wish’ to make floral wreaths.¹¹⁰

Descriptions of men driving mallets and bending metal both countered perceptions of limbleness as an ‘idle’ and unemployable condition, and further separated war-disabled flower makers from both pre-war understandings of disability, and gentle methods of manual flower manufacturing. Further still, a number of reports took this narrative one step further, and not only constructed disabled ex-servicemen as physically *capable* workers, but additionally aligned these men with whole, ‘able-bodied’ employees. This was particularly evident within rhetorical and visual depictions of Poppy Factory workers, which particularly drew attention to the discrete physical gestures performed by war-disabled flower makers during step-by-step production. By focusing upon the movements performed by distinct parts of disabled ex-servicemen’s bodies — such as men’s ‘strong right arm[s]’ — charitable discourse obfuscated, and even erased, the absent parts of men’s bodies altogether.¹¹¹ Whilst scholars have contended that assembly-line manufacturing had the effect of alienating workers from the production process by

¹⁰⁸ Freeman, ‘Giant’, pp. 177-203 (p. 189); ‘32,000,000 Poppies for Armistice Day’, *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 27 October 1928, p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ ‘How the Emblems are Made’, p. 33.

¹¹⁰ ‘At Lady Haig’s Factory’, p. 5.

¹¹¹ ‘How the Emblems are Made’, p. 33.

essentially rendering the rest of their bodies redundant, accounts of limbless ex-servicemen completing these physical tasks had the opposite effect of highlighting the strength in their remaining limbs and overlooking the 'broken' parts of their bodies.¹¹²



Figure 3.1: British Legion (1924), *Disabled Men at Work in the Poppy Factory in South-East London*

Official British Legion photographs took this visual rhetoric one step further, and literally effaced ex-servicemen's corporeal differences to construct their bodies as whole. Images of disabled workers at the Poppy Factory (Figure 3.1) concealed men's absent limbs, which were arranged away from the camera, or under the workbench at which they sat, and in some cases were positioned out of the frame altogether.¹¹³ By hiding (or failing to mention), the absent limbs of the nation's most severely disabled ex-servicemen charitable publications literally hid the effects that war had wrought upon men's bodies and visually

¹¹² Doray, pp. 116-126; Black, p. 87.

¹¹³ 'Disabled Men at Work in South-East London', *BLJ*, 5.4, December 1924, p. 144. These photographs were, significantly, a form of material culture, which were 'framed' by both photographic technology and photographers, and thus captured only a fleeting moment that was filtered through camera angles, types of film, and 'the chosen moment of exposure'. Whilst photographs thus served as frozen 'fragment[s]' of an 'insidious', 'timeless' and 'inaccurate past', they nevertheless asserted an 'undeniable authority' that confirmed the 'truth' of a single, seemingly 'authentic', moment and were thus perceived as 'real' by the viewer. As Elizabeth Edwards has demonstrated, photographs consequently had (and have,) the capacity to render 'creations of the mind [...] concrete', and act as a 'symbol for wider truths'. Elizabeth Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography* (London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 7.

'normalised' flower-makers' as *whole*, physically capable, nondisabled workers. Concealing the visible evidence of ex-servicemen's disabilities implicitly distinguished these men from enfeebled crippled civilians and children, and simultaneously obscured potentially upsetting evidence of physical pain and trauma from the eyes of the public in what Koven has called the 'erasure of bodily pain' that accelerated the process of 'forgetting' the war.¹¹⁴ It is notable that these photographs instead drew attention to floral emblems, which were positioned in the centre of photographs — and further obscured workers' bodies — as the tangible outcome of men's productivity.¹¹⁵

Taylorist-Fordist tropes within charitable publicity not only highlighted the physical strength of war-disabled flower makers, but additionally incorporated disabled ex-servicemen into an imagined 'modern' mechanised process. As in giant Fordian factories, promotional material suggested that technology in the Poppy Factories dominated and dictated the course of the otherwise manual assembly process, around which war-disabled workers were arranged as part of an overall productive plan that was 'driven by the movement of machines'.¹¹⁶ Although much of the work undertaken by war-disabled flower makers was completed by hand (as in the early years of the century,) British Legion descriptions drew particular attention to the machinery in the factory. The *BLJ*, for example, highlighted the use of 'three veining machines' — the only machinery — at the Richmond factory, which were 'operated by men who were formerly an accountant, an engineer's fitter, and a mill hand', but did not describe the remaining 37 men who assembled the poppies by hand individually, or in any detail.¹¹⁷ During the later years of the 1920s, newspaper reports similarly relished in detailing the increasingly technological

¹¹⁴ Koven, 'Remembering', pp. 1167-1202 (p. 1182).

¹¹⁵ 'Poppy Day, 1924', *BLJ*, 5.4, November 1924, p. 144.

¹¹⁶ Doray, p. 58.

¹¹⁷ 'How the Emblems are Made', p. 33.

production of floral products at the factories, which included ‘the most up to date appliances’ such as machinery to cut the centres of poppies from ‘huge sheets of steel’ and ‘laboratories where laurel and other leaves’ were cured to be fashioned into long-lasting floral wreaths.¹¹⁸ Whilst late nineteenth and twentieth century discourse seemingly erased the machines within flower factories, Poppy Factory publicity conversely highlighted the modern, technological aspects of flower manufacturing, and presented flower making as a technologically driven, efficient form of mechanised mass-production.

Numerous accounts took this machine-dominated narrative one step further, and portrayed war-disabled flower makers themselves *as* productive, efficient machines. Popular discourse that focused on technology as the primary method of flower making gave the impression that these small hand operated machines (and the men who controlled them), dominated production, and disabled workers were subordinated to the needs of production as a homogenous productive automata.¹¹⁹ Charitable publications imagined rows of homogenous workers as a kind of fluid military machine who churned out thousands of products each day: *BLJ* reports, for example, detailed the ‘stacks and stacks of boxes, all filled with poppies, all made by rows and rows of men’.¹²⁰ Their ‘voices blend[ed] in harmony’, as their bodies seamlessly moved together as one to assemble products.¹²¹ At Lady Haig’s Factory the ‘silence’ of workers was allegedly ‘broken only by the whirr of the machinery’, and flower assembly apparently skipped from machine to machine with few (or no) manual stages in-between.¹²² This rhetoric further mimicked prevalent Taylorist-Fordist discourse in this period that ‘revelled in the tight coordination of workers’ and ‘seem[ed] to announce a new stage in the relationship between man and

¹¹⁸ ‘Unique Factory’, p. 4.

¹¹⁹ Doray, p. 63.

¹²⁰ ‘The Cheeriest Workshop in London’, *BLJ*, 2.2, August 1922, p. 33.

¹²¹ ‘The Cheeriest Workshop’, p. 33.

¹²² ‘At Lady Haig’s Poppy Factory’, p. 5.

mechanical creations'.¹²³ Accounts that detailed 'rows and rows of workers' seemingly compounded all Poppy Factory employees as one productive amalgam, which repetitively churned out masses of poppies in a unified production line, and incorporated disabled bodies into a mechanized process with the sole purpose of maximizing the productive output of the factory.

Numerous descriptions failed to demarcate war-disabled workers' bodies from machinery all together, and simply referred to the productive output of 'the factory'. Many newspaper reports seemingly described disembodied machinery, which operated alone to produce millions of poppies without the help of men.¹²⁴ One description of the Edinburgh site, for example, revealed that, 'further along the "assembly bench" another set of machines are busy cutting the poppy leaves', and consequently erased the ex-servicemen's distinct corporeality altogether and ideated a fusion of man and machine working together to cut poppy leaves.¹²⁵ Another description of the Edinburgh factory similarly recounted,

[i]t is fascinating watching the poppies developing. They are first cut out [...] then veined one by one in a metal stamping machine, while buttons and stems are simultaneously prepared at another table, and the familiar little red flower at length emerges¹²⁶

This report seemingly suggested that artificial flowers simply developed of their own accord, and emerged from industrial machinery without any intervention from factory employees whatsoever.

¹²³ Freeman, 'Giant', pp. 177-203 (p. 189).

¹²⁴ Ford, in particular, aimed to eradicate the manual handling of material altogether and make all operations automatic. Ford, p. 90.

¹²⁵ 'Unique Factory', p. 4.

¹²⁶ 'At Lady Haig's Poppy Factory', p. 5.

Although scholars such as Bernard Doray asserted that Taylorism made individual workers redundant and positioned them as mere interchangeable *appendages* to machinery, in the context of the factories, these descriptions did not degrade the skilled work of war-disabled employees, but rather, countered popular understandings of disabled people as idle and inefficient, and presented disabled ex-servicemen themselves as productive and efficient human-machines.¹²⁷ This rhetoric blurred the boundaries between workers and machinery and envisaged the war-disabled body as a human-motor: ‘a productive force capable of transforming universal natural energy into mechanical work and integrating the human organism into highly specialized and technical work processes,’ and implied that disabled ex-servicemen were not ‘broken’ but rather ran as a smoothly oiled and co-operative group.¹²⁸

By linking Poppy Factory workers with their physical productive output, popular rhetoric objectified the bodies of disabled ex-servicemen as a means of production. Whilst this arguably erased workers’ individual identities, it also heralded the success of the Poppy Factory employment scheme, and reincorporated disabled ex-servicemen within contemporary ideals surrounding work and bodily efficiency. Much like accounts of the fragmented floral assembly process, charitable discourse consequently suggested that mechanised Taylorist-Fordist production was the most successful way to render fractured bodies industrially efficient. Countless reports explicitly adopted Taylorist-Fordist linguistic tropes to describe the ‘efficient’ mass-production undertaken by war-disabled flower-

¹²⁷ Doray, p. 59; Black, p. 5. The concept of the body as a machine had its roots in Ancient Greece, and was popularised within Rene Descartes’ 1664 *Treatise on Man*, which imagined human bodies as machines controlled by human souls. For scholarly debates on the human-machine relationship and Cartesian Dualism see especially Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (London: Free Association Books, 1991), pp. 149-182; Drew Leder, *The Absent Body* (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1990) and Aram Vartanian, *LaMettrie’s L’Homme Machine: A Study in the Origins of an Idea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960).

¹²⁸ Rabinbach, p. 289.

makers, who never seemed to tire, and worked 'under high pressure' 'for nearly 300 days a year' to churn out millions of artificial flowers.¹²⁹ According to popular discourse, men at the factories reached a 'high standard of efficiency' despite their disabilities, and were able to work 'at the same speed day in day out throughout the year'.¹³⁰

The bodily efficiency of war-disabled workers was further evidenced through the very creation, and *existence* of millions of artificial flowers, which, like the mechanized bodies of disabled ex-servicemen, similarly embodied the efficiency and productivity inherent in Taylorist-Fordist methods. Innumerable press reports and charitable appeals utilised poppies as tangible evidence of both disabled ex-servicemen's skill, and the success of the factories: according to the *BLJ*, highly skilled Poppy Factory employees effortlessly produced a quota of 1,000 artificial flowers per man per day with mechanical precision, and required only a reminder from the factory manager to maintain productiveness if they were thought to be falling behind their target.¹³¹ Indeed, the vast numbers of artificial flowers manufactured by disabled workers seemed to grow exponentially each year; articles describing Poppy Factory employees were preceded by headlines such as 'Disabled Men Make Millions of Poppies for Armistice Day', and by 1928, commentators related that both factories were producing the gargantuan sum of 32 million poppies'.¹³²

Whilst, to a large extent, the relatively small-scale Poppy Factories differed very little from pre-war charitable instruction, and was most likely motivated by the apparently gentle, sedentary nature of flower making, it is clear that, in the aftermath of the war, the British Legion actively reconceptualised popular perceptions of both flower-making, and war-disabled flower-makers. Descriptions of the Poppy Factories consciously contrasted

¹²⁹ 'Unique Factory', p. 4.

¹³⁰ 'Unique Factory', p. 4; 'In Honour of Heroes', *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 4 November 1929, p. 3; 'The Men Who Make the Poppies', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 28 October 1929, p. 2.

¹³¹ 'A Happy Family', p. 33; 'How the Emblems are Made', p. 33.

¹³² 'The Cheeriest Workshop', p. 33; '32,000,000 Poppies', p. 8.

pre-war portrayals of sedentary feminine flower makers and the gentle gestures they performed, and rather, reframed flower making as an industrial, mechanised form of production undertaken by skilled, physically capable men. Popular accounts of disabled ex-servicemen performing physically demanding gestures and controlling machine-dominated processes concurrently distinguished these men from pre-war understandings of indolent disabled bodies, and waged labour at the factories additionally ensured that these men were removed from the beggarly connotations of selling individual items.

Most notably, popular portrayals of the allegedly industrial factories adopted Taylorist-Fordist tropes as a way to maximise (or seemingly maximise), the productive potential of fractured war-disabled bodies, and render them efficient, productive things. By breaking floral assembly into a series of distinct tasks that could be performed by the functional, or remaining parts of men's bodies, Poppy Factory discourse demonstrated the potential of scientific management to incorporate disabled people into work and thus maximize British manpower for the purpose of industrial productivity. To some extent, this narrative countered prevailing discontent with assembly-line production, and also positioned so-called scientific methods as a broader mechanism for social reconstruction in the aftermath of the first global war. Indeed, countless reports implied that the Poppy Factories were at the forefront of modern industrialization and British economic and manufacturing power: according to one press account, the Richmond factory was 'a monument to British Enterprise'.¹³³

¹³³ 'Unique Factory', p. 4.

Floral Bodies, Mechanical Flowers: Elevating Artificial Blooms

Flower making and war-disabled bodies were not the only things that were reshaped by charitable discourse in the aftermath of the First World War: artificial flowers, too, underwent a notable, and significant material and symbolic transformation from their pre-war forms as flimsy, lifelike, and seemingly ephemeral objects, to tough and durable charitable commodities that both symbolised the everlasting commemoration of the dead, and simultaneously offered evidence of disabled ex-servicemen's corporeal restoration into physically strong, masculine workers.

This section examines popular discourse and poetry, as well as catalogues, images, and rhetorical descriptions of the various floral products made by disabled ex-servicemen to investigate the myriad ways that employment schemes tangibly, and figuratively reshaped artificial flowers, and redirected consumer preferences surrounding the material characteristics of these things. Most significantly, it extends the work of scholars such as Elias, and Paul Fussell, who have outlined the connections between combatant soldiers and natural flowers — including the symbolic connections between the war-dead and various blossoms — to draw attention to the interconnected material and figurative identities of disabled soldiers and artificial flowers within the context of flower making schemes.¹³⁴ Further still, whilst scholarly discussions of flowers have tended to overlook the differences between artificial and natural flowers, this section draws particular attention to the materiality of artificial and natural flowers as separate objects with distinct social lives.¹³⁵

In so doing, this section highlights the enmeshed social identities of artificial flowers and war-disabled flowers makers within popular discourse and imagery. It demonstrates

¹³⁴ Saunders, *Poppy*; Fussell, pp. 231-269.

¹³⁵ Elias has determined that artificial and natural poppies, in particular, 'are successfully enmeshed as one symbolic entity in our imaginations'. Elias, 'War and the Visual Language of Flowers', pp. 234-250 (p. 239).

that charitable discourse and appeals actively shifted the aesthetic and material characteristics of artificial flowers in line with Taylorist-Fordist methods of mechanical manufacturing, and consequently reconceptualised floral durability and artificiality as desirable, and even 'authentic' qualities. Whilst pre-war artificial flowers were lauded for their apparently flimsy and delicate physical attributes, charitable discourse positioned the synthetic, tough, and resilient characteristics of disabled-made blossoms as materially superior to lifelike blossoms and natural flowers, and ultimately elevated Poppy Factory blooms upon a hierarchy of flowers. The tangible qualities of Poppy Factory flowers, in turn, embodied the modern, mechanised aspects of their production, and consequently evidenced ex-servicemen's corporeal strength and productivity.

As this chapter has outlined, floral purchases on Armistice Day were both intended to commemorate fallen soldiers, and additionally assisted nondisabled ex-servicemen, in 'cases where circumstances of distress due to unemployment are acute'.¹³⁶ However, these were not the sole motivations behind public consumption of disabled-made Poppy Factory flowers: as Gregory has determined, 'upon establishment of the Poppy Factory' in 1922, 'buying a poppy became an act of support for those who were suffering in the aftermath of the war [...] this, rather than commemoration of the dead was the principle object' of buying artificial flowers, and 'although the two were by no means incompatible', 'the strongest motivation of all was the desire to do something practical to assist those who had been maimed by the war'.¹³⁷ It is clear that both the symbolic and material qualities of artificial flowers were shaped by these considerations, and were thus inextricably enmeshed with perceptions of both the manufacturing processes used at the factory, and the allegedly strong, and physically durable bodies of the men who worked there.

¹³⁶ BLAP, 'Poppy Day 1923 Report', pp. 11-12.

¹³⁷ Gregory, *Silence*, p. 103, p. 108.

Perhaps most perceptibly, charitable publicity surrounding the Poppy Factories actively elevated disabled-made blossoms above their natural counterparts and suggested that these things were materially superior to grown flowers, precisely because they were manufactured. This is particularly evident within advertising rhetoric, which urged the nondisabled public to purchase artificial disabled-made flowers instead of natural ones: in November 1927, for example, Lady Haig beseeched the public to ensure that ‘on future armistice days wreaths laid on the cenotaph and on other memorials to the fallen should, where possible, consist of poppies *made* by disabled ex-servicemen’.¹³⁸ In a later article she similarly pleaded, ‘I beg everywhere I go to buy poppy wreaths made by these factories and not to use fresh flower wreaths’.¹³⁹ This discourse was directly connected to the perceived ‘social life’ of artificial, versus natural, flowers. Grown flowers required less (or no) human intervention and did not provide employment opportunities for disabled ex-servicemen; only artificial flowers could be assembled, and therefore contribute to the financial and social restoration of the heroic war-disabled.¹⁴⁰

As manufactured products, artificial flowers both shaped, and were shaped by, disabled ex-servicemen: as this chapter has so far outlined, popular discourse surrounding flower making schemes presented artificial flowers as both tangible evidence of disabled ex-servicemen’s productivity, and also suggested that these flowers were a kind of material facilitator that ensured, and *enabled*, full time work for the war-disabled. Publicity appeals emphasised that, ‘[t]he making of [...] [w]reaths gives employment to many Disabled ex-servicemen’, and noted that, ‘the more poppies and wreaths we buy, the more disabled ex-servicemen can be employed’, whilst another revealed that ‘owing to increased sales’

¹³⁸ Untitled, *Daily Mail*, 17 November 1927, p. 8.

¹³⁹ ‘Lady Haig’, *Wells Journal*, 9 August 1929, p. 7.

¹⁴⁰ This is not to say that natural flowers, too, were not human artefacts. Indeed, as Saunders has outlined, Flanders poppies on the western front were the product of human warfare that churned up the soil and encouraged the flowers to thrive. Saunders, *Poppy*, pp. 41-42.

in 1929 ‘more men ha[d] been taken on’ at the Edinburgh factory.¹⁴¹ These accounts notably connected each single purchase, and each single floral product, to the employment of increased numbers of disabled ex-servicemen, and thus inextricably entangled the social and financial reintegration of disabled ex-servicemen with the products they created. One advertisement for Christmas wreaths of made of artificial holly — which were intended to be placed on the graves of the war-dead during the festive period — noted that ‘those who buy the wreaths are helping to give disabled men a job. There are many hundreds waiting to get into the factories’.¹⁴² Indeed, as the sale of artificial holly wreaths suggested, artificial flowers could be manufactured all year round and thus, unlike seasonal flowers, these products (and the consumption of these products) particularly facilitated full-time, reliable work as a result of their material qualities. A further report revealed that

The poppies, with their foliage, make beautiful decorations in sprays, and it is to be remembered that all are made by disabled soldiers, to whom they give employment *all year round*.¹⁴³

Whilst this discourse was primarily intended to secure a British Legion monopoly over the poppy market for the benefit of both disabled and nondisabled ex-servicemen, it also reflected, and reinforced, shifting consumer preferences for aesthetically and materially synthetic objects in this period that were shaped by the ever-growing prevalence of mechanised production. It is clear that, (alongside their very existence), the materiality of Poppy Factory products was governed by both modern manufacturing processes, and a

¹⁴¹ ‘Public Notices’, *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 20 October 1932, p. 1; ‘Lady Haig’s Poppy Factory: What they Make’, *Scotsman*, 11 November 1935, p. 16; ‘Buying British: Disabled Ex-Service Men’, *Scotsman*, 10 December 1931, p. 13.

¹⁴² ‘Haig Holly’, *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 7 December 1929, p. 7.

¹⁴³ Lady Edward Spencer, ‘How to Assist’, *BLJ*, 4.5, November 1924, p. 159.

charitable desire to provide employment to disabled ex-servicemen in a physically demanding, mechanised, and modern industrial trade.

As Gregory has outlined, the British Legion sold a variety of materially diverse artificial poppies throughout the 1920s.¹⁴⁴ These were, at least in part, 'intended to make allowance' for nondisabled consumers from a variety of social and financial backgrounds to buy poppies at a range of price points.¹⁴⁵ However, these blossoms was also shaped by manufacturing considerations: at a meeting of the Northern branches of the British Legion in Hull in May September 1927, Mr Wilce Taylor, (the British Legion representative), revealed that manufacturing poppies in a single size 'would result in a large number of employees being dispensed with, because [poppies] of one size [...] could all be made by a special type of machine'.¹⁴⁶ The material characteristics of poppies were thus notably inspired by a charitable desire to employ as many disabled ex-servicemen as possible; by manufacturing a numerous material diverse poppies, the factories were able to hire increased numbers of men to specialise in the production of various blooms.

Manufacturing and employment considerations not only shaped the variety of poppies available to the public, but additionally contributed to the specific material characteristics of these things and contributed to wider popular preferences for aesthetically synthetic blossoms. Whilst artificial flowers created by, and sold for the benefit of, crippled girls materially reflected and reinforced notions of disabled bodies as enfeebled, delicate, and flimsy things, the tangible characteristics and rhetorical construction of Poppy Factory products dramatically contrasted understandings of these

¹⁴⁴ Gregory, *Silence*, pp. 100-107.

¹⁴⁵ Gregory, *Silence*, p. 100, pp. 106-107.

¹⁴⁶ 'Earl Haig Poppies', *Hull Daily Mail*, 15 September 1927, p. 6.

fragile, supposedly lifelike blossoms, and were increasingly enmeshed with the efficient processes by which they were made.

During this period, mechanised production methods generated an ever-growing range of standardized, consumer durables that replaced imitation commodities — such as lifelike flowers — with increasingly artificial renditions of nature that were each identical in form.¹⁴⁷ Fordian assembly-line production, too, was *intended* to mass produce thousands, or even millions, of identical, long-lasting, affordable products such as Model T cars. Poppy Factory products were accordingly positioned as standardized, mechanised, identical products. Each artificial poppy created at the factories featured a steel centre stamped with the words ‘Haig’s Fund’ (See Figure 3.2).¹⁴⁸ The writing on the blooms acted as a mark of authenticity that further sought to increase sales of Poppy Factory products, and deter the public from purchasing so-called fraudulent remembrance poppies, which were allegedly sold by ‘unscrupulous people bent on private profit’.¹⁴⁹ These stamps acted as tangible confirmation of the manufacturing ‘stage’ in the ‘social life’ of these things: ‘Haig Fund’ marks simultaneously reassured the public that these flowers were created by, and therefore assisted, war-disabled flower makers, and also evidenced the mechanised, assembly-line process undertaken in the Poppy Factories. Unlike natural flowers, and the handmade, artistic lifelike blossoms created by crippled girls and impoverished women, (which varied in materiality as a result of the unregulated and often unpredictable processes by which they were made,) ‘Haig Poppies’ were each materially identical products constituted by repetitive assembly-line methods and were marked as such by this

¹⁴⁷ Olalquiaga, p. 82, p. 136.

¹⁴⁸ This marking did not change until 1994, when ‘Haig Fund’ was replaced with the legend ‘Poppy Appeal’. Poppy Factory, *History* (see subtitle ‘Poppy Centre Name Change’).

¹⁴⁹ ‘Watch Your Poppies’, *Daily Mail*, 5 November 1926, p. 6. This was part of a wider shift in conceptions of object authenticity and desirability in this period which prioritised the various methods by which commodities were created, rather than their visual and physical likeness to nature. Olalquiaga, p. 82.

stamp. This both mimicked the durable Fordian products created in giant car factories, and increased the artificiality of red poppies: although early 1920s poppies featured a number of ‘lifelike’ qualities — such as stamen made from brush bristles — the steel centre was an aesthetically unnatural addition to floral products that shaped artificial poppies as mechanically made products, and further distinguished these things from their materially unpredictable natural counterparts.¹⁵⁰



Figure 3.2: Poppy Factory (c.1921), A Haig Poppy

The increasingly synthetic material aspects of artificial flowers were not limited to these marks of authenticity: technological advances at the factories also yielded an increasingly extravagant range of floral commodities throughout the 1920s, including ‘cured’ and ‘preserved’ ‘laurel and other leaves’ that transformed even *real* flowers into artificial products, for use in ‘long-lasting floral wreaths’.¹⁵¹ By the end of the decade, disabled ex-servicemen were creating huge flowers that were larger than men — the

¹⁵⁰ Poppy Factory, *British Legion Remembrance Day Poppy*, c.1921, Poppy Factory Archive, Richmond, author’s own photograph.

¹⁵¹ ‘Unique Factory’, p. 4.

largest of which was made in October 1933 and measured ‘five feet in diameter and sixteen feet in circumference’ — and the Edinburgh factory began to sell mounted poppies that fastened onto the radiator cap of a car with a clip (Figure 3.3).¹⁵²



Figure 3.3: Poppy Factory (1933), Foreman Bill Williams with ‘The Largest Poppy Ever Made at the Factory’

These flowers dramatically contrasted the allegedly natural-looking flowers that were idealised before the war — neither radiator clips, nor giant poppies could be mistaken for lifelike flowers — and also represented a significant advance from the soft, fragile cloth flowers created by Guerin’s brigade of destitute French women in 1921. Rather, these increasingly artificial products were prized for their ostentatious appearance and the allegedly modern, skilled processes by which they were made.

Much like pre-war descriptions of impoverished and crippled flower makers, the materiality of flowers also implicitly evidenced, and physically embodied the skill level and physical gestures of Poppy Factory workers, and thus contributed to popular understandings of disability and war-disabled bodies. Whilst small, natural-looking

¹⁵² “Bill” Williams Factory Foreman, 1922-1947, For Remembrance Day, Making Poppies for Armistice Day, in the British Legion Factory at Richmond, Surrey: *The Largest Poppy Ever Made at the Factory*, 27 October 1933, Poppy Factory Archives, Richmond, author’s own photograph; *The Men who Make the Poppies*, p. 2.

blossoms made from soft, fragile materials seemingly necessitated simple, gentle gestures and small, delicate movements, gigantic poppies and plastic radiator clips acted as tangible evidence of war-disabled workers' 'elaborate care' and skilled capacity to create 'the most absurdly fantastical' items.¹⁵³ In contrast to the delicate silk, muslin, and velvet used by women flower-makers, the very material that men fashioned into artificial flowers further evoked notions of physical strength, durability, and skill: poppy Factory workers did not delicately paint miniscule details onto flimsy fabric, but, rather, bent metal, stamped out petals from thick cotton lawn, and manipulated 'huge sheets of steel' into the metal centres of poppies.¹⁵⁴ This re-characterised the gestures involved in flower making, and also reshaped flowers themselves, as resilient, masculine products. Most significantly, descriptions of the tough, durable parts of artificial flowers and the physical movements required to work with them objectified disabled ex-servicemen's physical durability and distinguished war-disabled flower makers from conceptions of disability and physical idleness.

These entangled material understandings of flowers and war-disabled bodies were not limited to physical gestures and technological method of floral production; charitable discourse also symbolically entwined durable artificial flowers with the men who made them. As scholars such as Elias and Paul Fussell have demonstrated, although floral representations of human bodies were traditionally connected to femininity, during the First World War, floral rhetoric broke 'from convention and signif[ied] the bodies of men'.¹⁵⁵ As in descriptions of women flower makers and crippled girls, wartime floral imagery was tied to the supposedly delicate and fragile nature of both natural flowers and

¹⁵³ 'At Lady Haig's Poppy Factory', p. 5.

¹⁵⁴ 'Unique Factory', p. 4.

¹⁵⁵ Ann Elias, *Useless Beauty: Flowers and Australian Art* (Cambridge: Scholars Publishing, 2015), p. 76.

ephemeral human bodies: popular discourse drew upon the '[t]he fleshy nature of [natural] flowers' which — like human bodies — were 'easily broken', and thus 'existed in binary opposition to war machinery' to describe the damage wrought upon soldiers corporeal forms during the conflict.¹⁵⁶ As Elias has revealed, popular discourse transformed wildflowers, in particular, into 'disturbing' floral images of flesh wounds.¹⁵⁷ This is perhaps most evident within First World War poetry, which adopted blood red roses, red geraniums, and red Flanders poppies as representations of gore and death.¹⁵⁸ In Siegfried Sassoon's *The Death Bed*, for example, 'a dying soldier hallucinated that he is immersed in nature listening to the "warm rain on drooping roses"'.¹⁵⁹ Likewise, Isaac Rosenberg's poem, *Break of Day in the Trenches* (1916), imagined the roots of poppies 'in man's veins'.¹⁶⁰

In the aftermath of the war, charitable discourse extended the symbolic connections between fragility, blood red wounds, and flowers, and additionally employed blossoms to represent and explain disabled ex-servicemen's fractured corporeal forms. Indeed, it was the blood-like colour of red cornflowers and their prevailing connection to soldierly wounds that eventually re-characterised these particular things as symbols of commemoration rather than their blue counterparts, which also grew in the churned up earth of Flanders in the aftermath of the war.¹⁶¹ As Elias has further noted, natural flowers that have been cut for the purposes of display were particularly 'suggestive of

¹⁵⁶ Elias, 'War and the Visual Language of Flowers', pp. 234-250 (p. 242). Michael Taussig has also traced a significant historical connection between cartoons, flowers, and the mutilation of human corpses during conflict. Michael T. Taussig, *Walter Benjamin's Grave* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 89-218.

¹⁵⁷ Elias, *Useless*, p. 75; Paul Fussell has also discussed the use of English pastoral images within war diaries, letters, and literature, as a form of consolation that was grounded in notions of natural imagery as both the antithesis of war, and a form of 'imaginative protection' against 'indescribable' 'calamity.' Fussell, p. 235.

¹⁵⁸ Fussell, pp. 243-254.

¹⁵⁹ Elias, *Useless*, p. 76, p. 75.

¹⁶⁰ Elias, *Useless*, p. 76.

¹⁶¹ Fussell, p. 247.

dismemberment' and were thus adopted by numerous contemporaries to signify the corporeal destruction caused by the war.¹⁶² This is especially evident within Herbert Read's *Short Poem for Armistice Day*, which specifically described Poppy Factory workers in relation to the flowers they assembled, and utilised the fragility of natural blooms to symbolise the fractured bodies parts of limbless factory employees who he described as 'men like flowers are cut/and wither on a stem'.¹⁶³

Symbolic representations of artificial flowers not only evoked physical fragmentation and breakability, but also, somewhat conversely, represented the physical and social re-membering of war-disabled men: unlike the seemingly ephemeral synthetic flowers created by disabled girls, popular discourse surrounding the Poppy Factories emphasised the permanence of artificial flowers as evidence of both the 'everlasting' memory of fallen soldiers, and the supposed longevity of disabled ex-servicemen. Artificial flowers, by their very 'nature' were 'immune to decay', and the specific floral objects made by disabled ex-servicemen were especially tough and unbreakable items.¹⁶⁴ Unlike their natural counterparts, man-made blossoms did not rot and decay and thus did not become 'literal signs of death', but, rather, symbolised renewed life and physical strength.¹⁶⁵ As scholars such as Saunders, Gregory and Elias have outlined, remembrance ceremonies, in particular, evoked a connection between 'everlasting' artificial poppies and the everlasting memory of the war-dead within ceremonies of remembrance.¹⁶⁶

For disabled ex-servicemen, this durable materiality represented not just the memory of the war, but additionally symbolised physical healing and bodily durability.

¹⁶² Elias, 'War and the Visual Language of Flowers', pp. 234-250 (p. 243).

¹⁶³ Herbert Read, 'A Short Poem for Armistice Day', in *Poems of the Great War 1914-1918* (London: Penguin Books, 1998), pp. 28-29 (p. 29); Elias, 'War and the Visual Language of Flowers', pp. 234-250 (p. 243).

¹⁶⁴ Elias, 'War, Flowers, and Visual Culture', (para. 3 of 27).

¹⁶⁵ Elias, 'War and the Visual Language of Flowers', pp. 234-250 (p. 243).

¹⁶⁶ Elias, 'War, Flowers and Visual Culture', (para. 3 of 27).

Popular descriptions of the flower making process often utilised seemingly corporeal language that further enmeshed the bodily forms and social identities of war-disabled flower makers with the objects they created. *BLJ* accounts that described '[h]ow the Poppies [were] [m]ade', regularly referred to the 'green coloured metal buttons, which form[ed] the *heart* of the poppies' and also depicted the '*veins*' impressed upon the leaves.¹⁶⁷ The bodily parts of artificial flowers implicitly mirrored the bodies of the men who created them, and symbolised the reconstruction, or indeed, re-membering, of Poppy Factory workers. As the separated hearts and veins of flowers were 'fastened together' with 'adhesive material', so too, were war-disabled flower makers metaphorically 'fastened' together through the process of work.¹⁶⁸ '[W]ith a [simple] twist of the fingers' the poppies, and the disabled ex-servicemen who manufactured them, 'were [rendered] complete', and disabled ex-servicemen were 're-grown' like synthetic metal flowers.¹⁶⁹

This bodily rhetoric was not limited to official charitable discourse; Read's poem also drew parallels between the creation of artificial poppies and the physical reconstruction of Poppy Factory workers. Read's imagined disabled employees rhythmically (and efficiently) clocked in at the workmen's entrance of the Poppy Factory and 'work[ed] in diverse ways to make artificial flowers/ of paper tin and metal thread', which seemingly emulated the various parts of their bodies.¹⁷⁰ In places, Read's poem failed to distinguish war-disabled workers from artificial flowers altogether, and seemingly described a fusion of floral parts and war-disabled bodies. For example, the final three stanzas related,

¹⁶⁷ 'How the Emblems are Made', p. 33.

¹⁶⁸ 'How the Emblems are Made', p. 33.

¹⁶⁹ 'How the Emblems are Made', p. 33.

¹⁷⁰ Read, p. 28.

No seed they have no seed,
tendrils are of wire and grip
the buttonhole the lip
and never fade.

And will not fade through life,
and lustre go in genuine flowers
and men like flowers are cut
and wither on a stem.

And will not fade a year or more
I stuck one in a candlestick
and there it clings about the socket
I have no power there have patience.¹⁷¹

Whilst to a certain extent, these verses evoked a grisly image of limbless, impotent men mechanically producing flowers, the synthesis of disabled men and flowers also simultaneously suggested that disabled ex-servicemen's bodies were pasted back together through both medical intervention, and work at the factory. The wire tendrils of the flowers, in particular, evoked images of prosthetic limbs and medical *material* that had put men's broken bodies back together, whilst the lip-like buttonholes of flowers also seemingly echoed the medical interventions that had sewn up fractured bodies.

This metaphor continued in Read's final stanza where the description 'I stuck one in a candlestick/ and there is clings about the socket' prompted thoughts of prosthetic limbs 'stuck' into the empty 'sockets' where disabled ex-servicemen's limbs were once attached.¹⁷² Most significantly, Read's floral disabled ex-servicemen did not consist of

¹⁷¹ Read, pp. 28-29.

¹⁷² Read, p. 29.

flimsy, ephemeral materials, but were constructed from durable, everlasting objects that 'will not fade through life', nor 'fade a year or more'. Whilst his poem notably evoked a sense of tragedy, it thus also echoed wider charitable rhetoric that emphasised the tough materiality of both flowers and the men who made them, whilst concurrently suggesting that these men were stoic, everlasting things who would 'not fade', but were able to continue on through work. This imagery both contrasted pre-war descriptions of feminine flowers, and also further intertwined war-disabled bodies with floral products.

Indeed, the process by which disabled ex-servicemen were materially 'created' somewhat paralleled that of the flowers they manufactured. Both war-disabled bodies and artificial blossoms were physically and symbolically fashioned through mechanical processes, as were natural Flanders poppies. Whilst synthetic poppies were assembled using mechanised equipment at the Poppy Factories, natural poppies were similarly created by the industrial damage wrought upon the landscape of the western front, which churned up the earth and encouraged floral growth.¹⁷³ Disabled ex-servicemen, too, were physically constituted through mechanised warfare, which tore apart men's bodies and rendered them permanently disabled. All three things were also indirectly shaped by Taylorist manufacturing processes: as this chapter has outlined, the very shells that destroyed battlefield landscapes and shattered men's bodies during the war were created using Taylorist-Fordist methods of assembly-line production and 'scientific management', as too, were the artificial poppies that supposedly memorialised the dead, offered emotional relief to the grieving, and, as the chapter has shown, socially and physically reconstructed disabled ex-servicemen.¹⁷⁴ British Legion discourse was not, therefore, without irony: according to charitable accounts, war-disabled flower makers were thus

¹⁷³ Saunders, *Poppy*, pp. 41-42.

¹⁷⁴ Saunders, 'The Ironic Culture of Shells', p. 22; Saunders, *Poppy*, pp. 41-42.

seemingly recreated by the very fragmented, scientific methods that had destroyed their bodies in the first place.

It is clear that, in the aftermath of the First World War, charitable action markedly shifted popular understandings of floral objects, and increasingly conceptualised artificiality as a desirable material characteristic for benevolent consumers. Unlike their 'biological' and civilian-made counterparts, disabled-made artificial flowers were positioned as enticing objects precisely *because* of their durable, wearable characteristics. Advertising discourse implied that Poppy Factory products could be worn, reused, and displayed for a seemingly everlasting period of time, and additionally contributed to the social reintegration of disabled ex-servicemen, for whom the very creation of these man-made, mechanical things offered full-time industrial work.¹⁷⁵ Most significantly, these synthetic qualities were also enmeshed with the bodies, and social identities of the men who created them. In contrast to disabled girls, whose frail bodies were entangled with similarly fragile blossoms, disabled ex-servicemen were thus also presented as physically durable and everlasting things.

Conclusion: 'An Inspiration to All Others'

This chapter has shown that, in the aftermath of the First World War, a number of charitable organisations adopted and adapted floral assembly and floral emblems for the purposes of charitable action, and reshaped these things in relation to heroic war-disabled men. Whilst, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, flower making was

¹⁷⁵ Although these blooms lasted longer than their antecedents, it is clear that this did not diminish repeat purchases. Popular appeals consistently reminded members of the public that poppy purchases assisted the war-disabled, and thus encouraged repeat purchases year-after-year. See Gregory, *Silence*, pp. 93-117. Further still, poppies were frequently redesigned in a variety of permanent and ephemeral forms (such as radiator clips for cars) that consequently enticed the public to purchase more and more Poppy Factory products as a way to keep up with ever-shifting poppy 'trends'.

considered a degraded and unskilled handicraft that was particularly suitable for feminine individuals with delicate and enfeebled bodies, post-war charitable action both reconceptualised flower making as full-time, permanent, waged work, and additionally shifted floral manufacturing processes to align with widespread interest in supposedly efficient Taylorist-Fordist processes of production.

Both the Richmond and Edinburgh factories operated according to Taylorist methods of scientific management, which separated floral assembly into various different stages that rendered even the most physically fractured, and seemingly unemployable, disabled ex-servicemen physically efficient. By segmenting floral assembly into distinct physical gestures and movements, the factories utilised the remaining parts of men's bodies and initiated a variety of embodied activities involving machinery, physical strength, and skilled attention to detail, which both enabled the creation of millions of flowers, and simultaneously shifted notions of war-disabled bodies. Descriptions of disabled ex-servicemen undertaking mechanised, machine-driven manufacturing in the factories objectified disabled ex-servicemen's bodies as machine-like, corporeal manifestations of Taylorist-Fordist manufacturing, and consequently shifted the material attributes associated with war-disabled bodies. Unlike enfeebled, idle, disabled civilians, the factories, and the discourse surrounding them, conversely presented disabled ex-servicemen as efficiency materialised.

This discourse, in turn, heralded Taylorist-Fordist manufacturing as a way to achieve national efficiency, and simultaneously solve the so-called 'problem' of the indolent disabled population, as well as the deserving, unemployed war-disabled. The strength, efficiency and power inherent in war-disabled flower makers' bodies not only elevated disabled ex-servicemen upon a 'hierarchy of disablement', but also acted as tangible evidence of the success Taylorist-Fordist production to return otherwise unemployable

civilians to work. Indeed, popular accounts portrayed the British Legion Poppy Factories as large-scale, mechanised production lines that churned out millions of poppies per year using up-to-date, modern methods of assembly, and charitable discourse relatedly suggested that the Richmond factory was ‘an inspiration to all others who, being disabled, may become depressed when they think of their own handicap’, and thus presented the site as a model for both charitable schemes, and British industry in general.¹⁷⁶ British Legion activities and discourse consequently reinforced the growing British obsession with Taylorist-Fordist rhetoric and practice, and simultaneously materialised pervasive notions of national efficiency in the form of both war-disabled bodies and the factory sites themselves.

Charitable action not only reshaped flower making and war-disabled bodies, but also concomitantly remodelled both artificial flowers, and public preferences for these things. Whilst pre-war synthetic blossoms were, (allegedly) gentle, dainty, and feminine products manually created by similarly weakened hands, those made by disabled ex-servicemen were conversely depicted as increasingly artificial, technological objects produced by both modern mechanical processes and physically strong war-disabled bodies. These shifting notions of artificial flowers were especially tied to production processes, and presented flowers as suitably complex, and physically tough outputs of Taylorist-Fordist assembly-line processes that were seemingly enmeshed with the mechanical bodies of the men who created them. Much like war-disabled flower makers, synthetic flowers consequently embodied disabled ex-servicemen’s capacity for skilled labour, and also

¹⁷⁶ ‘A Happy Family’, p. 33. Through anthropologically-inspired fieldwork undertaken at the Poppy Factory in Richmond (which has remained the site of the Poppy Factory since 1933), it is clear that, despite these claims, the factory was, in reality, little more than a workshop: the materiality of the factory differed little from the workshops occupied by disabled civilians, both in physical size, and equipment. Indeed, images of the factory, too, belied its true purpose as a largely manual workshop. See for example, ‘Disabled Men at Work in South-East London’, p. 144.

materialised the very processes that made them. Artificial poppies, then, acted as further evidence of success of both charitable action and Taylorist-Fordist production, and, as a result, were ultimately elevated Poppy Factory products above both natural flowers, and other artificial floral products, including those made by crippled girls at John Groom's Crippleage. Indeed, as Gregory has outlined, by the late 1920s, London florists were complaining that they were being driven out of the market for wreaths on Poppy Day' by the factories, and Shelley Pennington and Belinda Westover have further demonstrated that public preferences for artificial charitable blossoms were so prevalent in this period that they contributed, in part, to the decline of the 'commercial' artificial flower industry.¹⁷⁷

As Kowalsky has revealed, in the context of the Poppy Factories, the British Legion ultimately acted as a disability movement that went some way to re-educate the public about disability and promote the skills and capabilities of disabled ex-servicemen as a way to alter widespread perceptions of disability.¹⁷⁸ However, it is clear that British Legion attempts to reconceptualise disability and flower making were, nevertheless, fraught with tensions. Whilst charitable publicity promoted disabled ex-servicemen as masculine, skilled workers, the very fact of their employment within a segregated factory suggested that these men were incapable of returning to the able-bodied workforce. Moreover, although charitable publicity rhetorically reshaped flower making, disabled ex-servicemen were ultimately offered the same sedentary and feminine work that was reserved for 'indolent' disabled civilians in the late nineteenth century.

¹⁷⁷ Gregory, *Silence*, p. 103; Shelley Pennington and Belinda Westover, *A Hidden Workforce: Women Homeworkers in Britain, 1850-1985* (London: Macmillan Education, 1989), p. 145. The Crippleage, too, seemingly struggled to entice floral consumers as a result of the superior social prestige of Poppy Factories products and employees: numerous appeals specifically mentioned a public propensity to purchase artificial flowers for the disabled ex-servicemen and thus forget the plight of crippled girls, who, according to publicity, were similarly 'maimed in the great battle of life'. John Groom's, *Victory!*, c. 1918, JGA, LMA, 4305/6/18.

¹⁷⁸ Kowalsky, *Enabling*, p. 192.

Although it is difficult to ascertain to what extent public perceptions of disability were affected by charitable ideology, the unprecedented numbers of charitable flowers sold each year suggests that there was broad public support for flower making employment schemes. It is therefore arguable that popular portrayals of flower making went some way to alleviate wider concerns surrounding disabled ex-servicemen and national reconstruction in the aftermath of the First World War, and concurrently presented Taylorist-Fordist manufacturing methods as a solution to these apparent 'problems'. Charitable discourse implicitly presented Taylorist-Fordist methods of production (and the machines that enabled this) as a form of 'assistive technology' that increased bodily efficiency amongst disabled individuals, and consequently contributed to the collective efficiency and industrial output of the nation. The factories, therefore, represented a significant departure from handicrafts instruction, and not only culturally elevated flowers, flower making, and disabled ex-servicemen, but also significantly elevated the role of charity in the post-war period; represented employment training, and the Poppy Factories, as wider methods for both social reconstruction, and British industrial power. Indeed, according to Charnwood, charitable employment was 'the first stage in that work of reconstruction after the war', which could prevent 'the suffering and social harm which [would] arise if any large number of the cripples and invalids of the war go without the help which is their due'.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ Benson, pp. 67-78 (p. 68).

Chapter 4

'The Battle of the Egg': 'Medical Eggs', Charitable Chickens, and War-Disabled Poultry Farmers

Introduction: Eggs as Material Culture

In August 1917, King's College Hospital wrote to specialist poultry publication *The Poultry World (PW)* to enlist farmers and cottagers in the so-called 'Battle of the Egg'.¹ The ensuing report revealed that the '21,000 wounded men [who] ha[d] been nursed at this hospital in three years of warfare' consumed up to 5,000 eggs per week as part of their healing regime, and were thus reliant upon British poultry farmers to 'fight' to produce a sufficient number of eggs during strained wartime conditions.² According to King's College Hospital 'the consumption of [...] eggs [was] absolutely necessary for [the] sick and wounded', and eggs were therefore 'absolutely impossible to replace by "substitutes"' which were 'practically valueless for invalids'.³ Indeed, the article proclaimed that 'there [was] no food of more importance' during wartime.⁴

This correspondence was among countless letters, articles, and cartoons featured in popular newspapers and the 'poultry press' — that is, specialist periodicals published chiefly for an audience of poultry keepers and agricultural businesses — that rendered eggs an indispensable, and irreplaceable foodstuff for wounded and disabled soldiers during the First World War. Throughout the conflict, numerous charitable appeals positioned eggs as a crucial source of nutrition that induced healing in even the most severely wounded patients. King's College, for example, was among a variety of hospitals, charitable

¹ 'The Battle of the Egg', *Poultry World* [hereafter *PW*], 20.25, 10 August 1917, p. 341.

² 'Battle of the Egg', p. 341.

³ 'Battle of the Egg', p. 341.

⁴ 'Battle of the Egg', p. 341.

organisations, and grassroots efforts that collected eggs for wounded and disabled soldiers during the war. From November 1914 onwards, the National Egg Collection for the Wounded (NEC) also campaigned tirelessly to supply '[n]ew laid eggs, free of cost, to [...] wounded soldiers and sailors', and set up 'depots for the collection of eggs [...] in every part of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales' for this purpose.⁵ In Edinburgh, NEC supplies were supplemented by the 'Fresh Egg Collection' which went door-to-door once a week to gather eggs, and distributed them to hospitals in the local district.⁶ Nottingham, too, boasted a (seemingly) separate 'Fresh Egg Collection' with its own depository, and countless other districts similarly organised their own egg schemes for local convalescing soldiers.⁷ Much like cigarettes, eggs were also among a number of items that were informally donated to wounded and disabled soldiers during the First World War: local churches, Boy Scouts, schoolchildren, and benevolent members of the public all variously collected and donated eggs throughout the country and were regularly lauded in the press for their contributions to deserving maimed soldiers.⁸

Egg collection was not the only 'stage' in the 'social life' of eggs that was considered an essential form of charitable action during this period. As King's College Hospital's plea revealed, poultry farmers were also enlisted to supply fresh laid eggs to the war-maimed. The *PW* account further implored that 'at [this] time [...] eggs [were] more needed than ever before' and 'it [was therefore] imperative that the supply [...] should be kept up', and that 'special attention [...] be given to home production, and everything done [...] to help

⁵ 'Eggs for the Wounded', *PW*, 15.3, 13 November 1914, p. 67.

⁶ Emma M. Millae, 'Edinburgh Ladies' Collection of Fresh Eggs for the Wounded', *Scotsman*, 8 August 1916, p. 7.

⁷ 'Fresh Eggs for the Wounded', *Nottingham Evening Post*, 22 September 1915, p. 3; 'Leith Egg Collection for Wounded Soldiers', *Scotsman*, 11 November 1916, p. 7.

⁸ 'Dublin Castle Red Cross Hospital Fund', *Irish Independent*, 15 May 1915, p. 7; Untitled, *Dundee Courier*, 2 May 1916, p. 2; 'Fresh Eggs for the Wounded', *Shields Daily News*, 4 June 1915, p. 4; 'Special Egg Collection', *Bedfordshire Times and Independent*, 20 August 1915, p. 1.

poultry farmers'.⁹ This discourse reshaped egg production itself as a charitable act, and, furthermore, suggested that poultry farming was an essential contribution to the war effort. By positioning egg production as a '[b]attle' the *PW* implied that poultry farming was akin to soldiering, and consequently constructed chicken keeping as a patriotic service to the nation.

For disabled ex-servicemen, too, charitable encounters with eggs did not end at ingestion: alongside these supposedly 'soldierly' members of the public, charities also recruited war-disabled men to 'fight' the '[b]attle of the [e]gg'. From 1915 onwards, numerous schemes trained war-disabled men in poultry management and egg production as a form of physical and financial rehabilitation: St Dunstan's Hostel for Blinded Soldiers and Sailors provided poultry training courses to blind ex-servicemen at Regent's Park, and the Star and Garter Home also instructed physically disabled veterans in poultry farming at both their Sandgate and Richmond Homes.¹⁰ In the aftermath of the war, a number of specific centres were further established to train war-disabled men in various aspects of agriculture, including egg production. For example, in 1918, Lady Angela Forbes used £3,000 profit from her voluntary canteen work in Ypres to establish a training centre known as Silver Badge Farm in Brentwood, Essex, where disabled soldiers received instruction in 'all the different branches of poultry and dairy farming and market gardening'.¹¹ In the same year, Vanguard Farm for Disabled Soldiers and Sailors was likewise set up by a 'little band of women' to train severely disabled ex-servicemen in assorted agricultural trades, including poultry farming, on a small 65 acre farm in Sutton Valance, Kent.¹²

⁹ 'Battle of the Egg', p. 341.

¹⁰ St Dunstan's, *Annual Report 1916* (London: St Dunstan's, 1916), p. 9; 'The Homing Pigeon', *SGM*, 3.3, July 1923, p. 137; 'Poultry Farming', *SGM*, 7.3, July 1927, p. 109.

¹¹ 'Training Disabled Soldiers in Poultry and Dairy Farming', *PW*, 24.25, 5 September 1919, p. 543.

¹² 'Lady Buckmaster's Tribute to Lewes', *Sussex Agricultural Express*, 14 April 1927, p. 5; Caroline Dakers, *Forever England: The Countryside at War 1914-1918* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), p. 197.

Poultry training was not limited to charitable action: from 1916, the state also offered up to 12 months free agricultural education and a supplementary training allowance to discharged and disabled veterans at training centres throughout the country, which included instruction in 'dairying, horticulture, market gardening, poultry farming and bee keeping' under the Ministry of Labour (MoL) and the Board of Agriculture (BoA) — the latter of which took over responsibility for agricultural training from the MoL in 1919.¹³ This scheme was part of a wider effort to settle soldiers on the land under the 1916 Small Colonies Act, which empowered the BoA to acquire up to 2,000 acres of farmland to split into smallholdings for returned and wounded soldiers in England and Scotland (although the BoA were eager to point out that agricultural training did not necessarily guarantee settlement on state acquired land).¹⁴ By 1919, MoL documents listed 16 training centres that specifically catered to disabled ex-servicemen in conjunction with soldier settlement. Although this list included a number of existing state-run agricultural colleges, it also featured privately run charitable sites such as the Church Army Farm Colony in Hempstead, Saffron Walden; the YMCA Centre in Woldingham, Surrey, and Silver Badge Farm.¹⁵

Despite the myriad, overlapping connections between disabled ex-servicemen and 'charitable eggs', historical accounts have not yet paid close attention to the relationship between war-disabled men and these particular things. Scholarly explorations have typically focused more broadly upon general food provisions to the British home front, or

¹³ Edith Whetham, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: Volume VII, 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 83; Board of Agriculture and Fisheries [hereafter BoA], 'Agricultural Training of Disabled Men: Procedure to be Adopted by Agricultural Executive Committees in Connection with Payment of Training Allowances', in MoL Training Department, 'Training of Ex-Servicemen (Including Disabled Ex-Servicemen Men) in Agriculture', 1919, TNA, Records of Departments Responsible for Labour and Employment Matters [hereafter LAB], 2/545/TDS4085, pp. 1-5. The BoA was a government department founded in 1889 to oversee all matters relating to agriculture in Britain, which later subsumed responsibility for fisheries and was consequently renamed 'The Board of Agriculture and Fisheries' in 1903. Brown, pp. 308-309.

¹⁴ Leah Leneman, 'Land Settlement in Scotland After the First World War', *Agricultural History Review*, 37.1 (1989), 52-64 (p. 55). Telegram from C. R. Williams (Food Production Department) to Mr Mann (Industrial Training Department), 27 November 1919, in MoL, 'Training of Ex-Servicemen'.

¹⁵ BoA, 'Agricultural Training of Disabled Men', p. 2.

have relatedly drawn attention to military and charitable food provisions for active combatants. For example, a variety of scholars, including Ilana R. Bet-El and Rachel Duffett, have highlighted the nutritional and symbolic importance of food for civilians and fighting soldiers, and have drawn particular attention to both the physiological considerations inherent in military food provision, as well as the social impact of certain foodstuffs upon morale on the fighting fronts.¹⁶ However, this research has not yet assessed charitable food donations for disabled ex-servicemen, and has consequently failed to draw attention to the importance of eggs in wartime.¹⁷ Moreover, although scholars such as Wendy Gagen and Leah Leneman (amongst others) have correspondingly examined agricultural instruction for war-disabled men, this research has tended to concentrate upon the broad political and economic outcomes of agricultural training within the context of state-implemented soldier settlement, and has not scrutinised the particular types of instruction offered to disabled ex-servicemen, nor drawn attention to agricultural training within the context of charitable action.¹⁸ Although this interconnected research has gone some way to illustrate

¹⁶ Ilana R. Bet-El, *Conscripts: Forgotten Men of the Great War* (Stroud: The History Press, 1999), pp.109-120; Rachel Duffett, *The Stomach for Fighting: Food and the Soldiers of the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012). See also Rachel Duffett 'A War Unimagined: Food and the Rank and File Soldier of the First World War', in *British Popular Culture and the First World War*, ed. by Jessica Meyer (Biggleswade: Brill, 2008), pp. 47-70 and Rachel Duffett, 'British Army Provisioning on the Western Front, 1914-1918', in *Food and War in Twentieth Century Europe*, ed. by Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, Rachel Duffett, and Alain Drouard (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 27-40. For discussion of wartime food provisions and food policy for civilians see also L. Margaret Barnett, *British Food Policy During the First World War* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1985); Peter Dewey, *British Agriculture in the First World War* (London: Routledge, 1989); Peter Dewey, 'Nutrition and Living Standards in Wartime Britain', in *The Upheaval of War: Family, Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914-1918*, ed. by Richard Wall and Jay Winter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 197-220 and Thierry Bonzon and Belinda Davis, 'Feeding the Cities', in *Capital Cities at War, 1914-1919, Volume I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 305-341.

¹⁷ Duffett's brief analysis of egg consumption on the western front is the exception to this general neglect of wartime eggs. Duffett, 'The Stomach for Fighting', pp. 185-223.

¹⁸ Wendy Gagen, 'Disabling Masculinity: Ex-Servicemen, Disability and Gender Identity, 1914-1930' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Essex, 2004), pp. 214-23; Leah Leneman, *Fit for Heroes?: Land Settlement in Scotland After World War I* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989). Numerous scholars have additionally drawn attention to agricultural training within the context of government soldier settlement schemes, which sought to relocate British disabled ex-servicemen and their families to the Dominions and throughout the British Empire as a form of 'Empire building'. See Ken Fry, 'Soldier Settlement and the Australian Agrarian Myth After the First World War', *Labour History*, 48 (1985), 29-43; Alison Glenys, "'From Bullets to Pullets': Bankstown Soldier Settlement', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 95.2 (November 2009), 144-157; Marilyn Lake, *The Limits of Hope: Soldier Settlement in Victoria, 1915-1938*

the varying relationships between soldiering, disability, and food, it has not, therefore, drawn attention to the specific objects and object encounters involved in these diverse 'charitable food schemes', and, more specifically, has not yet considered the role of eggs and egg production within these efforts. Indeed, scholarship on poultry farming itself has not, in general, concentrated on the material aspects of food production, and eggs have accordingly remained an afterthought within historical research; as Karen Sayer has noted, eggs are 'an under-researched topic'.¹⁹

This chapter extends this research to more closely investigate the relationships between eggs, egg production, and disability during and after the First World War, and consider the multifaceted and complex ways that these various interrelated things were conceptualised (and reconceptualised,) within the context of charitable action. Although (as this introduction has so far alluded,) eggs and egg production have typically been viewed as two separate, yet converging topics of historical enquiry, this chapter considers poultry farming as a significant 'stage' in the 'social life' of eggs that both symbolically and materially shaped these products and the people who encountered them.²⁰ Whilst eggs may more typically be considered 'natural' objects, this approach views eggs as material artefacts that were variously created and recreated by human practices, and, in turn, shaped human activities and culture.²¹

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); J.M. Powell, 'The Debt of Honour: Soldier Settlement in the Dominions, 1915-1940', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 5.8 (1981), 64-87; Kent Fedorowich, *Unfit for Heroes: Reconstruction and Soldier Settlement in the Empire Between the Wars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) and C.J.D. Duder, 'Beadoc – The British East Africa Disabled Officers' Colony and the White Frontier in Kenya', *Agricultural History Review*, 40.2 (1992), 142-150.

¹⁹ Karen Sayer, 'Eggs – An Under-Researched Topic', *Rural History Today*, 23 (2012), 1-8. Accounts of poultry farming have more readily focused upon both live chickens and poultry meat. See for example, Jane Dixon, *The Changing Chicken: Chooks, Cooks and Culinary Culture* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2002).

²⁰ See Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 3-63 and Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', same volume, pp. 64-94.

²¹ Michael Schiffer has labelled these 'naturally' occurring objects, 'externs', but points out that 'in actuality, many externs quickly become artifacts as they are modified by people or other artifacts'. Michael Brian

As Sayer has demonstrated, ‘modern’ eggs — like artificial flowers and machine-rolled cigarettes — are (and were,) constituted through various technological practices and innovations in poultry management.²² From the early twentieth century, techniques in egg production arranged and rearranged both the physical characteristics of eggs, and the natural cycles of the hens that lay them, and thus render(ed) these things human creations.²³ Egg consumption too, also alters (and altered,) the materiality of eggs, and further forms them into human artefacts: as scholars such as Claude Lévi Strauss have determined, preparing and cooking food through chopping, dicing, roasting, boiling, scrambling, mixing, or even liquifying, converts so-called ‘raw nature’ into ‘culture’, that has ‘affinities’ with human life.²⁴

A material approach to eggs allows for investigation of the shifting materialities and symbolic meanings of these objects, and the individuals who interacted with them. Like all things, foodstuffs — and accordingly, eggs — are shaped by, and concurrently shape, human culture.²⁵ As scholars such as Jack Goody and Mary Douglas have outlined, food consumption (in the form of eating) is an embodied experience that materially transforms and physically directs human bodies; food, like cigarettes, is a consumable commodity that is not just purchased, but is also ‘incorporated into [the] body’.²⁶ Eggs thus have both internal and external effects upon individuals: ‘skin tone, weight, strength of bones,

Schiffer, *The Material Life of Human Beings: Artifacts, Behaviour and Communication* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 12-13.

²² Karen Sayer, ‘Battery Birds, “Stimulighting” and “Twilighting”: The Ecology of Standardized Poultry Technology’, *History of Technology Volume 28*, ed. by Ian Inkster (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), pp. 149-168.

²³ See Joan Thirsk, *Alternative Agriculture A History: From the Black Death to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 189-195 and Sayer, ‘Battery’, pp. 149-168.

²⁴ Claude Lévi-Strauss, ‘The Culinary Triangle’ trans. by Peter Brooks, in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, ed. by Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 40-47. See also Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 154-165.

²⁵ Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (London: Polity, 2010), pp. 50-51.

²⁶ Deborah Lupton, *Food, the Body and the Self* (London: SAGE Publications, 1996), p. 17.

condition of hair and nails, [and] digestion are all commonly said to be directly affected by diet'.²⁷ Indeed, as Pasi Falk has noted, through eating, 'the objects of the outside world are taken into the body and the self', and thus 'become the self'.²⁸ The performances involved in eating also direct bodies within culturally prescribed mealtime rituals.²⁹ Eating simultaneously facilitates, and requires, innumerable gestures and corporeal encounters with things: it mediates interactions between people, food, plates, cutlery, and numerous other items, and also tangibly shapes the locations within which food is consumed.³⁰ For example, eating often requires 'a table, a seating order [and] restriction on movement'.³¹ Further still, material interactions with food (and, significantly, eggs,) are not limited to eating; food production practices also shape human bodies and human environments. Material locations and landscapes are arranged for the purposes of food production, and, much like artificial flower-making, also physically direct both human and non-human bodies within agricultural work.

Alongside these tangible aspects of food and eating, human 'tastes in food' are also 'socially shaped' by a multiplicity of cultural considerations, including religion, class, and geographical and temporal location, as well as marketing practices, government policy, and scientific and medical advice, that render particular foodstuffs 'desirable' or 'undesirable'.³² As Deborah Lupton has outlined, food is 'classified into a number of binary categories' that shift over time: due to 'factors such as its price, rarity, and above all, its cultural significance', certain food is considered 'good or bad, masculine or feminine [...],

²⁷ Lupton, p. 22.

²⁸ Pasi Falk, *The Consuming Body* (London: SAGE Publications, 1997), p. 15; Lupton, p. 17.

²⁹ Mary Douglas, 'Deciphering a Meal', *Daedalus*, 101.1 (1972), 61-81. Peter Farb and George Armelagos, *Consuming Passions: The Anthropology of Eating* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1980), p. 110.

³⁰ Douglas, pp. 61-81 (p. 66).

³¹ Douglas, pp. 61-81 (p. 66).

³² Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to Present* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), p. 17; Sayer, 'Battery', p. 149.

healthy or non-healthy, a comfort or a punishment, sophisticated or gauche [...], raw or cooked', and so on.³³ Food is thus produced and consumed not merely to satiate hunger, but also because of the cultural values that surround it.³⁴ In short, 'food is an important boundary marker'; the acts of producing, purchasing, and eating particular foods transfer the associated values of these things to the people who 'create', consume, and ingest them, and therefore simultaneously shape and reflect public perceptions of these individuals.³⁵

Eggs were thus the ultimate consumable charitable items, and were intimately entangled with both the public identities and physical actions of war-disabled men, and benevolent members of the nondisabled public. Much like leisure activities, smoking, and artificial flower making, charitable relationships with eggs physically altered war-disabled bodies, located disabled ex-servicemen in particular environments, and concomitantly shaped popular perceptions of disability and war-disabled bodies according to dominant understandings of eggs and egg production. Indeed, eggs were ingested and thus became a part of war-disabled bodies in a way that other charitable objects (such as artificial flowers) did not. Although eggs are (obviously) ephemeral, and those particular eggs connected to the war-disabled have (thankfully,) long ceased to exist, this chapter traces the various cultural and corporeal interactions between eggs and war-disabled bodies through rhetorical and visual materials — including charitable appeals, press reports, and institutional journals — and draws particular attention to 'poultry publications' such as the *PW*, which offer detailed insight into early twentieth century egg production practices and conceptualisations of eggs.

³³ Lupton, pp. 1-2, p. 25.

³⁴ Lupton, p. 1.

³⁵ Lupton, p. 23, p. 25.

Whilst a number of egg and poultry schemes existed for the benefit of disabled ex-servicemen, this chapter thus notably focuses upon popular portrayals of three charitable efforts: the NEC, the Star and Garter Home, and St Dunstan's. These schemes were among the most widely represented charities within popular discourse both during and after the First World War, and consequently offer a wealth of source material through which to assess shifting popular understandings of disability, charity, and eggs in this period, and also exemplify the most dominant ways through which contemporaries were exposed to, and interpreted, charitable eggs and the disabled ex-servicemen who encountered them.

In so doing, this chapter views both charitable schemes and disabled ex-servicemen as key players among a 'multiplicity of actors' that shaped various popular understandings and uses of food from the period 1914-1929.³⁶ It reveals that, during the war years, charitable schemes such as the NEC adopted existing popular uses and meanings of eggs, and adapted these things to suit the needs of a society undergoing mass upheaval: by shaping eggs as an essential healing foodstuff for wounded and disabled soldiers, charities both reflected long-standing popular uses of these objects as health-giving items, and further reinforced these meanings by connecting eggs to anxieties surrounding the physical health of deserving war-disabled men. Egg collection schemes consequently elevated eggs within British society and increasingly shaped them as 'desirable', 'healthy' and above all, 'valuable' foodstuffs, and simultaneously highlighted the physical frailty of disabled ex-servicemen, to whom egg consumption was presented as crucial not just to recovery, but also to survival.

³⁶ David F. Smith and Jim Philips, 'Food Policy and Regulation: A Multiplicity of Actors and Experts', in *Food, Science, Policy and Regulation in the Twentieth Century: International and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by David F. Smith and Jim Philips (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000), pp. 1-16.

At the same time, charitable action concomitantly conceptualised eggs, and the interconnected act of egg collection, as contributions to the war-effort, and thus additionally positioned 'charitable eggs' as tangible symbols of patriotism and support for deserving war-disabled men. This rhetoric was not limited to egg collection, but also indistinguishably increased the urgency, and necessity of egg production. Charitable depictions of eggs as 'essential' wartime items simultaneously portrayed poultry farming as a fundamental contribution to the war effort, and shaped poultry farmers themselves as soldierly heroes undertaking a 'battle' to provide life-giving foodstuffs to needy war-disabled men. Much like charitable conceptualisations of eggs, this discourse reflected early twentieth century understandings of poultry farming, which increasingly viewed egg production as an essential form of British agriculture, and further reinforced this narrative by elevating the interconnected social prestige of eggs and poultry farming in relation to deserving disabled ex-servicemen.

In the later stages of the war (and throughout the 1920s), poultry training schemes further extended this rhetoric to apply to war-disabled poultry farmers. Charitable action both practically and rhetorically incorporated disabled ex-servicemen into the national '[b]attle of the [e]gg', and suggested that disabled ex-servicemen, like heroic wartime poultry farmers, successfully contributed thousands of eggs to national supplies. Unlike wartime representations of physically weak war-disabled egg consumers, this discourse distinguished disabled ex-servicemen from pre-war conceptions of disabled people as degraded, physically idle, and financially dependent: popular rhetoric variously shaped war-disabled poultry farmers as physically strong farmers embroiled in a 'battle' with the land, or as shrewd, regimented business-owners running lucrative egg producing operations. Most notably, by incorporating disabled ex-servicemen into broader patriotic efforts to produce eggs for the nation, charitable poultry schemes presented these men as

useful and productive members of society, who were not only personally solvent, independent, and capable of physically demanding work, but also contributed to the well-being and 'efficiency' of British society as a whole. Charitable action thus not only elevated the status of eggs and poultry farming in British society, but also reinforced a 'hierarchy of disablement' that raised the social position of the war-disabled (and certain war-disabled bodies,) over those of disabled civilians, and concomitantly altered the role of charitable action in British society. By teaching disabled ex-servicemen to produce eggs, various charitable organisations implied that they, too, made a significant, and lasting, contribution to the production of an essential national foodstuff, and thus undertook a crucial role in boosting British national efficiency and agricultural self-reliance.

Locating Chickens and Eggs: 'Medical Eggs' and 'Egg-Laying Machines'

This chapter begins by locating charitable egg collection and employment schemes within the wider histories of charity, eggs, and poultry farming prior to the First World War, to examine the ways that charitable action was both influenced by, and contributed to, shifting cultural understandings of eggs and egg production during and after the conflict. It engages with the work of scholars such as Sayer, Joanna Bourke, and Nicola Verdon, who have completed a wealth of research on the poultry industry in this period, and additionally draws attention to late nineteenth and early twentieth century 'poultry commentary' and press reports to investigate the multiple and complex ways that both charitable and commercial discourse 'imagined' eggs and poultry keeping prior to 1914.³⁷ In so doing, it

³⁷ See Joanna Bourke, *Husbandry to Housewifery: Women, Economic Change, and Housework in Ireland 1890-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Karen Sayer, "'His Footmarks on Her Shoulders": The Place of Women within Poultry Keeping in the British Countryside c.1880 to 1980', *Agricultural History Review*, 61.2 (2013), 301-329 and Nicola Verdon, 'Agricultural Labour and the Contested Nature of Women's Work in Interwar England and Wales', *The Historical Journal*, 52.1 (2009), 109-130.

offers a contextual basis through which to understand the various motivations behind charitable 'egg schemes' both during and after the First World War, and allows for analysis of the impact of the conflict — and disabled ex-servicemen's subsequent material and symbolic encounters with eggs — upon popular conceptions of eggs and egg production. It is clear that, until the late nineteenth century, eggs were generally considered domestic items that were of low social and financial value, and egg production was relatedly viewed as a casual, unskilled, 'feminine' form of agriculture.³⁸ Like artificial flowers, eggs were seasonal commodities that offered poultry keepers only meagre, unpredictable earnings: '[u]nder natural conditions, hens [laid] as few as 30 eggs a year, mostly in the spring', and egg prices thus fluctuated throughout the year according to the availability of fresh eggs; in the winter months, eggs were preserved in water-glass or lime-water, and were in high demand, however, 'prices fell when [they] were more available' in laying months.³⁹ Egg production was consequently perceived as an unremunerative venture that was not a worthwhile consideration for 'serious' male farmers.⁴⁰ Fowl were commonly dismissed as an 'auxiliary' part of agricultural life, or a 'backyard' supplement to other activities.⁴¹ According to press reports, '[t]o attempt to make a good living out of poultry farming was an utter fallacy', and farmers thus 'cared little or nothing for fowls', nor the eggs they laid.⁴² Whilst it was considered 'necessary to have [hens] around the farm to pick up the waste corn' they were, in general, merely 'tolerated by the farmer', and chicken-keeping and egg

³⁸ Bourke, *Husbandry* pp. 181-182; Sayer, "'Footmarks'", pp. 301-329; Verdon, 'Agricultural', pp. 109-130.

³⁹ Annie Potts, *Chicken* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), p. 141; Sayer, 'Eggs', pp. 1-8 (p. 1).

⁴⁰ Joanna Bourke has traced male disinterest in the poultry trade in detail. Bourke, *Husbandry*, pp. 167-198.

⁴¹ Although a small number of men did keep poultry as a business in this period, professional poultry farming was primarily concentrated in specific rural regions and was focused upon the production of poultry meat, as opposed to eggs, and specialised in poultry fattening, known as 'cramming'. Edith H. Whetham, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales Volume VII, 1914-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 14; Brian Short, "'The Art and Craft of Chicken Cramming": Poultry in the Weald of Sussex, 1850-1950', *Agricultural History Review*, 30.1 (1982), 17-30.

⁴² 'Poultry and Poultry Keeping', *Gloucester Journal*, 4 May 1895, p. 8.

selling were more typically designated as 'women's work'.⁴³ These degraded, feminised notions of chicken keeping were further reinforced by the material characteristics of both hens and eggs. As a result of their small size, hens did not demand bodily strength, and chicken keeping, like artificial flower making, was therefore considered especially appropriate for individuals with supposedly weak bodies. In his 1930 history of the poultry industry, poultry expert Edward Brown further affirmed that, chickens 'entail[ed] a comparatively small amount of labour', and, unlike large livestock, did not require bodily exertion or strength.⁴⁴

Charitable action both reflected and reinforced these various notions of chicken keeping and eggs. Various charitable institutions and organisations adopted chicken keeping as a form of light, easy instruction for supposedly enfeebled, crippled children. During the early twentieth century, for example, the Lord Mayor Treloar Cripples' Home and College (Treloar's) in Alton, Hampshire (1908) trained boys 'crippled from any cause whatever' in poultry farming and horticulture on a 70-acre site in Alton, Hampshire, and chicken keeping was also among a number of activities regularly 'prescribed' to 'fragile' and 'otherwise defective' children (including the blind, deaf, physically disabled, epileptic, diabetic, and mentally handicapped) at outdoor schools for the sickly and disabled.⁴⁵

Although these schemes were less well-publicised than flower making, it is clear that poultry keeping initiatives, like floral assembly, adhered to widespread conceptualisations of disabled people as physically idle and incapable of skilled, demanding

⁴³ 'Poultry and Poultry Keeping', p. 8; Sayer, 'Battery', p. 151; Edward Brown, *British Poultry Husbandry: Its Evolution and History* (London: Chapman & Halls, 1930), p. 21.

⁴⁴ Brown, p. 21. Like flowers, eggs (as chicken ova) were also tangible and symbolic representations female fertility. Venetia Newell, 'Easter Eggs: Symbols of Life and Renewal', *Folklore*, 95 (1984), 21-29 (p. 21); Bourke, *Husbandry*, p. 167.

⁴⁵ H. J. Gauvain, 'The Lord Mayor Treloar Cripple's Home and College', *British Journal of Tuberculosis*, 4.1 (1910), 45-47 (p. 45, p. 47); Frances Wilmott and Pauline Saul, *A Breath of Fresh Air: Birmingham's Open Air Schools, 1911-1970* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1998), p. 4, p. 2, p. 14, p. 39.

work. According to Henry Gauvain, the first medical superintendent at Treloar's, keeping chickens was an especially 'suitable' form of 'light', instruction for children 'suffering' from 'crippled' and 'deform[ed]' 'condition[s]'.⁴⁶ Indeed, alongside the seemingly gentle physical gestures involved in caring for small, dependent hens (and collecting their eggs), chicken keeping also allegedly offered a number of health benefits to sickly and 'deformed' children. During this period, 'fresh air and sunshine' were viewed as therapeutic for many consumptives' and physical 'ailments', and caring for poultry in outdoor sites was consequently considered a particularly health-giving activity. Publicity material surrounding Treloar's stressed the benefits of outdoor chicken keeping and horticulture, which reportedly improved the 'general health of the cripple', and Gauvain further advocated poultry keeping for children 'who would be especially benefited by open-air life'.⁴⁷



Figure 4.1: Treloar's Hospital (c.1920s), 'Happy Children on the Poultry Farm at Acton'

⁴⁶ Gauvain, pp. 45-47 (p. 47).

⁴⁷ Wilmot and Saul, pp. 4-5, p. 14, p. 39; Dennis Hardy and Colin Ward, *Arcadia for All: The Legacy of a Makeshift Landscape* (London: Five Leaves, 2004), p. 192. Gauvain, pp. 45-47 (p. 47).

Encounters between crippled children, eggs, and poultry further contributed popular understandings of poultry keeping as a light, unskilled trade, and relatedly reinforced notions of corporeal difference as a weak and enfeebled condition. By emphasising the essential, health-giving properties of outdoor-chicken keeping, and aligning crippled children with a supposedly 'light' and feminine trade, charities such as Treloar's School implicitly conceptualised crippled children as physically weak, dependent, and incapable of skilled agricultural work. Furthermore, like flower-making, chicken keeping did not offer disabled children a full-time, remunerative trade, but provided only the opportunity for meagre, unreliable earnings. Indeed, poultry training in this context was not necessarily considered a form of employment training but was more readily conceptualised as a 'hobby' or incorporated into 'nature studies', which involved caring for various plants and small animals, including chickens.⁴⁸

Egg production was not the only (allegedly) health-giving encounter between invalid children and eggs. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries various recipe books, press reports, and poultry advertisements praised eggs as a health-giving, restorative foodstuff, and advocated egg consumption as a way to induce healing among physically weak individuals.⁴⁹ Press reports, in particular, made ever-changing suggestions about the various ways that egg dishes should be prepared to best induce recovery amongst the sickly, that ranged from plain hard-boiled eggs, to an 'omelet', and one 1890 cookery book, *Eggs: Facts and Fancies About Them* included an entire chapter on 'Eggs for

⁴⁸ Willmott and Saul, *A Breath of Fresh Air*, p. 14, p. 39.

⁴⁹ Although the origin of 'medical eggs' is somewhat unclear, it is evident that eggs were considered an especially nutritious and easily digestible food from the sixteenth century onwards, and were used as healing objects from at least the late eighteenth century. Eggs yolks, for example, were an essential component of 'soothing emulsions' during this period, and egg whites were also 'valued in medicine for their astringent and glue-like properties', and were used to heal bruises, or applied to wounds to stop bleeding. Ken Albala, 'Ovophilia in Renaissance Cuisine' in *Eggs in Cookery: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2006*, ed. by Richard Hosking (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2007), pp. 11-19 (p. 11). Barbara Santich, 'The Encyclopaedic Egg', same volume, pp. 222-228 (pp. 226-227).

Invalids'.⁵⁰ Eggs were not only considered particularly nutritious, but were also viewed as especially suitable for sickly patients due to their material qualities; eggs were easily digestible for those with sensitive stomachs, and were also a particularly versatile food that could be readily liquified and served in hot drinks for patients who were confined to bed, or for women suffering from exhaustion.⁵¹

Alongside chicken keeping for crippled children, late nineteenth and early twentieth century charitable action also reflected, and simultaneously reinforced these prevalent notions of egg consumption. During this period, social reformers increasingly suggested that poor food intake led to poor physique, and, in 1904, the Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration — which was set up to investigate the incidence of poor health among Boer War recruits — further confirmed that 'want of food', and 'irregularity and *unsuitability* of food', was 'the determining cause of degeneracy' among working-class children in the poorest districts, whose diets were found 'deficient in protein and fat'.⁵² Particular foods were consequently designated as 'healthy' or 'unhealthy'; as a 'high-class' protein, eggs were designated a particularly healthy foodstuff, and were 'highly [...] recommended for the support of the body'.⁵³

⁵⁰ See for example, 'Eggs as Diet', *Cornish Telegraph*, 11 September 1890, p. 7; 'Omelet for an Invalid', *Woolwich Gazette*, 5 October 1888, p. 6.

⁵¹ Burrows, pp. 139-142. Within this context, eggs notably retained their connection to feminine domesticity: egg preparation for the consumption of sick and disabled patients remained the remit of maternal, caring women and nurses, to whom the care of invalid individuals most commonly fell during this period. The very method of preparation involved in these (often) complex egg dishes was (and is) also considered feminine in western culture, where food cooked by flame is considered masculine, whilst that involving 'slow', labour intensive preparation is generally considered feminine. Phyllis Thompspon Reid, "'The Ultimate in Cookery": The Soufflé's Rise Alongside Feminism in the 1960s', in Hoskings, pp. 184-201 (p. 187).

⁵² Bernard Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild: A History of the School Medical Service in England and Wales* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1995), p. 23.

⁵³ 'Milk and Egg Diet', *St Andrew's Citizen*, 10 August 1907, p. 7; 'Hints on Health from the Medical Papers: An Invalid's Breakfast', *Globe*, 5 September 1908, p. 4. These suggestions were, notably, also motivated by 'efficiency thought' and rhetoric that increasingly advocated 'fueling' British bodies for the purposes of efficiency and national health. Harris, p. 17.

Various charitable schemes emphasised the desirable, nutritious, and (above-all) health giving properties of eggs, and encouraged members of the public to collect and donate these things to impoverished, needy invalids. In 1900, for example, the *Nottingham Evening Post* reported that St Barnabus Church in Middlesborough had collected a total of 995 eggs to distribute to patients at local hospitals, and in April 1907, local churchgoers in Luton likewise collected 220 eggs and sent them to invalids at 'Bedford County Hospital'.⁵⁴ A year later, in August 1908, a group of benevolent individuals in Salisbury added an egg collection to their annual 'Hospital Sunday' collection, which was held in August each year, and was usually intended to collect monetary subscriptions towards hospital funds.⁵⁵ The latter collection, in particular, exposed the growing focus upon eggs as an important source of nutrition in this period, and implicitly positioned these eggs as equal to, if not more important than, financial contributions to sickly patients.

The most high-profile egg collection in this period was 'Hospital Egg Week', which was established by the *PW* in 1909 to provide fresh laid eggs to London hospitals 'free of cost'.⁵⁶ The collection was held in May each year — 'when eggs were plentiful' — and specifically requested 'new laid' eggs, as these were allegedly the most nutritious eggs for these individuals.⁵⁷ Like nineteenth century recipes, promotional material surrounding charitable egg collections continually highlighted the restorative powers of egg consumption, which reportedly provided 'much needed sustenance' for hospital inmates.⁵⁸ However, these collections significantly enlarged and popularised understandings of

⁵⁴ 'An Egg Collection at Church', *Nottingham Evening Post*, 12 April 1900, p. 2; 'Flitton', *Luton Times and Advertiser*, 12 April 1907, p. 8.

⁵⁵ 'Hospital Funds', *Salisbury Times*, 21 August 1908, p. 4.

⁵⁶ 'Over 27,000 Wanted This Year', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 17 April 1914, p. 3.

⁵⁷ 'Over 27,000 Wanted This Year', p. 3.

⁵⁸ 'Hospital Egg Week', *PW*, 3.24, 17 April 1909, p. 911.

'medicinal' eggs within both poultry circles, and the popular press.⁵⁹ Hospital Egg Week, in particular, was widely advertised within poultry journals and newspaper reports, and was enthusiastically by the benevolent public. The collection grew in popularity throughout the 1910s, and quickly gained support from individuals throughout the country: by 1913, press reports revealed that Hospital Egg Week had successfully amassed the significant sum of 27,000 eggs for distribution to metropolitan hospitals.⁶⁰

It is clear that these entwined notions of both eggs and poultry keeping endured throughout the first half of the twentieth century: various schools and institutions for crippled children continued to offer poultry instruction as a suitably light, casual form of instruction for sickly and crippled children well into the interwar period. Children at Treloar's, for example, kept chickens in the 1920s, and crippled individuals 'over 13 years of age' at St Vincent's Hospital, Eastcote also reportedly received 'vocational training' in 'chicken keeping' throughout the 1930s, 'as far as their condition[s] allow[ed]' (see Figure 4.1). However, as the next section of this chapter outlines, enduring nineteenth century notions of both chickens and eggs were simultaneously accompanied by a broader shift in both the material practices, and popular conceptions of the trade that transformed chicken keeping from a casual, feminine past-time into a financially valuable, masculine agricultural pursuit, and reconceptualised eggs themselves into nationally important things.

⁵⁹ See for example, 'Hospital Egg Week', *Sussex Agricultural Express*, 7 May 1914, p. 5; 'Hospital Egg Week', *Daily Telegraph*, 17 April 1914, p. 3.

⁶⁰ 'Hospital Egg Week', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 17 April 1914, p. 3.

Feeding the War-Disabled: 'Hens in Khaki'

Although exact figures are difficult to ascertain, it is clear that, in the first decade of the century, British egg consumption relied heavily on foreign imports: one 1909 report by the Committee on Poultry Breeding and Egg Marketing in Scotland, for example, revealed that 'domestic demand for eggs had outstripped supply' in Britain since the 1870s.⁶¹ Insufficient British egg supplies sparked small-scale panic that 'Britain was not self-sufficient in eggs', and inspired a plethora of 'alarmist articles concerning an alleged famine in eggs, and an abnormal rise in [the] prices' of these foodstuffs.⁶²

Popular fears surrounding early twentieth century egg deficits were particularly attributed to reliance on so-called 'foreign eggs', and especially reflected (and concurrently exacerbated,) widespread anxieties surrounding 'National Efficiency'.⁶³ As Chapter Three of this thesis has briefly outlined, during the Edwardian period rising American and German military and industrial power sparked concerns surrounding British international dominance and led to the proliferation of so-called 'efficiency rhetoric' that sought to reinforce Britain's international status by increasing efficiency in industry, technology, and military power.⁶⁴ Food production was a crucial aspect of this wider drive for efficiency: British reliance on food imports led to particular concerns that, should Britain lose naval dominance, or commence international war, reliance on foreign food would lead to widespread starvation.⁶⁵ According to commenters, the 'scarcity of eggs' placed Britain

⁶¹ Thirsk, p. 194; Sayer, "Footmarks", pp. 301-329 (p. 301). John Burnett has revealed that increasing mass imports during this period halved the costs of meat and bread, and consequently left consumers with more money to spend on eggs and 'other food previously only available in small quantities' thus increasing demand for these products. Burnett, p. 118.

⁶² 'Situation in Hull', *Hull Daily Mail*, 6 December 1909, p. 3.

⁶³ 'Foreign Eggs', *Norfolk Chronicle*, 23 March 1907, p. 8.

⁶⁴ See G.R. Seale, *The Quest for National Efficiency: A Study in British Politics and Political Thought, 1899-1914* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971) and Jonathan Rose, *The Edwardian Temperament, 1895-1919* (London: Ohio University Press, 1986), pp. 117-122.

⁶⁵ These anxieties were rooted in wider 'invasion scare stories', which were common in this period. Searle, p.

‘within measurable reach of a very serious position with regard to [...] foreign supplies’ of these foodstuffs, and left the British population at serious risk of ‘famine’ should ‘home supplies’ not be increased.⁶⁶ Indeed, press reports expressed particular concern ‘that in time of war [...] this country would experience the horrors of a poultry and egg famine’.⁶⁷

Poultry commentators in this period especially blamed so-called ‘out-of-date’, ‘antiquated’ poultry practices for egg deficits, and thus initiated a somewhat ‘uneven’ attempt to regulate, professionalise, and modernise the poultry industry in Britain, and transform chicken keeping into a large-scale ‘egg producing industry’.⁶⁸ These efforts most commonly took the form of poultry courses, press reports advising on the latest methods of breeding and feeding, and even a poultry demonstration train, each of which specifically focused upon egg production as the core tenet of poultry farming, and concurrently reshaped eggs themselves as the desired commercial output of industrial agricultural practices. This was particularly evident within poultry commentary, which advocated so-called ‘scientific’ methods — such as incubators and foster-mothers — that tangibly reshaped eggs, poultry, and agricultural sites for the purpose of egg production.⁶⁹

As the introduction to this chapter has briefly outlined, so-called scientific poultry farming transformed eggs from ‘naturally’ produced items, into artefacts created largely through human practices. Unlike the allegedly domestic, feminine eggs laid by free-roaming chickens in the second half of the nineteenth century, ‘modern’, twentieth century eggs were the tangible output of up-to-date agricultural farming, and were increasingly

⁶⁶ ‘Scarcity of Eggs’, *Dundee Courier*, 17 November 1911, p. 4. ‘Supplies of Eggs’, *Gloucester Citizen*, 19 January 1911, p. 2.

⁶⁷ ‘Foreign Competitors’, *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 25 April 1901, p. 3.

⁶⁸ Sayer, “Footmarks”, pp. 301-329 (p. 302, p. 308).

⁶⁹ ‘Reprint of Leaflet (No. 31) Issued by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland’, *Journal of the Board of Agriculture*, 1904, 10.529, in Sayer, ‘Battery’, p. 153; Chanticleer, ‘Poultry for Profit’, *Lichfield Mercury*, 14 November 1913, p. 2. The price of eggs notably rose in these months and thus not only offered poultry farmers year-round pay, but also provided a higher income per egg.

categorised as valuable, commercial objects. As early as 1902, press reports noted that, although eggs ‘were formerly regarded as minor products of the farm’ they were now of significant concern to serious farmers, and offered lucrative rewards to serious poultry managers.⁷⁰

Despite these changing notions of eggs and poultry farming, it is clear that, by 1914, Britain remained reliant upon ‘foreign eggs’. Upon the outbreak of the First World War, one poultry commentator approximated that up to 80 per cent of the eggs consumed in Britain were produced abroad.⁷¹ Perhaps unsurprisingly, the conflict consequently sparked widespread alarm over the enduring ‘scarcity of British eggs’, and led to further fears that Britain would face ‘a great shortage of eggs and poultry, due to the fact that so large a proportion of [...] imports [came] from Continental countries now at war’.⁷² Press reports and poultry commentators warned that ‘there [would] be a great rise in [egg] prices’, and ‘gloomy’ warnings of an impending ‘egg famine’ proliferated in the first few months of the conflict.⁷³

Popular alarm surrounding reliance on egg imports was not unfounded; from the early stages of the war, German submarines targeted merchant ships transporting imports into Britain, and shipments of preserved eggs from Russia declined almost immediately.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ ‘British v. Foreign Eggs’, *Willesden Chronicle*, 7 February 1902, p. 7; Attempts to modernise poultry production also notably aligned with the wider drive to place Britain at the forefront of scientific and technological power during this period. Searle, pp. 13-33.

⁷¹ ‘The War and the Poultry World’, *PW*, 14.16, 14 August 1914, p. 531; Estimates of egg imports in this period vary widely. In the aftermath of the war, official government representatives showed egg production in a slightly more optimistic light than poultry industry discourse: British agricultural statistician Sir Robert Henry Rew disclosed that only 35 per cent of eggs were imported at the start of the war, and in 1928 William Beveridge, who was appointed Minister of Food in 1919, recalled that from 1909-1913, British poultry farmers produced around 140,000 eggs per year, whilst a further 140,000 were purchased from foreign producers, thus suggesting the figure was 50 per cent. R. Henry Rew, *Food Supplies in Peace and War* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1920), p. 43; William H. Beveridge, *British Food Control* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1928), p. 361. Egg shortages were just one among a number of food deficits Britain during this period. As Margaret Barnett has revealed, ‘on the eve’ of the war ‘two-thirds of Britain’s food, measured in calories, came from overseas’. Barnett, p. 2.

⁷² ‘Egg and Poultry Supplies in Wartime’, *Globe*, 7 August 1914, p. 6.

⁷³ ‘Egg and Poultry Supplies in Wartime’, p. 6; ‘Egg Famine’, *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 1 August 1914, p. 5.

⁷⁴ Barnett, p. 35.

By 1916, Walter Runciman, then president of the Board of Trade, revealed that 2,000,000 tons of merchant ships had been lost since the start of the conflict, and that in ‘the case of eggs’, the whole ‘gigantic’ supply from Russia and Siberia ‘ha[d] been cut off’.⁷⁵ As ‘submarine havoc’ rose, so too did the value of imported eggs.⁷⁶ According to the Ministry of Pensions’ Monthly Report on food supply and consumption, by 1 January 1919, eggs cost 347.2 per cent more than ‘[n]ormal Prices in July 1914’.⁷⁷

Much like cigarette manufacturers, opportunistic poultry commentators and business owners utilised the conflict, and subsequent concerns about national egg supplies, to further elevate the social prestige of poultry farming, and emphasise the importance of eggs themselves. According to experts, whilst the war was ‘a terrible disaster nationally’, it would also encourage Britain to become ‘self-contained and supporting’, and thus bring egg production and poultry keeping ‘into prominence as a great national asset’.⁷⁸ From the early stages of the conflict, countless press reports, charitable appeals, and advertisements consequently positioned poultry farming and egg production as an essential war time service. One November 1914 announcement by The Utility Poultry Club, for example, urged ‘[e]very man or woman who keeps fowls [to] redouble his exertions to-day, in order to get out of each bird its fullest possible contribution to the national food supply, and knowledge of intensive poultry keeping will allow him to do this’.⁷⁹ Regular *PW* columnist Will Hooley likewise advised ‘all our readers, both novices and old hands, to make an effort to persuade

⁷⁵ Beveridge, p. 23; Mr. Runcimen, ‘Food Prices’, *Hansard*, 86, H.C. Deb, 17 October 1916, cc. 435-520 (492). Loss of tonnage resulting from the German submarine campaign was exacerbated by military requisition of ships. For detailed analysis of wartime food policy and declining imports in relation to the shipping crisis see Barnett. Although exact figures are difficult to ascertain, in his post-war account of food control in Britain during the conflict, wartime President of the Board of Trade William Beveridge estimated that the number of eggs imported to Britain fell from 132,000 in 1914 to 50,000 by 1918. Beveridge, p. 361.

⁷⁶ Beveridge, p. 2.

⁷⁷ Ministry of Food Monthly Report, December 1918, TNA, MAF 60/122, p. 20.

⁷⁸ ‘The War and the Poultry World’, p. 531.

⁷⁹ ‘Poultry Keeping in Wartime’, *PW*, 15.7, 11 November 1914, p. 205.

their friends to take up poultry keeping even though only on the smallest scale'.⁸⁰ One poultry show held at Selfridges, London, in May 1916 more explicitly aligned egg production with national duty: the so-called 'Patriotic Poultry Show' featured a speech from Lady Denman (the chair of the women's section of the Poultry Society), that 'strongly advocated the keeping of a few fowls by all householders as a suitable means' for 'the prevention of waste' during wartime.⁸¹

Nowhere was the more obvious than within the context of charitable action, which not only advocated increased egg production, but also inextricably connected eggs and egg production to the care of heroic wounded and disabled soldiers. As the introduction to this chapter has outlined, from the outbreak of the war, countless egg collection schemes were established to provide eggs to wounded and disabled servicemen. The most prominent among these schemes was the NEC, which was established at a meeting on Fleet Street on 15 November 1914 by the Managing Director of the *PW* — Mr Frederick Carl — with the specific purpose of providing fresh laid eggs to wounded and disabled soldiers.⁸² The scheme was quickly sanctioned by the War Office and the Treasury (who audited NEC accounts) and rapidly grew in popularity within six months.⁸³ Publicity for the scheme grew to such an extent that from 1915 onwards the organisation published a weekly journal entitled *Eggs Wanted* to communicate news about the collection, and, whilst the first week of the collection yielded 'no more than 50 eggs [...], by the twenty-seventh week the weekly total was over 400,000'.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ 'Bits for Beginners', *PW*, 14.17, 21 August 1914, p. 548.

⁸¹ 'Patriotic Poultry Show at Selfridge's', *PW*, 18.3, 12 May 1916, p. 67.

⁸² 'The Story of the National Egg Collection for the Wounded', *PW*, 18.3, 12 May 12, 1916, p. 67.

⁸³ 'The Story of the National Egg Collection for the Wounded', p. 67; 'Poultry and Eggs for the Wounded', *PW*, 14.17, 21 August 1914, p. 550.

⁸⁴ 'The National Egg Collection: Forthcoming Publication of New Weekly Journal', *PW*, 15:25, 16 April 1915, p. 107; 'The Great Million Egg Week', *PW*, 16.16, 13 August 1915, p. 463; 'National Egg Collection', *PW*, 16.15, 6 August 1915, p. 441; 'The Story of the National Egg Collection for the Wounded', p. 67.

Egg collections existed amongst a variety of charitable efforts to provide food to soldiers, and were, significantly, motivated by prevailing understandings of eggs as a health-giving, 'medicinal' foodstuff.⁸⁵ Indeed, it is clear that the NEC was, at least in part, inspired by Hospital Egg Week: in August 1914, the *PW* printed correspondence from one anonymous reader which suggested that eggs would make excellent 'broth for our gallant English soldiers and sailors who are wounded in the upkeep of the Empire' and further urged 'fanciers' to, 'rally round [...] just the same as you did with the Hospital Egg Week'.⁸⁶ Much like this earlier appeal, NEC appeals reinforced long-held conceptualisations of eggs as a healing, nutritional foodstuff, and revealed that eggs offered maimed soldiers *more* than 'comfort', but were (as the introduction to this chapter has outlined,) an absolute necessity for inducing recovery among these men.⁸⁷

By positioning eggs as nutritional, healing foodstuff for wounded and disabled soldiers, charitable discourse dramatically increased the importance of eggs within British society, and further accelerated urgency of egg production itself in Britain. Much like wartime appeals for cigarette donations, NEC publicity positioned eggs as both a reward for soldiers' war time service and physical wounds, and a form of medical *materiel* that was essential to the war effort. This was especially true for disabled ex-servicemen, who had literally given parts of their bodies for the nation; one 1914 appeal advocated that war-disabled men were *more* deserving of eggs than individuals whose bodies remained intact: 'those of us who are around and *whole* must not forget our wounded brothers who are now in our midst', and suggested that it was thus 'an act of duty' to supply eggs for these

⁸⁵ Peter Grant, *Philanthropy and Voluntary Action in the First World War: Mobilizing Charity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), pp. 42-43. For example, throughout the war, organisations such as Queen Alexandra's Field Force Fund Despatches similarly sent (often unsolicited) food parcels to soldiers at the fronts, and school children were also encouraged to send food to soldiers as a way to show appreciation and support to for their war service. Duffett, 'A War Unimagined', p. 61.

⁸⁶ 'Poultry and Eggs for the Wounded', *PW*, 14.17, 21 August 1914, p. 550.

⁸⁷ 'Battle of the Egg', p. 341.

men.⁸⁸ These reports both reminded the public of soldiers' heroic service, and distinguished soldiers' from pre-war conceptions of invalid egg recipients. One *PW* appeal, for example, revealed that '[t]he crying need of the moment of the wounded in our hospitals is for new-laid eggs', and specifically reminded readers that these 'wounded countrymen [had] have risked their lives in defending this country', and thus implicitly shaped charitable eggs as a reward for their war service and subsequent wounding, and suggested that wounded and disabled soldiers' dietary requirements were more important than those of both civilian invalids, and the wider British population.⁸⁹ One cartoon, which featured an image of a wounded soldier in uniform with his arm in a sling, explicitly urged members of the public to give up their own supplies, and urged individuals, 'don't you think that Tommy Atkins, lying in a foreign hospital needs them [eggs] more than you do?'⁹⁰

Indeed, a plethora of articles further revealed that in many cases, eggs were the only food that many disabled soldiers were able to consume, and consequently positioned eggs as *more* than a source of deserved comfort and nutrition, but suggested that egg donations (and egg consumption,) made the difference between life or death for many severely disabled servicemen. In April 1917, for example, *PW* revealed that '[i]n cases of gassing, spinal, or facial wounds, eggs are practically the only diet suitable, and in some cases an egg diet is absolutely essential'.⁹¹ So-called '[p]athetic' "'jaw" cases' were said to be especially reliant upon eggs for sustenance, as these men were unable to consume solid foodstuffs, and versatile eggs — which could be easily scrambled or liquified — were the only source of nutrition these men were able to consume.⁹² One letter from a wounded

⁸⁸ George J. Blach, 'An Act of Duty', *PW*, 14.19, 18 September 1914, p. 623.

⁸⁹ 'Eggs for the Wounded', *PW*, 15.3, 13 November 1914, p. 67; 'Eggs for our Wounded', *PW*, 15.4, 20 November 1914, p. 99.

⁹⁰ 'I Want Your Eggs', *PW*, 15.17, 11 December 1914, p. 204.

⁹¹ 'National Egg Collection', *PW*, 19:26, 20 April 1917, p. 831; 'National Egg Collection', *PW*, 22:4, May 24, 1918, p. 58.

⁹² 'National Egg Collection', *PW*, 19:26, 20 April 1917, p. 831.

soldier published in the *Banbury Advertiser* in April 1918 likewise explained that men who were 'kept in bed have eggs fried or poached, as a light diet is most necessary; some [were] so weakened by their wounds that they can hardly take anything else', and soldiers with facial mutilations were actually 'kept alive with eggs and milk'.⁹³ This discourse transformed eggs from symbols of new life and resurrection into life-saving objects that literally revived heroic wounded and disabled soldiers from the dead, and consequently increased both the urgency of egg collections, and the social value of eggs themselves.⁹⁴ Countless NEC appeals positioned eggs as an pressing wartime concern, and used the tagline, 'eggs wanted urgently', or similarly urged the 'public to bear in mind is that the wounded soldiers and sailors in our hospitals are urgently in need of' at least 200,000 'new-laid eggs' 'per week'.⁹⁵

By highlighting the importance, and indeed, absolute necessity, of eggs for wounded and disabled soldiers, charitable discourse not only reshaped these objects as life-giving things, but also reinforced and reinvigorated broader attempts to increase egg production in Britain. Alongside popular pleas to collect eggs, NEC appeals also continually pressurised poultry farmers to produce more and more eggs for the sake of deserving wounded and disabled soldiers. Upon the establishment of the scheme in 1914, for example, the *PW* specifically requested 'eggs and promises of eggs from poultry keepers all over the kingdom', and asked for 'lists of names and addresses of all poultry keepers in every district in order to enlist these men in egg production efforts'.⁹⁶ A number of appeals

⁹³ 'Deddington', *Banbury Advertiser*, 25 April 1918, p. 7.

⁹⁴ Newell, pp. 21-29 (p. 21).

⁹⁵ 'National Egg Collection', *PW*, 15.6, 4 December 1914, p. 175; 'Eggs for our Wounded', *PW*, 15.4, 20 November 1914, p. 99.

⁹⁶ 'Eggs for the Wounded', *PW*, 15.3, 13 November 1914, p. 67.

additionally suggested that every poultry keeper in Britain should 'set aside one pen' of hens 'as a hospital pen' and dedicate '[a]ll eggs laid by such fowls [...] to the war hospitals'.⁹⁷

Much like broader wartime (and indeed, pre-war,) popular discourse, NEC discourse consequently raised the status of poultry farming in British society, and positioned egg production as a patriotic duty to the nation. Countless *PW* reports explicitly described egg production as 'duty' to 'meet the crying needs of our naval and military hospitals', and beseeched 'patriotic poultry-keeper[s] help us to fill that want'.⁹⁸ Indeed, by stressing the urgency of the situation, and positioning eggs as life-saving objects for heroic servicemen, NEC accounts even implied that eggs — like wartime cigarette donations — were an essential source of war *matériel*, and concurrently constructed poultry keepers themselves as heroic and masculine soldiers who were fighting to save the lives of maimed servicemen.

As this introduction to this chapter has outlined, numerous appeals directly equated egg production with soldiering, and explicitly conceptualised poultry farming as a wartime 'battle' to save the lives of maimed soldiers. One NEC account advised that, whilst '[a]ll cannot be in the Firing Line', one and all [at home] could 'do their duty to King and [c]ountry by' producing eggs to assist 'those who are keeping the Kaiser's hordes in check'.⁹⁹ A similar report more obviously revealed that, 'though' poultry farmers wore 'no uniform' they were nevertheless 'serving beneath the same flag, and an act of kindness and sympathy at this critical time becomes more than ever an act of duty. It is part of the sacrifice that war brings, but it is also part of the glory and honour', and thus suggested that poultry farmers themselves were valiant, honourable soldiers.¹⁰⁰ This rhetorical connection between soldiering and egg production further distinguished poultry farmers

⁹⁷ 'Eggs for the Wounded', *PW*, 15.3, 13 November 1914, p. 67.

⁹⁸ 'Eggs for the Wounded', *PW*, 15.3, 13 November 1914, p. 67.

⁹⁹ 'Welcomed by the Wounded', *PW*, 15.18, 26 February 1915, p. 628.

¹⁰⁰ George J. Blach, 'An Act of Duty', *PW*, 14.19, 18 September 1914, p. 623.

from late nineteenth and early twentieth century conceptualisations of gentle, feminine chicken keepers, and suggested that egg production was, rather, a masculine ‘battle’ akin to soldiering on the fighting fronts.

Indeed, poultry farmers were not the only individuals praised for fighting the ‘battle of the egg’; a plethora of articles directly induced hens, too, to ‘do their bit’ for the war effort, and satirised well-known recruitment posters to prompt ‘hen[s] between the ages of one and three years, and physically fit’ to ‘lay-today’. One report asked birds, ‘[d]on’t you feel ashamed when you see other hens coming off the nest-box [having laid eggs] and *you* are moping around on one leg?’, whilst another prompted, ‘[w]hat will you say when your chicken asks you: “Biddy, what did *you* do for the hospitals?”’¹⁰¹ One NEC poster more literally depicted a hen as a soldier wearing a khaki sash, and revealed that hens, like soldiers, had been ‘enlisted [to lay eggs] for the duration of the war’ (Figure 4.2).¹⁰² Farmers too, echoed this narrative: one farmer wrote to the *PW* in September 1916 to describe his own ‘hens in khaki’, and assured fellow readers that ‘four of [his] best hens’ laid eggs for the NEC, which went ‘to a local hospital every day’.¹⁰³ Although these inducements to ‘lay today’ were undoubtedly satirical, they nevertheless went some way to reshape prominent understandings of hens, and reconceptualised gentle, feminine chickens as patriotic, soldierly birds who embodied wartime patriotism, and consequently pressurised members of the public to contribute to collection on the basis that even hens were assisting the war effort.

¹⁰¹ ‘War Eggs’, *PW*, 16.8, 18 June 1915, p. 257.

¹⁰² ‘Enlisted for the Duration of the War’, *PW*, 16.3, 12 May 1916, p. 67.

¹⁰³ ‘Hens in Khaki’, *PW*, 29 September 1916, p. 668.

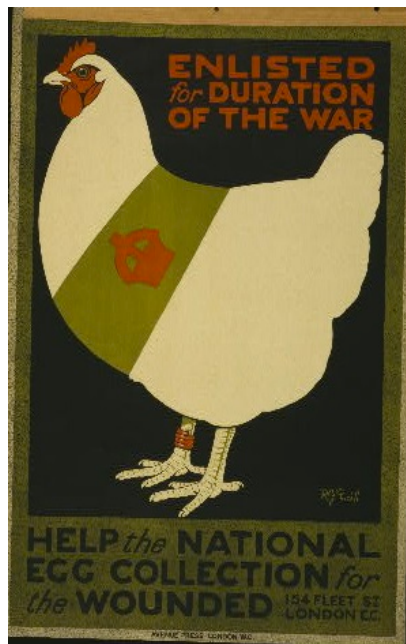


Figure 4.2: National Egg Collection (1916), 'Enlisted for the Duration of the War' Appeal Poster

It is clear that, by connecting eggs to deserving wounded and disabled soldiers, charitable action, and poultry industry discourse, further contributed to the reconceptualisation of the trade. By stressing the urgency, and importance of egg consumption for these men, the NEC (in particular,) further elevated notions of eggs as health-giving items, and positioned these things as absolutely essential in wartime. This rhetoric additionally contributed to interconnected understandings of poultry keeping itself, and ultimately positioned egg production as a patriotic, soldierly trade that was indispensable to both the war effort, and the lives of heroic wounded and disabled men.

Whilst poultry farmers and benevolent individuals undoubtedly *did* feel real concern for the nutritional needs of wounded and disabled soldiers, it is clear that, to some extent, this narrative consciously utilised anxieties surrounding the medical and social care of wounded and disabled soldiers as a way to further the ambitions of commercial poultry farmers and elevate the social prestige of the egg production industry in Britain. The NEC was established by the Managing Director of the *PW*, and was also organised and publicised by the journal, which had a vested interest in the future of the poultry industry, and both

the Collection, and the *PW* consequently emphasised popular concerns surrounding the disabled and wounded soldiers for the benefit of the industry.

Whilst this rhetoric presented both poultry farmers and chickens as patriotic, soldierly individuals, it also positioned wounded and disabled egg consumers as especially needy, bed-ridden individuals who were constantly on the brink of death, and were unable to consume any food other than mashed up, liquified, or scrambled eggs, which barely kept them alive, and thus ultimately aligned war-disabled egg consumers with the pitiful, crippled children and invalid patients who similarly required eggs to survive.¹⁰⁴ As the next section of this chapter demonstrates, in the aftermath of the war, charitable poultry schemes went some way to reverse this trope, and, contrastingly, presented war-disabled men as strong, soldierly farmers, who produced the very items upon which their lives allegedly depended during recovery.

Fractured Farmers and War-Blind Businessmen: ‘The Solution of the Nation’s Egg Supply’

Although there was a long-standing connection between egg production *for* the sick and disabled, this relationship shifted further during the war years, to incorporate disabled ex-servicemen into processes of poultry farming itself. As the introduction to this chapter has outlined, from 1915 onwards, a variety of charitable schemes and institutions, including St Dunstan’s Hostel, the Star and Garter Home, Vanguard Farm, and the Silver Badge Farm, trained disabled ex-servicemen as poultry farmers, and thus taught men to produce the very objects that allegedly saved their lives. This section examines charitable appeals, newspaper reports, and institutional accounts to investigate the various ways that dominant conceptualisations of poultry farming, and the interrelated act of egg production,

¹⁰⁴ ‘National Egg Collection’, *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 3 March 1917, p. 11.

contributed to popular understandings of disability and war-disabled bodies in the context of poultry training schemes, and draws particular attention to the various ways that charitable appeals constructed both the rural landscape, and eggs themselves, in relation to ex-servicemen's fractured corporeal forms.

In so doing, this section reveals that, like egg consumption, charitable discourse envisaged poultry training as a physically and socially restorative activity for disabled ex-servicemen, that both rewarded them for their war service, and offered numerous health benefits that reportedly reconstructed men's bodies. Whilst charitable poultry keeping schemes (much like wartime egg collections), were inspired by the myriad pre-war connections between disabled children, invalid civilians, eggs, and chicken keeping, charitable discourse actively aligned war-disabled poultry farmers with emerging understandings of modern, agricultural egg production, and simultaneously reshaped severely disabled soldiers as masculine farmers who contributed to the 'battle of the egg'. This rhetoric ultimately distinguished war-disabled men from conceptualisations of idle, pitiful civilian cripples and blinded beggars, and, rather, presented them as physically strong and rugged farmers who successfully conquered the natural elements to contribute to national food production. It is clear that, at this point in their 'social life', eggs remained a physically restorative item, albeit through production, rather than consumption.

As this chapter has noted, despite poultry industry attempts to professionalise the trade, conceptualisations of poultry farming as 'light' work that was particularly suited to disabled children nevertheless endured well into the twentieth century. Much like artificial flower making, it is clear that state and charitable poultry training schemes were, at least in part, motivated by pre-war conceptualisations of poultry farming and disability. The *PW*, for example suggested that poultry farming was a particularly appropriate outdoor occupation for men who required 'light outdoor work', and one MoL report likewise noted

that poultry training was often undertaken ‘on the assumption that this is an easy [...] way of making a living’.¹⁰⁵

Several schemes were similarly inspired by a prevailing belief in the health-giving properties of ‘fresh air’ and outdoor work. As Wendy Gagen and Deborah Cohen have variously outlined, both state and charitable agricultural schemes — which included poultry instruction — were based upon notions of rural landscapes as ‘calming, soothing, and restful’, and, like schemes for crippled children, were intended to expose disabled ex-servicemen to the health-giving countryside and healing elements.¹⁰⁶ This is perhaps most evident in the logistical practices surrounding these schemes. Poultry instruction for war-disabled men was typically undertaken on purpose built training farms in rural or outdoor spaces: government soldier settlement, for example, provided returned veterans and disabled ex-servicemen 3-30 acre smallholdings ‘which [we]re necessarily remote in the country’, and charitable schemes also immersed disabled ex-servicemen in outdoor landscapes.¹⁰⁷ St Dunstan’s offered blinded soldiers the opportunity for outdoor training within its 15 acre site in Regent’s Park, London, and from 1917 onwards, war-blind trainees also received additional poultry instruction on 13 acres of land located in King’s Langley, Hertfordshire.¹⁰⁸

According to charitable publicity material, these rural settings were especially suitable for disabled ex-servicemen with sickly and weakened bodies, who required

¹⁰⁵ ‘Poultry Keeping for Disabled Soldiers and Sailors’, *PW*, 19.24, 6 April 1917, p. 784; MoL, ‘Training of Ex-Servicemen’.

¹⁰⁶ It is clear that state schemes were additionally driven by a belief in ‘unhealthy’ urban environments and fears over increasing urbanization, and thus also acted as part of a wider drive to ‘check rural depopulation’, ‘redistribute families back to the soil’, and maintain rural agriculture in this period. Gagen, p. 222, p. 218. See also John Field, *Working Men’s Bodies: Work Camps in Britain, 1880-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2103), pp. 15-22.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Land for Disabled Heroes’, *Daily Mail*, 11 September 1917, p. 4.

¹⁰⁸ ‘St. Dunstan’s Photographed from the Air’, *SDR*, 2.21, April 1918, frontispiece; St Dunstan’s, *Annual Report 1917* (London: St Dunstan’s, 1917), p. 7.

exposure to health-giving country landscapes and fresh air. In 1917, the *PW* disclosed that outdoor work was particularly beneficial for supposedly fragile men suffering from ‘chest trouble’.¹⁰⁹ Advertising appeals for Vanguard Farm, too, stressed the benefits of outdoor work, and praised the farm for contributing to ‘the restoration to health of several shattered men’, and St Dunstan’s similarly reported that ‘[t]he healthy outdoor life is all to the benefit of the men, many of whom [...] have suffered injury to their health which often demands lots of fresh country air’.¹¹⁰

At the same time, charitable action and state soldier settlement schemes also constructed the rural landscape as a form of material compensation for men’s wartime service and corporeal sacrifices. A number of charitable schemes gifted a piece of land to disabled ex-servicemen upon the culmination of their training: Vanguard Farm, for example, provided two-acres of ‘[I]and for [d]isabled [h]eroes’ on rural settlements, and St Dunstan’s also offered all poultry training graduates a patch of land and the necessary equipment to begin their own smallholding.¹¹¹ Maimed soldiers were viewed as particularly deserving of this form of compensation as they had fought for, and won, this land: one promotional poster for Vanguard Farm suggested that agricultural training allowed severely disabled soldiers and sailors to ‘acquire their own home on the land they have fought for’, and photographs of various poultry schemes printed in the popular press emphasised the beauty, and rurality of these landscapes (Figure 4.3).¹¹² One image

¹⁰⁹ ‘Poultry Keeping for Disabled Soldiers and Sailors’, p. 784.

¹¹⁰ Dakers, p. 197; St Dunstan’s, *Annual Report 1922* (London: St Dunstan’s, 1922), p. 6; ‘Lady Buckmaster’s Tribute to Lewes’, *Sussex Agricultural Express*, 14 April 1927, p. 5.

¹¹¹ ‘Land for Disabled Heroes’, p. 4.

¹¹² Winifred Russell Roberts, ‘His Dream Realised’, 1918, IWM, PST, 10831 <<http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/37115>> [accessed September 2017]. St Dunstan’s, *Annual Report 1924* (London: St Dunstan’s, 1924), p. 11. Government land provisions acted as part of a broader attempt to prevent discontent amongst ex-servicemen in the post war period, and live up to David Lloyd George’s promise to create a ‘land fit for heroes’. See Mark Swenarton, *Homes Fit for Heroes: The Politics and Architecture of Early state Housing* (London: Routledge Revivals, 2018), pp. 67-87.

featured in *Country Life*, for example, showed two war-disabled poultry farmers in wheeled chairs surrounded by the idyllic Kent countryside at the Star and Garter poultry farm in Sandgate, and thus promoted the schemes as an pleasant, and healing way to compensate men for their war service and corporeal losses (Figure 4.4).¹¹³ St Dunstan's likewise publicised the King's Langley site as a rural haven where 'men put into practice the theories they ha[d] learnt at St Dunstan's' amongst 'sloping fields, a small orchard, garden, and paddock'.¹¹⁴

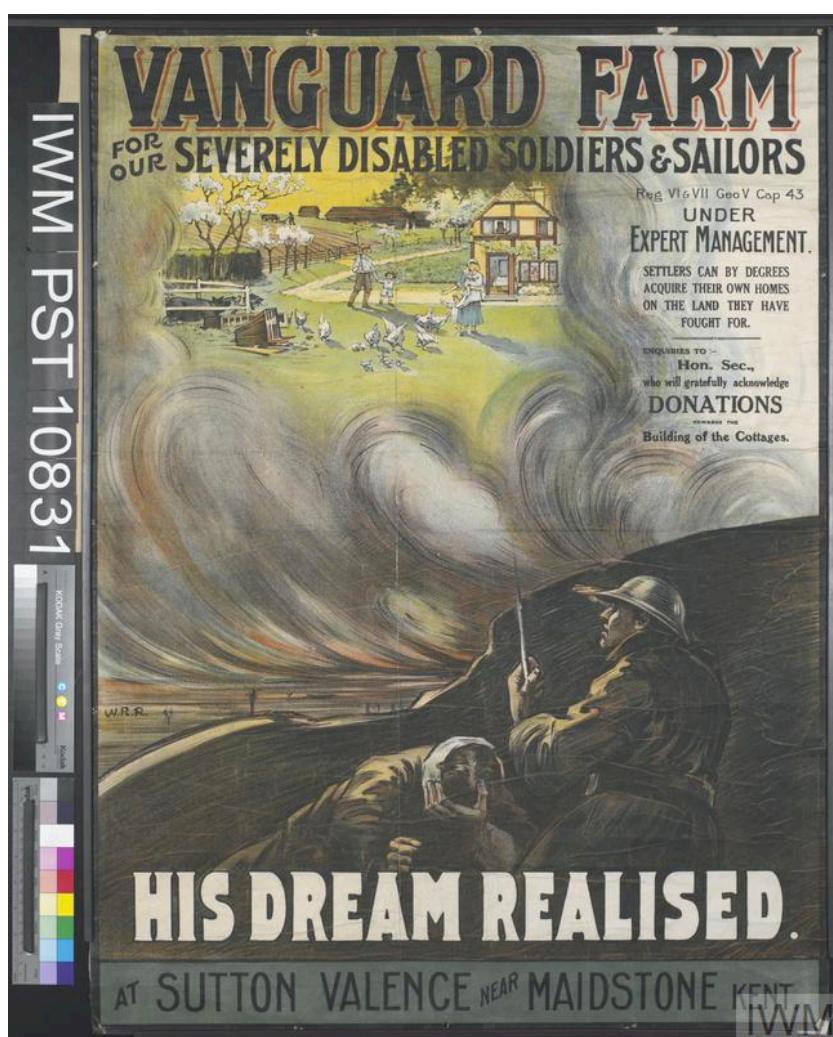


Figure 4.3: Winifred Russell Roberts (1918), 'His Dream Realised' Poster to Promoting Vanguard Farm

¹¹³ 'The Star and Garter Home at Sandgate: Outdoor and Indoor Pastimes', *Country Life*, 53.1376, 19 May 1923, p. 694.

¹¹⁴ 'St. Dunstan's Photographed from the Air'; St Dunstan's, *Annual Report, 1917*, p. 7; 'Poultry Notes', *SDR*, 2.11, May 1917, p. 22.



Figure 4.4: Country Life (1923), War-Disabled Poultry Farmers at 'The Star and Garter Home at Sandgate'

Indeed, these various reports further shaped the rural landscape as a source of healing that not only offered fresh air and physical recuperation, but also provided emotional respite for severely disabled men who had experienced the turmoil of the fighting fronts, and subsequent trauma of permanent disability. Promotional posters for Vanguard Farm, for example, represented both poultry keeping, and the rural agricultural landscape itself, as the antithesis of the western front: whilst the bottom half of the posters depicted two soldiers crouching against the perilous, smoke-filled backdrop of the trenches, the top half of the image showed the soldiers' 'dream[s] realised at Sutton Valance' within the idyllic pastoral scenery of the Kent countryside. The image positioned both rural agricultural life, and poultry keeping, as a reward for men's war services, and the physical sacrifices of one of the companions, who held his hand over his bandaged, and presumably damaged, eyes.

Whilst these accounts variously constructed the rural British landscape as a form of emotional and physical healing, a plethora of charitable reports conversely suggested that these rural sites, were, rather, harsh and unforgiving places that necessitated physical

strength and masculine endurance. Numerous descriptions of poultry training centres highlighted the strenuous conditions under which disabled ex-servicemen tended to their flock. One article in *SDR* revealed that the poultry workshop at St Dunstan's had suffered an onslaught of thunderstorms during the winter, which 'seemed to converge into a lake which reached its greatest depth among the hen coops, and benches, and shavings, so that on one or two occasions the place was afloat'.¹¹⁵ Far from a restive, restorative space, the accounts portrayed the natural landscape as a hindrance to poultry work that had to be overcome, and relatedly shaped poultry farming as a logistically, and physically, difficult occupation.

A plethora of reports extended this narrative, and, alongside descriptions of seemingly unsettled, turbulent rural conditions, additionally portrayed poultry farming as a 'battle' with the elements. One report featured in the *Star and Garter Magazine* directly compared the mud of the western front with the on-site poultry farm, which was named 'No Man's Land', and announced that, '[n]ow the winter is gone, we are pleased to say we have done the ploughing through the mud on "No Man's Land" [and] [w]e can get about our work without being plastered with mud'.¹¹⁶ A further St Dunstan's account extended this military trope, and revealed that the farm in Regent's Park was more literally affected by war. According to the *SDR*, 'the hatches [were] definitely affected by [...] air raid[s]' that could be heard at the site, which was 'right in the barrage zone'.¹¹⁷ This noise apparently acted as a further hindrance to war-blind farmers; the account further noted, '[w]hen one considers that thunder will more often than not have a bad effect on eggs during a hatch it

¹¹⁵ 'Poultry Notes', *SDR*, 2.14, September 1917, p. 20.

¹¹⁶ 'No Man's Land Poultry Farm', *SGM*, 3.1, January 1923, p. 104.

¹¹⁷ 'The Country Life Section', *SDR*, 2.21, April 1918, p. 20.

is easy to see that the sharp bang on a gun or explosion of a bomb must have the same effect and more so'.¹¹⁸

By equating poultry farming with battle on the western front, these reports aligned post-war poultry farming with the wartime 'battle of the egg', and consequently reinforced notions of poultry farming as a skilled, agricultural occupation. At the same time, militaristic constructions of poultry farming countered pre-war conceptions of disabled bodies as weak and enfeebled, and distinguished war-disabled poultry farmers from crippled poultry keepers at institutions like Treloar's. The notion of egg production as a physical battle sustained disabled poultrymen's military masculine status as heroic soldiers and immersed them in a different kind of war. Indeed, 'No Man's Land' was not the only farming nomenclature that implied military service: the names Vanguard Farm and the Silver Badge Farm likewise recalled maimed soldiers' wartime sacrifices and inferred a continued military masculinity within an agricultural context. Silver Badge Farm was named for the silver 'war badge' that was awarded to soldiers upon their discharge from the army as a result of wounding, and 'Vanguard' likewise constructed farmers as an army of disabled ex-servicemen at the forefront of agricultural production.¹¹⁹

Unlike the supposedly 'easy', 'light' poultry instruction undertaken by crippled children, rhetorical depictions of maimed soldiers battling with the natural landscape placed men's bodies at odds with the elements, and evoked a sense of rugged, rural masculinity that portrayed war-disabled chicken keepers as strong, physically capable, farmers.¹²⁰ As scholars such as Ruth Liepins and Jo Little have determined, '[t]his type of

¹¹⁸ 'The Country Life Section', *SDR*, 2.21, April 1918, p. 20.

¹¹⁹ Fergus Read, *Silver War Badge and King's Certificate of Discharge* (London: Imperial War Museum, [n. d.]) <<http://www.iwm.org.uk/history/first-world-war-silver-war-badge-and-discharge-certificate>> [accessed December] (para. 1-12 of 12); See also Howard Williamson, *Great War Medal Collectors Companion* (Harwich, Essex: Anne Williamson, 2011), pp. 145-160.

¹²⁰ A number of scholars, including Hugh Campbell and Paul Cloke, have explored the concept of 'rural masculinity' in detail, and have determined that, like all things, masculinity, masculine bodies, and rural spaces

reportage buil[t] a sense of masculinity that associate[d] a quality of toughness and battle with male farmers who must reportedly “struggle[d]” with nature, and presented men not as chicken keepers, but as agricultural farmers who had successfully ‘tamed the elements to produce crops and manage livestock, overcoming nature’s vagaries and uncertainties’.¹²¹ Whilst the apparently calming, idyllic rolling hills of locations like Vanguard Farm and King’s Langley acted as a material and emotional reward for men’s war-service that gently healed their bodies through exposure to the fresh air, the mud and destruction simultaneously experienced at these sites conversely embroiled war-disabled men in a physical struggle with the landscape that acted as an indication of strength and, ultimately, distinguished these men from conceptions of enfeebled and crippled civilians.¹²²

Landscapes were not the only things that war-disabled poultry farmers reportedly controlled and dominated in the context of poultry training. Alongside descriptions of rugged, agricultural war-disabled farmers conquering the (apparently) war-torn English countryside, charitable schemes additionally (and simultaneously,) positioned disabled ex-servicemen as professional, skilled business owners who successfully directed and regulated hens to produce ever-increasing numbers of eggs. This is most evident within St Dunstan’s accounts, which drew particular attention to the various methods of training

are discursively constructed in relation to one another. Paul Cloke, ‘Masculinity and Rurality’, in *Spaces of Masculinities*, ed. by Bettina Van Hoven and Kathrin Hörschelmann (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp. 45-62 and Hugh Campbell and Michael Mayerfeld Bell, ‘The Question of Rural Masculinities’, *Rural Sociology*, 65.4 (2000), 532-546 (p. 539).

¹²¹ Ruth Liepins, ‘Making Men: The Construction and Representation of Agriculture-Based Masculinities in Australia and New Zealand’, *Rural Sociology*, 65.4 (2000), 605-620 (p. 612); Jo Little, ‘Embodiment and Rural Masculinity’, in *Country Boys: Masculinity and Rural Life*, ed. by Hugh Campbell, Michael Bell and Margaret Finney (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp. 183-202 (p. 189).

¹²² These contrasting tropes represent what David Matless has identified as the ‘duplicitous’ nature of rural landscapes, which, like all material things, encapsulate a variety of ever-shifting meanings. David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), p. 29.

undertaken at both the Regent's Park and King's Langley poultry sites, and regularly recorded technical aspects of poultry farming in minute detail.

Much like the British Legion Poppy Factories (which incorporated modern, Taylorist-Fordist methods of production,) poultry training at St Dunstan's reportedly operated along the most innovative, 'practical', and 'up-to-date' lines.¹²³ Charitable discourse revealed that instruction at Regent's Park was delivered by various poultry experts, including 'well known poultry expert, judge and journalist' Mr Will Hooley, and the 'Founder and Director of the National Poultry Club' (1906), Captain Frances Pierson-Webber, (who was himself blinded through sunstroke during his service in the Indian Staff Corps).¹²⁴ These renowned poultry authorities coached St Dunstaners in numerous specialist techniques, such as breeding, 'trap-nesting', and even 'the treatment of scaly legs'.¹²⁵ From October 1919 onwards, St Dunstan's extended this expert advice within its own *Poultry Supplement*, which mimicked poultry journals such as the *PW*, and offered poultry trainees guidance and tips on the most up-to-date techniques in the poultry business, including 'the correct food for hens', and 'how to distinguish which chicks will make the best egg layers'.¹²⁶

Alongside these various theoretical lessons, St Dunstan's also provided practical instruction in numerous technologically driven methods of poultry management, such as the use of incubators and foster-mothers.¹²⁷ As a particularly well-funded charity, St Dunstan's could afford expensive technical equipment, and charitable accounts also regularly regaled readers with descriptions of the latest innovations at the Regent's Park

¹²³ St Dunstan's, *Annual Report 1918* (London: St Dunstan's, 1918), p. 5.

¹²⁴ St Dunstan's, *Annual Report 1917*, p. 7; 'In Memory: Captain F. P. Pierson Webber', *SDR*, 6.65, October 1927, p. 7; 'Concerning Captain Pierson Webber', *Leamington Spa Courier*, 8 February 1907, p. 5.

¹²⁵ 'Poultry Notes', *SDR*, 1.6, December 1916, p. 15.

¹²⁶ 'Poultry Supplement', *SDR*, 4.38, November 1919, p. 20; *St Dunstan's Poultry Supplement*, 9, June 1920, pp. 1-4.

¹²⁷ 'Country Life Section', *SDR*, 3.28, December 1918, p. 15; 'Country Life', *SDR*, 3.26, October 1918, p. 13; 'Poultry Supplement', *SDR*, 4.38, November 1919, p. 20; *St Dunstan's Poultry Supplement*, 9, June 1920, pp. 1-4.

site. In January 1917, the *SDR* revealed that St Dunstan's had acquired 'two new "Lorna Doone" foster-mothers [...] warmed on the hot air principle' with a

lamp chamber [...] situated below the floor of the sleeping compartment [...] [that] can be reached from without, so that in trimming the lamps the chickens are left undisturbed.¹²⁸

According to publicity, the site also featured a room specifically dedicated to incubators, where war-blind men acquired 'a detailed knowledge of the parts and working of' this equipment, and also 'achieved proficiency in handling the newly hatched chicklets'.¹²⁹

This discourse both reassured the nondisabled public that blinded soldiers were receiving the very best training available, and also inculcated St Dunstan's poultry farmers into broader 'modern' poultry rhetoric. Lorna Doone foster-mothers, for example, were considered particularly innovative machines, and were especially coveted by poultry commentators and business owners during this period.¹³⁰ Their use at the site thus represented a high standard of training that offered war-blind men experience in the most up-to-date methods of technologically driven poultry management. Indeed, the institution also used various forms of 'state-approved' poultry training. In November 1916, for example, poultry trainees in St Dunstan's 'advanced class' were taken to view an egg and poultry demonstration train at Liverpool Street Station, London, which exhibited the latest methods of poultry management such as 'model hen houses, food samples, and many other objects pertaining to poultry'.¹³¹

¹²⁸ 'Poultry Notes', *SDR*, 2.7, January 1917, p. 20.

¹²⁹ 'Poultry Notes', *SDR*, 1.5, November 1916, p. 16; 'Poultry Notes', *SDR*, 2.9, March 1917, p. 14.

¹³⁰ According to advertisements, Lorna Doone foster mothers were 'award winning' machines. Harry Hebditch Poultry Supplies, Advertisement, *PW*, 3.19, 13 March 1909, p. 711.

¹³¹ 'Poultry Notes', *SDR*, 1.6, December 1916, pp. 16-17.

According to St Dunstan's, war-blind men exhibited a high level of skill in these various techniques. The *SDR* revealed that blind poultry trainees were required to pass a series of examinations before they were permitted to 'graduate', which included a number of 'particularly difficult' elements such as 'the handling and recognition of specimens of different breeds of poultry taken at random from St Dunstan's stock'; 'the recognition of various samples of grains and meals'; 'the grading of eggs'; and 'the correct mixing of a poultry feed and mash'.¹³² Despite the advanced level of these assessments, men were frequently praised for achieving consistently high marks, and the *Review* regularly listed the names of poultry apprentices who scored within two or three marks of the highest possible result.¹³³ One article in the *SDR* even remarked that these tasks were 'no mean feat for a man who has probably had little or nothing to do with poultry previous to his six weeks training at St Dunstan's'.¹³⁴

Alongside these theoretical skills, publicity material(s) also lauded St Dunstaners' practical abilities, and especially highlighted their tactile prowess. One official report, for example, recalled that trainees were able 'to distinguish different breeds almost instantaneously by touch, [...] manage incubators and foster mothers, [and] to prepare and truss birds for table'.¹³⁵ In his 1919 book, *Victory Over Blindness*, (which detailed the various training schemes provided by the institution,) Arthur Pearson similarly confirmed that St Dunstaners were able to expertly 'distinguish [...] different breeds' of chicken by 'feeling the combs, wattle, weight, and plumage' of these birds, and could also 'distinguish

¹³² 'Poultry Notes', *SDR*, 2.9, March 1917, p. 14; 'Our Country Life Section', *SDR*, 1.3, September 1916, p. 30; 'Poultry Notes', *SDR*, 1.6, December 1916, p. 15.

¹³³ 'Our Country Life Section', *SDR*, 1.3, September 1916, p. 30; 'Poultry Notes', *SDR*, 1.6, December 1916, p. 15.

¹³⁴ 'Poultry Notes', *SDR*, 2.9, March 1917, p. 14.

¹³⁵ St Dunstan's, *Annual Report 1917*, p. 5.

between males and females’, and ‘judge ‘the quality of eggs’ by handling these things.’¹³⁶ Even limblessness did not impede men’s use of technological methods; ‘one man’, who ‘was not only totally blind, but had lost one arm and a finger and thumb off the other hand’, could reportedly use an incubator, and was also able to ‘select any fowl of the nine of ten kinds and tell you the breed of each’, despite having only four fingers with which to complete these actions.¹³⁷



Figure 4.5: *St Dunstan's (1924), Illustration of War-Blind Poultry Farmers Identifying Chickens Through Touch*



Figure 4.6: *St Dunstan's (c.1920s), War-Blind Poultry Farmers at St Dunstan's, Regent's Park*

¹³⁶ Arthur Pearson, *Victory Over Blindness: How it was Won by the Men of St Dunstan's and How Others May Win it* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1919), p. 42.

¹³⁷ Pearson, *Victory*, p. 128.

St Dunstan's images, too, visually emphasised men's tactile aptitude for poultry farming: *St Dunstan's Annual Reports* featured cartoons of blind poultry trainees undertaking numerous aspects of the trade, including one image of two blind men identifying the breed of a chicken using only their sense of touch (Figure 4.5).¹³⁸ Various photographs of poultry trainees at Regent's Park further evidenced the use of tactile skills and showed blinded farmers posing with their birds grasped in their hands (although it is unclear if these images were used within publicity material) (Figure 4.6).¹³⁹

Much like the broader St Dunstan's rhetoric discussed in chapter two of this thesis, these reports implicitly dispelled popular concerns surrounding blind ex-servicemen's ability to undertake employment, and suggested that blinded soldiers were able to overcome their loss of sight and 'learn to be blind' by developing their other senses.¹⁴⁰ This apparently heightened sense of touch, in particular, inserted St Dunstan's poultry-trainees into what Constance Classen has termed the 'integral tactile actions and symbols' of social life.¹⁴¹ Representations of blind ex-servicemen utilising their sense of touch, in this instance, acted as a meaningful expression of their capacity for work; St Dunstaners' tactile interactions with chickens symbolically 'extend[ed]' war-blind men from 'the intimacy of [their] own bod[ies]' and demonstrated that these men were not, contrary to popular belief, isolated by their sightlessness, but rather, inculcated war-blind poultry farmers into a tactile world of agricultural work.¹⁴²

To some extent, this discourse positioned tactility as blinded soldiers' primary method of experiencing, and making meaning, of the world, and framed their improved

¹³⁸ St Dunstan's, *Annual Report 1924* (London: St Dunstan's, 1924), p. 9.

¹³⁹ St Dunstan's, Photograph of St Dunstan's poultry farmers, BVUK, loose photos.

¹⁴⁰ Anderson, 'Stoics', p. 82.

¹⁴¹ Constance Classen, 'Fingerprints: Writing About Touch', in *The Book of Touch* ed. by Constance Classen (Oxford: Berg, 2005), pp. 1-12 (p. 1).

¹⁴² Constance Classen, 'Contact', in Classen (ed.), *The Book of Touch*, pp. 13-15 (p. 14).

tactile senses as a suitable replacement for their sight. This discourse not only demonstrated blind soldiers' capacity for meaningful employment, but also went some way to reshape what Classen has termed the 'hierarchy' of the senses, and implicitly prioritised tactility above sight within the context of and egg production.¹⁴³ Indeed, this was not necessarily limited to touch; Pearson not only praised men's seemingly elevated tactile abilities, but also revealed that blinded poultry trainees could select 'different foodstuffs' by 'taste, or smell', and commended their other heightened faculties.¹⁴⁴ Newspapers reports, too, commended the 'remarkable compensation of the remaining senses with which the blinded man, properly coached' in poultry farming 'is endowed'.¹⁴⁵ Various accounts even suggested that the use of their remaining senses rendered these men as skilled as sighted farmers. According to Pearson, whilst many nondisabled people did not 'understand' the 'remarkable', and 'curious capacity' of blind men, these individuals were 'as capable [...] as any sighted competitor' as a result of the high level of training offered at St Dunstan's, and thus 'only' required 'the assistance of a sighted person in reading the [...] thermometer' on incubators.¹⁴⁶ A similar account by one poultry farmer even recounted that, having seen him working on his own poultry farm, two passers-by commented, 'I don't believe he is blind at all'.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ As Classen has revealed, the senses — and especially touch — are (and were) 'a language shaped by culture and inflected by individuals' and thus involve(d) politics, and are (or were,) 'packed with social meaning'. '[C]ertain senses' thus 'ranked higher in value than others'. Constance Classen, 'Foundations for an Anthropology of the Senses', *International Social Science Journal*, 49.153 (2010), 401-412 (p. 401); Classen, 'Contact', pp. 13- 14 Whilst this thesis is primarily concerned with cultural history, and does not, therefore, explore these notions of touch — and, relatedly, disabled ex-servicemen's tactile experiences — in detail, there is much anthropological work to be completed on the politics of touch surrounding disabled ex-servicemen after the First World War, and especially the ways that popular and charitable discourse both perpetuated and altered the sensory values surrounding disabled recipients of charity. For further anthropological research on touch, tactility, and its relationship to social life and the other senses, as well as how to approach research in these areas, see especially Classen (ed.), *The Book of Touch* and Classen, 'Foundations', pp. 401-412.

¹⁴⁴ Pearson, *Victory*, p. 42.

¹⁴⁵ 'The Blinded at Poultry Farming', *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 26 July 1918, p. 6.

¹⁴⁶ Pearson, *Victory*, p. 128, pp. 41-42, pp. 152-153.

¹⁴⁷ Pearson, *Victory*, p. 127.

Further still, by connecting war-blind farmers to these 'up-to-date', innovative methods, St Dunstan's publicity distinguished blind ex-servicemen from crippled poultry keepers, and, rather, positioned war-blind farmers as independent professional business-owners at the forefront of modern poultry techniques and national egg production. Like large scale, professional 'egg farm's' in this period, St Dunstaners primarily focused upon 'egg production for retail purposes', and sold eggs for hatching, breeding, and domestic consumption.¹⁴⁸ Official publications included a plethora of personal testimonies from men who went on to establish their own successful poultry farms throughout the country, and specifically attested to the large numbers of eggs (and indeed, chickens,) that men produced using the practices taught at St Dunstan's. In 1918, for example, (the aptly named) Sergeant Percy Featherstone, recalled: '[m]y birds are laying very well — my average from the 95 birds being high for the season of the year.'¹⁴⁹ W. F. Archibald, who trained at St Dunstan's before emigrating to South Africa with his family, similarly reported that, in the year since beginning his poultry business — which included '19 runs, 3 incubators, and 2 cold brooders' — he had collected 22,347 eggs'.¹⁵⁰ E. H. Carpenter, who was based at St Dunstan's' Kings Langley site, also recorded high egg yields; according to Carpenter's 1924 testimony in the *St Dunstan's Annual Report* 'just one of his 'Rhode Island Reds laid 102 eggs in 105 days. From 24 White Wynadotte pullets [he] had 607 eggs in one month, and from Rhode Island Red for twelve months, 5,377 eggs'.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Pearson, *Victory*, p. 194.

¹⁴⁹ St Dunstan's, *Annual Report 1918* (London: St Dunstan's, 1918), p. 12.

¹⁵⁰ St Dunstan's, *Annual Report 1924*, p. 16.

¹⁵¹ St Dunstan's, *Annual Report 1924*, p. 16.



Figure 4.7: *St Dunstan's* (1925), 'A. Griffin', A War-Blind Poultry Farmer, 'Who Won [Second] Prize in the All-England Egg-Laying Test'

It is clear that these large egg yields were not only 'remarkable', among war-blind poultrymen, but were also exceptional in comparison to sighted farmers: a number of St Dunstaners were awarded prizes for 'egg-laying' within national competitions, including 'A. Griffin, a St Dunstan's poultry farmer, who won 2nd prize in [...] the All-England Egg-Laying Test' in 1925 (Figure 4.7).¹⁵² In 1927, the *Staffordshire Advertiser* similarly recalled that A. W. Sutton had won the 'St Dunstan's Silver Challenge Cup', for '15,716 eggs' produced in just '112 days'. Whilst this competition was specific to St Dunstaners, the report further noted that 'these figures compare[d] most favourably with those of the national test held at Bentley, and prove[d] conclusively that loss of sight is not bar to successful and scientific poultry farming'.¹⁵³ These various accounts further aligned war-disabled poultry farmers with broader, professional poultry discourse, and suggested that St Dunstaners successfully regulated and dominated chickens to produce ever-increasing numbers of eggs and hatchlings. Indeed, alongside 'egg-laying', war-blind poultry farmers were also awarded

¹⁵² *St Dunstan's, Annual Report 1925* (London: St Dunstan's, 1925), p. 10.

¹⁵³ 'Staffordshire Blind Soldier's Success', *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 23 April 1927, p. 2.

various prizes for poultry breeding: R. Davies from Saxmundham, Suffolk, for example, was awarded '2nd place in the Leghorn class', and '3rd prize in the Rhode Island Red class' by 'the National Utility Poultry Society'.¹⁵⁴

Much like broader poultry industry rhetoric, St Dunstan's not only represented poultry farming (and poultry farmers), as highly skilled, but also suggested that egg production was a financially lucrative business venture. According to St Dunstan's *Annual Reports*, poultry 'graduates' gained a reliable, year-round income from egg sales, and were thus successfully 'making poultry pay'. Private W. M. Williamson, for example, confirmed that he was 'making good use of all [he] learnt at St Dunstan's' and his 'poultry-farm [was] doing very well, so that he felt, 'therefore, confident that [he] could make poultry pay'.¹⁵⁵ E. J. Harris from Billericay similarly revealed that his 'poultry houses were full and right up with birds', so that he was 'making [his] poultry pay' and 'devote[d] practically all of [his] time to birds'.¹⁵⁶ Much like training reports, these accounts distinguished blind ex-servicemen from popular notions of derided blind beggars, and positioned these men as successful and business-owners who provided for themselves and their families independently of charitable assistance.

Institutional accounts of egg sales, too, affirmed this narrative, and further reinforced notions of poultry farming as a business endeavour. St Dunstan's 1922 *Annual Report*, for example, described commercial transactions between W. Burgin (a war-blind poultry farmer,) and his 'customers', and revealed that he had 'very good local demand for [...] sitting eggs, and ha[d] disposed of them practically as they ha[d] been collected'.¹⁵⁷ This implicitly separated Burgin (and other war-blind poultrymen,) from notions of begging,

¹⁵⁴ St Dunstan's, *Annual Report 1922* (London: St Dunstan's, 1922), p. 6.

¹⁵⁵ St Dunstan's, *Annual Report 1920* (London: St Dunstan's, 1920), p. 18.

¹⁵⁶ St Dunstan's, *Annual Report 1922*, p. 7.

¹⁵⁷ St Dunstan's, *Annual Report 1922*, p. 7.

and, rather presented egg sales as professional, commercial transactions between blind business-owners and nondisabled consumers. Indeed, according to St Dunstan's, Burgin's clients did not buy these products through a sense of pity and charity, but, rather, selected these particular eggs for their superior qualities. Burgin's testimony further revealed that, his 'place [was] open for inspection any time', and many 'people ha[d] been and noted the stock and the general conditions under which we kept the birds, and, being satisfied [...], naturally [chose to] trot over [...] when they want any eggs'.¹⁵⁸

Teaching war-blind men to produce eggs and breed chickens not only (further) distinguished war-blind men from the disabled civilian population, but also extended the nature of charitable support. Unlike the handicrafts training offered to disabled civilians and soldiers within sheltered workshops and charitable institutions, poultry instruction offered *more* than a subsistence lifestyle or charitably provided wages. Rather, St Dunstan's taught men to run successful, ongoing business ventures that could be undertaken completely independently of charitable support. Whilst St Dunstan's provided 'graduates' with their initial brood, a supply of feed, and various other materials with which to set up their farms, chicken breeding and egg production were largely self-sustaining enterprises that required little future charitable intervention.¹⁵⁹

According to reports, the production of eggs and chickens thus generated a secure and reliable revenue that ensured men's income, and independence, into the future. Pearson confirmed that, whilst poultry farming did not necessarily offer immediate returns, egg production was a long-term business that 'provided a comfortable livelihood for the future', and thus rendered war-blind men independent in the long-term.¹⁶⁰ St Dunstan's

¹⁵⁸ St Dunstan's, *Annual Report 1922*, p. 7.

¹⁵⁹ Pearson, *Victory*, pp. 152-153.

¹⁶⁰ Pearson, *Victory*, p. 27.

Annual Reports, too, featured countless recollections from war-blind poultry farmers who revealed that poultry farming 'on business lines' created a sense of financial security for the future, as well as the present. One man (T. Eaton) noted: 'my partner [...] and myself work entirely on business lines, every bird being trap nested [...] I can see nothing else but success for our future, and will sail along with a bit of hard work'.¹⁶¹ Private H. Dennison similarly revealed, that, through poultry farming, he had laid 'the foundation for the future development of a good sound business'.¹⁶²

This rhetoric not only separated war blind men from notions of begging and charity, but also promoted St Dunstan's as a particularly worthy focus of monetary support. By offering war-blind men a long-term form of income, St Dunstan's conceptualised poultry training as a long-term charitable investment and suggested that donations to the Hostel were good value for money. Further still, by constructing these men as successful, skilled egg producers, St Dunstan's reports also inferred that these men were contributing to the national 'Battle of the Egg'. Popular discourse surrounding the scheme consistently reminded the nondisabled public that eggs were still in high demand, and simultaneously suggested that this pressing need was being fulfilled by war-blind men. In December 1916, for example, the *SDR* noted that the progress of the Poultry Training Department was 'being watched with increasing interest by many outside folk, who see in its success a step in the right direction towards the solution of the nation's food supply'.¹⁶³

Although their corporeal differences removed disabled soldiers from active war service, egg production consequently acted as an extension of disabled ex-servicemen's patriotic duty to the nation. One newspaper report on the scheme explicitly noted that,

¹⁶¹ St Dunstan's, *Annual Report 1918*, p. 13.

¹⁶² St Dunstan's, *Annual Report 1920*, p. 16.

¹⁶³ 'Proposed Poultry Development', *SDR*, 1.6, December 1916, p. 17.

war-blinded men under the care of St Dunstan's still give "active service" to their country by doing [this] useful work'.¹⁶⁴ According to these reports, disabled ex-servicemen were not, therefore, dependent 'burdens' upon state and public finances, but were, conversely, productive citizens who were successfully able 'to take [their] place again' as 'useful members of the community' by producing ever-increasing numbers of desirable fresh-laid eggs for the nation.¹⁶⁵ In the closing months of the war, the *SDR* confirmed this sentiment, and revealed that

[t]hose handicapped by loss of sight, who in too many cases were before the war looked upon as a burden to the State, are now being taught to be assets to it, and in a time when the country is short of everything, are supplying many of the necessities of its life. We must have our boots repaired, we must have our baskets and our nets [...] while the land must be made to produce its fullest complement of eggs and poultry.¹⁶⁶

Whilst St Dunstan's poultry training was the most well publicised charitable poultry scheme, this rhetoric was not limited to war-blind men. In his 1919 special edition of *Poultry Keeping on Money-Making Lines* (which was considered a standard text for all poultry keepers), renowned poultry expert William Powell-Owen added a chapter entitled 'Poultry-Farming as a Profession' specifically 'for ex-servicemen', within which he recommended that war-disabled men should concentrate their poultry efforts upon egg production, as the country was still in dire need of British produced eggs and poultry, and

¹⁶⁴ 'Useful Work For Their Country', *Belfast Newsletter*, 10 October 1935, p. 14.

¹⁶⁵ St Dunstan's, *Annual Report 1924*, p. 9; Anderson, *War*, p. 50.

¹⁶⁶ 'Some Impressions of Visits to St Dunstaners', *SDR*, 3.25, September 1918, p. 1.

egg production was thus both a useful way to contribute to national egg supplies, and simultaneously guarantee a reliable income.¹⁶⁷

By shaping disabled ex-servicemen as efficient, successful egg producers, popular discourse consequently shifted the meaning of charitable action, and (much like the British Legion Poppy Factory,) conceptualised poultry farming schemes as a broader mechanism for national reconstruction, and British self-reliance. Charitable descriptions that detailed the vast and ever-increasing amounts of fresh-laid British eggs produced by war-disabled poultry farmers concurrently positioned training schemes such as St Dunstan's as the *most* worthy, and *most* socially beneficial charities, that not only remade deserving war-disabled into useful citizens, but simultaneously contributed to British food production, and the prosperity of the nation. At the same time, charitable accounts of disabled ex-servicemen's contributions to the 'battle of the egg' directly countered NEC accounts of the pitiful and wounded disabled men who apparently relied upon egg consumption just to stay alive, and, rather, conceptualised these rugged, productive farmers as 'useful' national assets who, ultimately, produced the very items that purportedly saved the lives of their shattered comrades.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ William Powell-Owen, *Poultry Farming on Money-Making Making Lines* (London: George Newnes, 1919), p. 286, p. 255. Notably, Powell-Owen's chapter revealed that this special edition was inspired by the popularity of one of his 'earlier text-books which was published in Braille just before the war for the use of the blind' and which was popular among war 'blind heroes' who had since taken up the trade. Powell-Owen, p. 253.

¹⁶⁸ Interestingly, publicity accounts did not credit war-disabled farmers with the provision of eggs to needy wounded and disabled soldiers in hospital, although it is unclear why this distinction was made. The exception to this was a scheme entitled 'Heroes Poultry Farms', which was allegedly established with the explicit purpose of teaching disabled ex-servicemen to produce eggs for use by military hospitals. However, the scheme was identified as fraudulent, and a Ritchie Gill was charged £25 for the offense of 'attempting to procure charitable contribution by false pretences'. 'Heroes Poultry Farm', *Portsmouth Evening News*, 4 January 1916, p. 8.

Conclusion: 'Not the only Shells he Encountered'

In February 1915, the *PW* recounted the experience of a wounded soldier called 'Private Addis'.¹⁶⁹ According to the report, Addis 'call[ed]' the *PW* 'to say how very much appreciated the eggs for wounded soldiers had been, which he had had the pleasure of consuming in Boulogne'.¹⁷⁰ The article further commented that these eggs, however, 'were not the only shells he encountered, as one from Jack Johnson [had] put him out of action for the time being, and he is on leave with various injuries'.¹⁷¹ The report (and Addis' initial phone call,) described the corporeal impact of two forms of war *matériel*: whilst the first 'shell' from Jack Johnson — a German Heavy Artillery Shell — physically shattered his body, the second — an egg — symbolically and physically reconstructed it. Addis' report thus offered poignant insight into the various effects of technological warfare upon both the cultural meanings, and materialities, of several tangible things, and went some way to highlight the interconnected public identities of eggs, artillery shells, and war-disabled bodies in this period, each of which physically and socially shaped the other.

As Addis' account implicitly revealed, in the period 1914-1929, charitable action adopted and adapted the existing meanings and uses of eggs, and reshaped these things in relation to disabled ex-servicemen, whose war-torn bodies apparently necessitated these nutritious items. By representing wounded and disabled ex-servicemen as pitiful, needy, and above all deserving, charitable discourse contributed to growing notions of eggs as essential national foodstuffs, and simultaneously elevated the social importance of poultry farming in Britain. Whilst eggs were long-established as health-giving products, charitable appeals dramatically increased the urgency, and desirability of these objects in relation to

¹⁶⁹ 'A P.W. Soldier-reader's Appreciation of Hospital Eggs', *PW*, 15.17, 19 February 1915, p. 580.

¹⁷⁰ 'A P.W. Soldier-reader's Appreciation', p. 580.

¹⁷¹ 'A P.W. Soldier-reader's Appreciation', p. 580.

the heroic (and seemingly pitiful), soldiers, whose health, like Addis's reportedly depended on these things.

Charitable action consequently objectified eggs as evidence of both popular benevolence and wartime patriotism, and relatedly elevated the status of the poultry industry in Britain. As essential wartime items, eggs encapsulated popular desires and charitable aims to contribute to the war effort and assist the wounded. At the same time, the patriotic values materialised by these things were both implicitly and explicitly transferred to the individuals who produced and collected them. The material interactions, technological objects, and corporeal activities involved in egg farming were accordingly shaped as embodied, patriotic activities, which, in turn, characterised poultry farmers themselves as charitable, nationally important, individuals, who contributed to the broader war effort. These material interactions, in turn, not only elevated the status of soldierly farmers (and their hard-working hens), but additionally contributed to the ongoing professionalization and modernization of poultry farming, and emphasised the national importance of the trade.

Although Addis only referred to the physical consumption of nutritional, health giving NEC eggs, it is clear that many disabled ex-servicemen encountered, and were remade by, a third 'shell': those they produced as poultry farmers. From 1915 onwards, charitable poultry schemes at institutions such as St Dunstan's and the Star and Garter Home utilised conceptions of technical, modern, and apparently militaristic poultry farming and patriotic eggs to reconstruct the public identities of disabled ex-servicemen. Much like wartime egg collections, these initiatives explicitly aligned disabled ex-servicemen with the modernization of the poultry industry, and transferred the various material attributes of eggs, agricultural landscapes, and technical equipment onto the broken bodies of the nation's war-disabled heroes. By engaging disabled ex-servicemen in a physically

challenging, soldierly battle with the British landscape, poultry training schemes physically relocated, and mediated a variety of seemingly strong, masculine interactions that recharacterized war-disabled bodies as rugged and efficient, and separated these men from notions of sedentary, enfeebled, disabled civilians. Further still, the modern, technological values associated with professional poultry farming, were, in turn, implicitly transferred to the war-disabled men who undertook these processes during charitable training. Poultry schemes thus not only shifted notions of disabled bodies, but (like war-disabled flower makers), additionally presented disabled ex-servicemen *as* efficient, modern, agricultural machines who used up-to-date methods to produce increasing numbers of patriotic, nationally valuable, eggs. Like Poppy Factory discourse, these activities consequently distinguished disabled ex-servicemen from idle, 'useless' disabled civilians and reshaped war-disabled men as useful and productive citizens who successfully (and independently,) contributed to the 'battle of the egg'.

Finally, it is clear that these material interactions also reconstituted war-disabled farmers (and the eggs they produced) as material evidence of charitable success: by shaping these men as skilled and efficient egg producers, poultry training schemes represented the capacity of charitable action to socially reintegrate deserving disabled ex-servicemen in British society and simultaneously contribute to national efficiency. Most significantly, by connecting growing notions of important, socially desirable, and essential British eggs to war-disabled farmers, charitable discourse inferred that poultry schemes encouraged the mass-production of an essential foodstuff, and thus rendered Britain increasingly efficient. Overall, these efforts shifted and elevated the meanings of charitable action in Britain, and reshaped charity as a source of both social healing, and a catalyst for national power and self-sufficiency efficiency in the aftermath of the world's first technological, shell-driven conflict.

Conclusion: War-Disabled Things

Margaret Chute's 1917 article, 'Tommy Atkins as Toy Maker', not only entangled the material and symbolic characteristic of 'limbless' wooden dolls and war-disabled toy makers, but also inextricably enmeshed the various popular values of disabled ex-servicemen, wooden toys, and the LRMW itself.¹ Her account revealed that disabled ex-servicemen's work was 'professional and on a business basis', and further noted that there was 'no question of glossing over faults' in the toys, as 'The Lord Robert's Memorial Workshops st[ood] or f[e]ll by the value of the goods turned out by these ex-fighters'.²

In so doing, Chute's article both entangled the physical characteristics of wooden dolls and the shattered — and subsequently re-constructed — bodies of the disabled ex-servicemen who created them, and also illustrated the intertwined social and economic values of war-disabled soldiers, inert objects, and charitable organisations. By highlighting the 'faultless' characteristics of disabled-made toys, Chute implicitly (and simultaneously,) attested to the efficiency, and employability of war-disabled workers, and concurrently elevated the status of the 'vast', and 'ever-growing' workshops, which both enabled, and were reliant upon, the social meanings and materialities of disabled ex-servicemen and wooden dolls.³ Her report consequently illuminated that — as anthropologists such as Janet Hoskins have demonstrated — people are 'defined through [...] [their] relation to the material world'.⁴

¹ Margaret Chute, 'Tommy Atkins as Toy Maker', *Graphic*, 6 October 1917, p. 22.

² Chute, p. 22.

³ Chute, p. 22.

⁴ Janet Hoskins, *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives* (London: Routledge, 1998) p. 195.

As this thesis has demonstrated, these intertwined notions of disabled ex-servicemen, every-day objects, and charitable organisations were by no means unique to the LRMW: in the aftermath of the First World War, numerous charitable schemes shaped and reshaped disabled ex-servicemen's popular identities and corporealities in relation to seemingly mundane items. Encounters between disabled ex-servicemen and charitable stuff variously facilitated full-time, lucrative employment, leisurely amusement, and social interactions with the nondisabled public that reinserted supposedly shattered, broken men into prevalent conceptions of work, independence, and 'normal' social and cultural life. These interactions both alleviated popular anxieties surrounding the influx of disabled ex-servicemen into Britain, and concurrently distinguished disabled ex-servicemen from idle, dependent, and isolated disabled civilians. Charitable objects consequently elevated the social status of disabled ex-servicemen upon a 'hierarchy of disablement' that (as Anderson has determined,) privileged war-maimed bodies over those of crippled civilians.⁵

Charitable organisations variously mediated this distinction through processes of objectification, which both transferred charitable values onto numerous 'enabling' objects, and simultaneously re-characterised war-disabled bodies as material evidence of social inclusion, economic independence, national efficiency and, ultimately, post-war reconstruction. In the aftermath of the war, numerous organisations adopted non-human objects as a way to raise funds for disabled ex-servicemen and physically enable their social and physical reconstruction. Whilst the charitable adoption of these things was initially based upon their pre-war connections to either disabled civilians, or soldierly wartime consumers, charities successfully re-deployed, and simultaneously re-materialised, various items, including leisurely objects, cigarettes, artificial flowers, eggs, and war-disabled

⁵ Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain: 'Soul of a Nation'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 42.

bodies, according to the specific cultural values associated with the heroic war-disabled in the aftermath of the First World War.

Firstly, as organisations dedicated to assisting disabled ex-servicemen, the various charities discussed throughout this thesis both emphasised public obligation to war-disabled men, and simultaneously objectified this (otherwise imagined) debt in tangible form. By suggesting that the nondisabled, non-combatant public owed war-disabled various 'valuable' and 'necessary' things in exchange for their corporeal losses, charitable discourse shaped eggs, leisurely entertainment, cigarettes, and numerous other items as tangible forms of remuneration and appreciation for disabled ex-servicemen's sacrifices. These objects consequently embodied the patriotism, appreciation, and social healing encouraged by charitable schemes, and simultaneously functioned as a material bridge that satisfied the supposed public obligation to disabled ex-servicemen and facilitated social healing between the war-disabled and nondisabled civilians.

Alongside these remunerative things, charitable schemes also shaped a number of items as enabling objects that facilitated the disabled ex-servicemen's social and economic reconstruction. Leisurely items and cigarettes, in particular, rendered the social reconstruction of disabled ex-servicemen both happenable, and performable, and, ultimately, reconstituted war-disabled men according to dominant notions of normalcy. As familiar, and ubiquitous artefacts, these things shaped and informed the social behaviour of the individuals who encountered them, and advised both the nondisabled public, and disabled ex-servicemen how to behave.⁶ These items consequently mediated a variety of physical and social interactions between disabled ex-servicemen and the nondisabled public: both the cigarettes and leisurely objects provided for maimed soldiers, for example,

⁶ Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), p. 78, p. 51.

directed embodied performances, and facilitated disabled ex-servicemen's participation in normal sociable activities. These embodied encounters, in turn, enacted a process of social inclusion that reinserted disabled ex-servicemen into normal British social and cultural life: as Judith Butler (amongst others), has outlined, the physical movements, gestures, and activities performed by bodies are essential to their social construction – or representation – as normal or abnormal.⁷ The material encounters between war-disabled bodies and leisurely things during smoking, car-rides, and dances (among innumerable other activities) accordingly communicated, and implicitly mediated, their inclusion within a social group of leisured individuals, and, ultimately, represented them as normal, leisurely members of the British population.⁸

Charitable objects not only enabled disabled ex-servicemen's participation in British social and cultural life, but additionally acted as a tangible bridge that initiated and informed social encounters between disabled ex-servicemen and the nondisabled public – including visual and physical contact, as well as verbal communication – during dances, tea parties, and cigarette exchanges, amongst numerous other public rituals. These embodied activities, too, functioned as a form of social re-integration that both facilitated and evidenced disabled ex-servicemen's renewed relationships with the nondisabled public, and consequently distinguished war-disabled men from the segregated and derided civilian disabled. Physical interactions between disabled and nondisabled bodies (like those between disabled ex-servicemen and leisurely things,) initiated, and implicitly evidenced, disabled ex-servicemen's inclusion amongst nondisabled individuals, and consequently elevated war-disabled above socially derided crippled and blind civilians upon a 'hierarchy

⁷ See especially Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, Grosz, *Volatile Bodies* and Waltraud Ernst, 'The Normal and Abnormal: Reflections on Norms and Normativity', in *Histories of the Normal and the Abnormal*, ed. by Waltraud Ernst (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 1-25.

⁸ Woodward, p. 4, p. 6.

of disablement'. Charitable cigarettes and leisurely objects then, not only embodied the various charitable values surrounding the charities that created them, but additionally materialised social reintegration between disabled ex-servicemen and the nondisabled public, and contributed to the creation of a distinct heroic, war-disabled identity.

Charities also adopted and materially reshaped a number of items that enabled, and mediated, disabled ex-servicemen's physical reconstruction. Artificial poppies, machinery, factory sites, eggs, and rural landscapes were each materially reconstituted according to charitable values, and consequently facilitated both the provision of work for the war-disabled, and the embodied actions involved in industrial labour. The material diversity of artificial poppies and physical arrangement of the Poppy Factories, for example, enabled war-fractured men to participate in industrial manufacturing, and simultaneously shaped disabled ex-servicemen according to embodied interactions with machinery and synthetic flowers. Like the gestures, and movements initiated by cigarettes and leisurely things, physical encounters between durable synthetic flowers, complex machinery, and war-disabled bodies implicitly reinserted flower makers into a social group of physically capable, masculine workers. Harsh rural landscapes, and modern, technological methods of egg production likewise elicited skilled bodily performances from poultry trainees, and further renegotiated disabled ex-servicemen's identities and bodies in relation to the modern, professional, and nationally important objects they encountered.

Indeed, like the seemingly 'inert' items adopted by charitable schemes, war-disabled bodies, too, were objectified through charitable action. Whilst this is most apparent in the example of entertainment charities — which monetized access to the war-disabled, and thus commodified these men as charitable products — many of the other organisations discussed throughout this thesis likewise reconstituted disabled ex-servicemen's bodies and objectified disabled ex-servicemen as evidence of the success of

charitable action. Perhaps most obviously, embodied activities involving machinery, physical strength, and skilled attention to detail physically relocated and reshaped disabled bodies as rugged, masculine, and efficient, and consequently separated these men from notions of sedentary, enfeebled, disabled civilians. Leisurely interactions, too, subtly incorporated disabled bodies into public, leisured landscapes alongside members of the nondisabled public, and consequently reconstructed war-disabled men as a tangible, and visible, material feature of public life, in contrast to seemingly immaterial disabled civilians. Charitable action, and charitable material culture, thus, to some extent, shifted the dominant material attributes of disabled bodies and positioned these men as materialized evidence of both a 'hierarchy of disablement', and the interrelated success of charitable action and popular benevolence. By shaping disabled ex-servicemen as socially normal, leisurely individuals and productive, efficient workers, charitable schemes simultaneously reconstructed disabled ex-servicemen, and inextricably objectified their aims and ideals through the bodies of the nation's disabled heroes.

Finally, the use of things for charitable purposes more broadly altered the role of charity within British society. By offering various items in exchange for charitable donations, the charities discussed throughout this thesis incorporated charitable giving into a commercial transaction, and consequently shifted the motivations behind charitable giving. Tangible charitable exchanges did not rely upon a sense of popular duty and altruism, but, rather, remunerated civilians for their donations, and thus contributed to the increasing commercialisation, and materialisation of charity, and simultaneously refashioned various things, including entertainment, cigarettes, and artificial flowers, into charitable commodities.

Significantly, these items simultaneously raised the profile of a number of organisations and allowed them to compete within an increasingly aggressive charitable

market. As tangible rewards for popular benevolence, these items (and accordingly, purchase and ownership of these items,) like those gifted to the war-disabled, embodied the patriotism, appreciation, and social healing evinced through benevolence, and consequently elevated the status of charitable consumers and institutions. As objects that embodied the various prestigious, desirable values associated with charitable organisations — be this ‘victory over blindness’, national efficiency, or the social inclusion of war-disabled men — making, purchasing, using, and consuming these things acted as ‘markers of aesthetic value and self-identity’ that conferred a charitable identity upon nondisabled members of the public.⁹ Attending charitable entertainment events, socialising with (and physically encountering) the war-disabled, smoking a St Dunstan’s Cigarette, or purchasing an artificial poppy implicitly transferred the values embodied by these things onto benevolent individuals, and consequently conveyed their support for a particular charitable cause or set of aims.

For members of the public, war-disabled bodies, cigarettes, artificial flowers, and charitable eggs were thus rendered particularly desirable items that acted as physical extensions of both their personal and public charitable values, and included benevolent donors within a distinct group of socially prestigious, charitable, patriotic individuals.¹⁰ Charitable activities involving objects accordingly encouraged members of the public to contribute to these particular schemes over others and elevated particular schemes upon a ‘hierarchy of charity’ that was directly related to both the literal and symbolic material attributes of the items they sold.

⁹ ‘The Material as Culture: Definitions, Perspectives, Approaches’ in Ian Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2007), pp. 3-16 (p. 6).

¹⁰ Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (London: Routledge, 1993); Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Woodward, p. 6.

Further still, by producing numerous prestigious objects (including physically efficient war-disabled bodies,) a number of schemes positioned charitable action as a broader mechanism for social reconstruction, national power, and modernisation. Both the Poppy Factories and the various poultry training schemes discussed throughout this thesis presented modern, technologically driven methods of training and 'scientific' machinery as the key to resolving the so-called problem of the war-disabled and returning these men to employment as efficient, useful citizens. In both contexts, up-to-date technology and training mediated disabled ex-servicemen's bodily actions, and consequently delimited the burden of the war-disabled, and, rather, rendered these broken men into efficient workers, who were able to contribute to the industrial productivity of the nation. These reconstituted workers (and the material things they interacted with,) thus raised the social status of these particular employment schemes, and, like charitable commodities, materialised the success, and potential of charitable action.

This thesis has offered what is, to date, the only sustained analysis of charity, material culture and disabled ex-servicemen after the First World War in Britain, and has ultimately determined that the social values of charitable organisations, every-day material culture, and war-disabled bodies each fluctuated according to the popular meanings and materialities of the other. Most significantly, it has demonstrated that the charitably constructed 'hierarchy of disablement' established after the First World War was shaped and reshaped by various artefacts, which 'orient[ed]' disabled ex-servicemen towards a 'distinct social and cultural identity' that encompassed heroism, public curiosity, and social healing, and ultimately elevated the social and economic value of these objectified

remnants of the war, as well as the charities, and charitable individuals, that cared for them.¹¹

By incorporating anthropological approaches into cultural history, this thesis has complicated and enriched historical understandings of the ways that disability was socially, culturally, and (most significantly,) materially, constituted in the aftermath of the First World War. Whilst historians have, until very recently, rarely utilised or acknowledged the importance of materiality as a key way through which disability has been historically produced, it is clear that examining objects sheds light upon the ways that material environments within historical societies rendered certain bodies and certain people as disabled or non-disabled, and reveals how disabled bodies (like all material things,) are ‘variously affected by culture and society’, as well as the ways that this has been ‘experienced and expressed’ differently ‘within particular cultural systems, both private and public, which themselves have changed over time’.¹²

As this thesis has shown, the physical and cultural constitution of historical (and historicised) human bodies cannot be separated from the multiple objects — both human and non-human — that they encountered, as these things variously enabled and disabled bodies, mediated interactions between human bodies and other things, and encapsulated myriad cultural meanings that were implicitly transferred onto the bodies, and social identities of the individuals who interacted with them. Stuff consequently always objectifies both personal and private identities and human interactions, and is an essential tool for understanding the past. Whilst this thesis has gone some way to illustrate the significance of mundane things within the histories of disability, conflict, and charity, it is

¹¹ Chris Gilleard and Paul Higgs, *Ageing, Corporeality and Embodiment* (London: Anthem Press, 2014), p. 160.

¹² Peter Freund, ‘Bodies, Disability and Spaces: The Social Model and Disabling Spatial Organisations’, *Disability and Society*, 16.5 (2001), 689-706 (pp. 689-706). Roy Porter, ‘History of the Body’, in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. by Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), pp. 206-232 (p. 208).

thus clear that further, anthropologically inspired analysis has the capacity to illuminate the various social and cultural meanings and material manifestations of disability, to illustrate the various ways that 'humans themselves are moulded, [...] by the "dead matter with which they are surrounded'.¹³ Indeed, for war-disabled men and charitable civilians in the aftermath of the First World War, it is clear that seemingly modest, often overlooked objects were far from ordinary.

¹³ Peter Pels, 'The Spirit of Matter: On Fetish, Rarity, Fact and Fancy', in *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects and Unstable Spaces*, ed. by Patricia Spyer (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 91-121 (p. 101).

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